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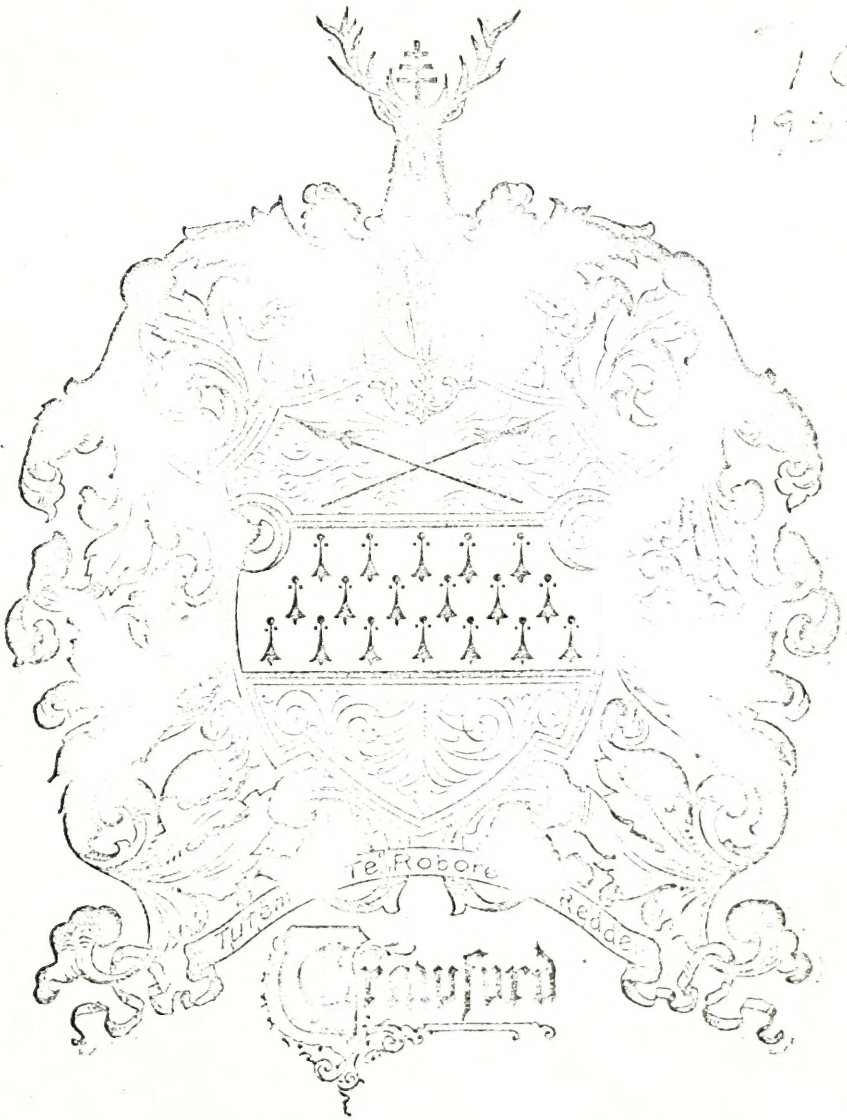
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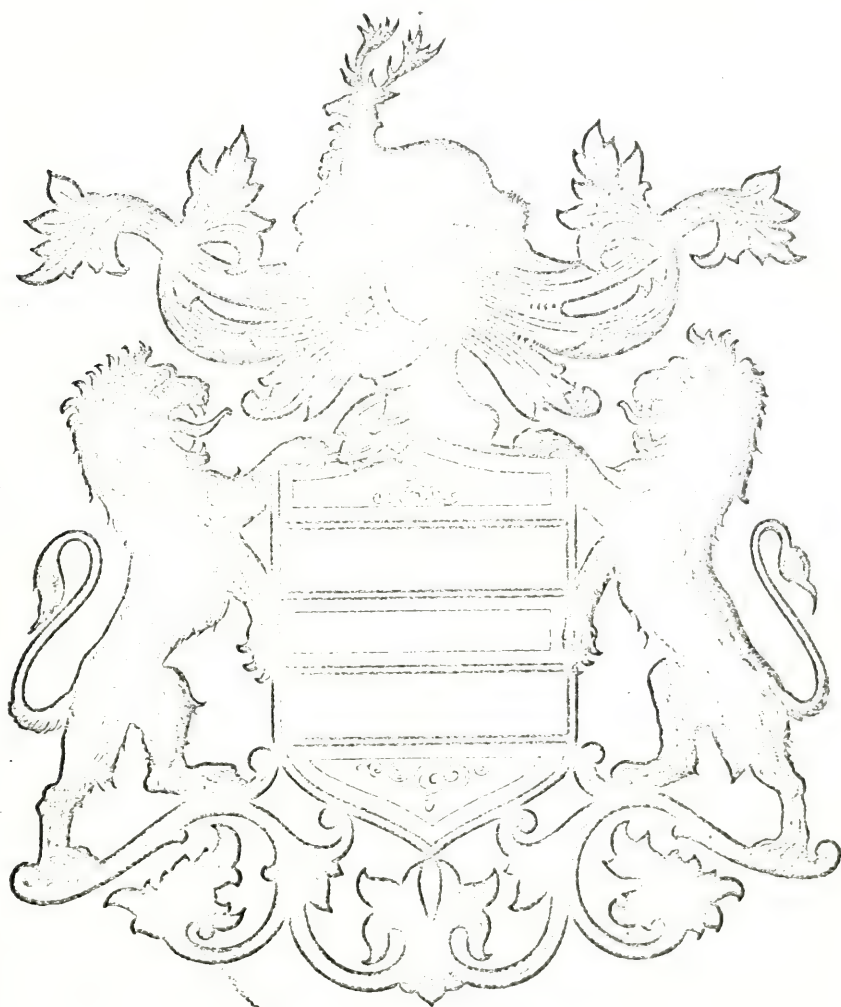
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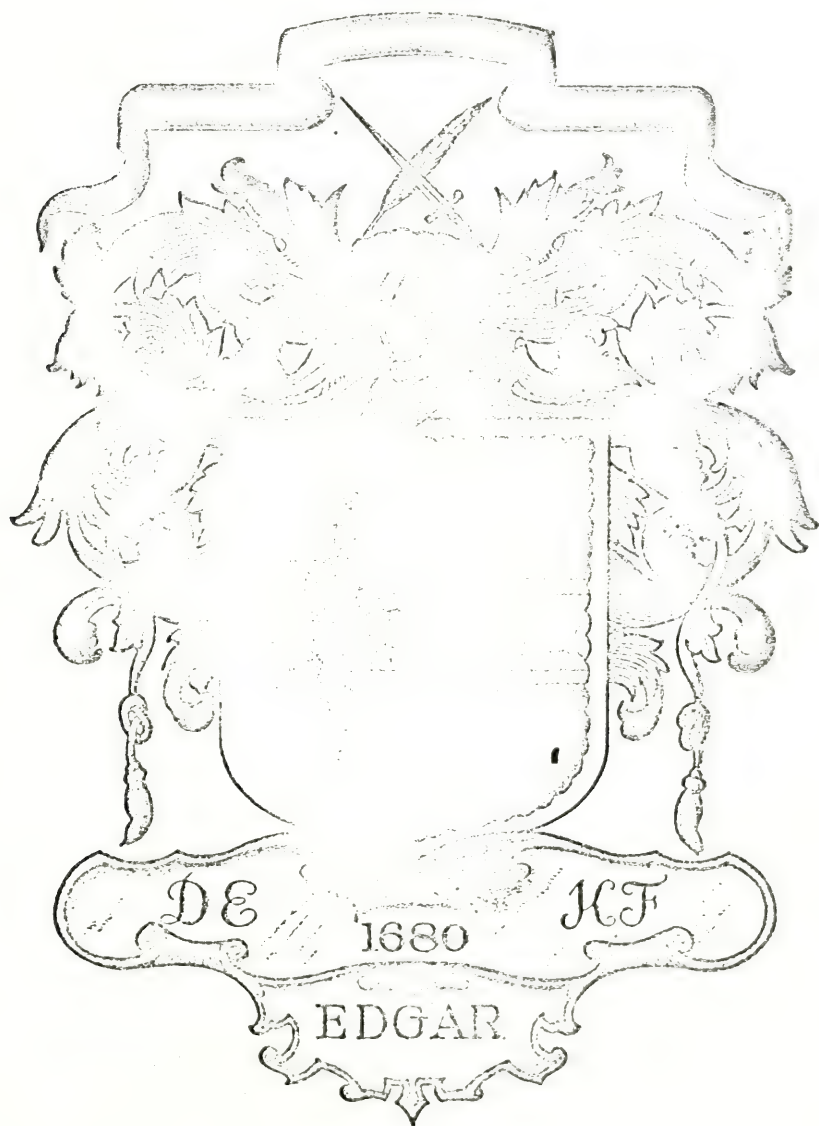
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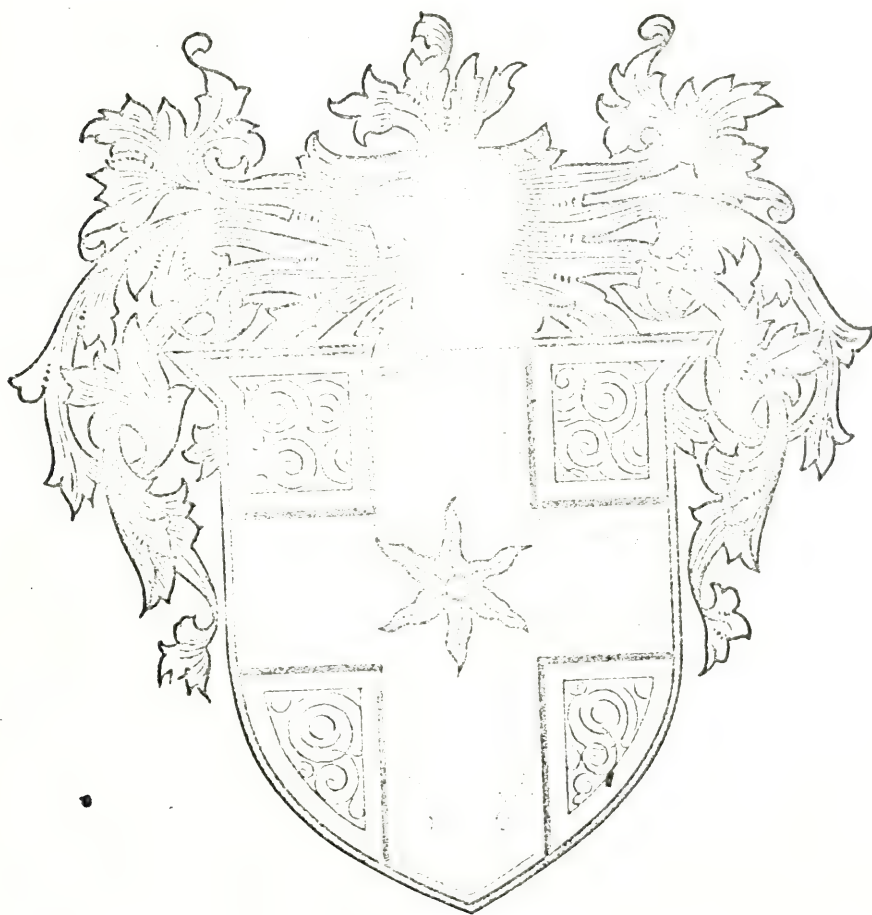
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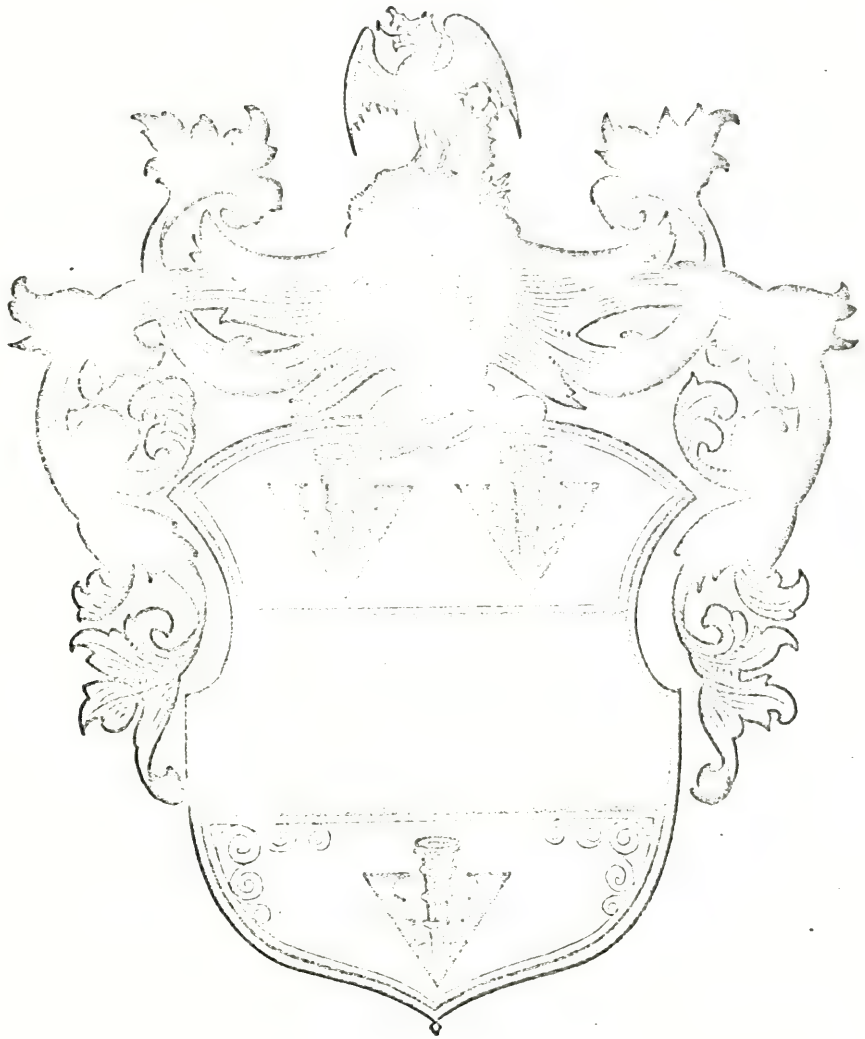
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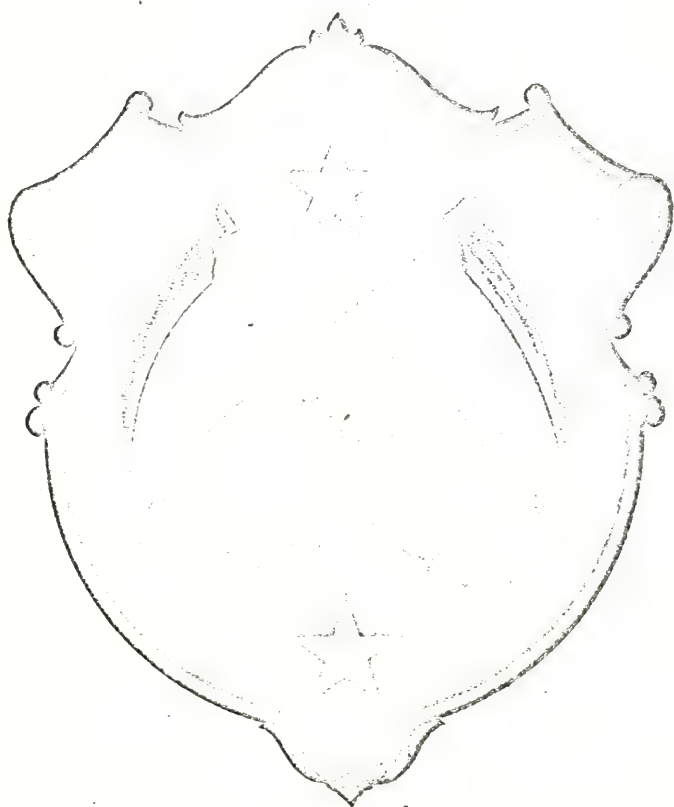
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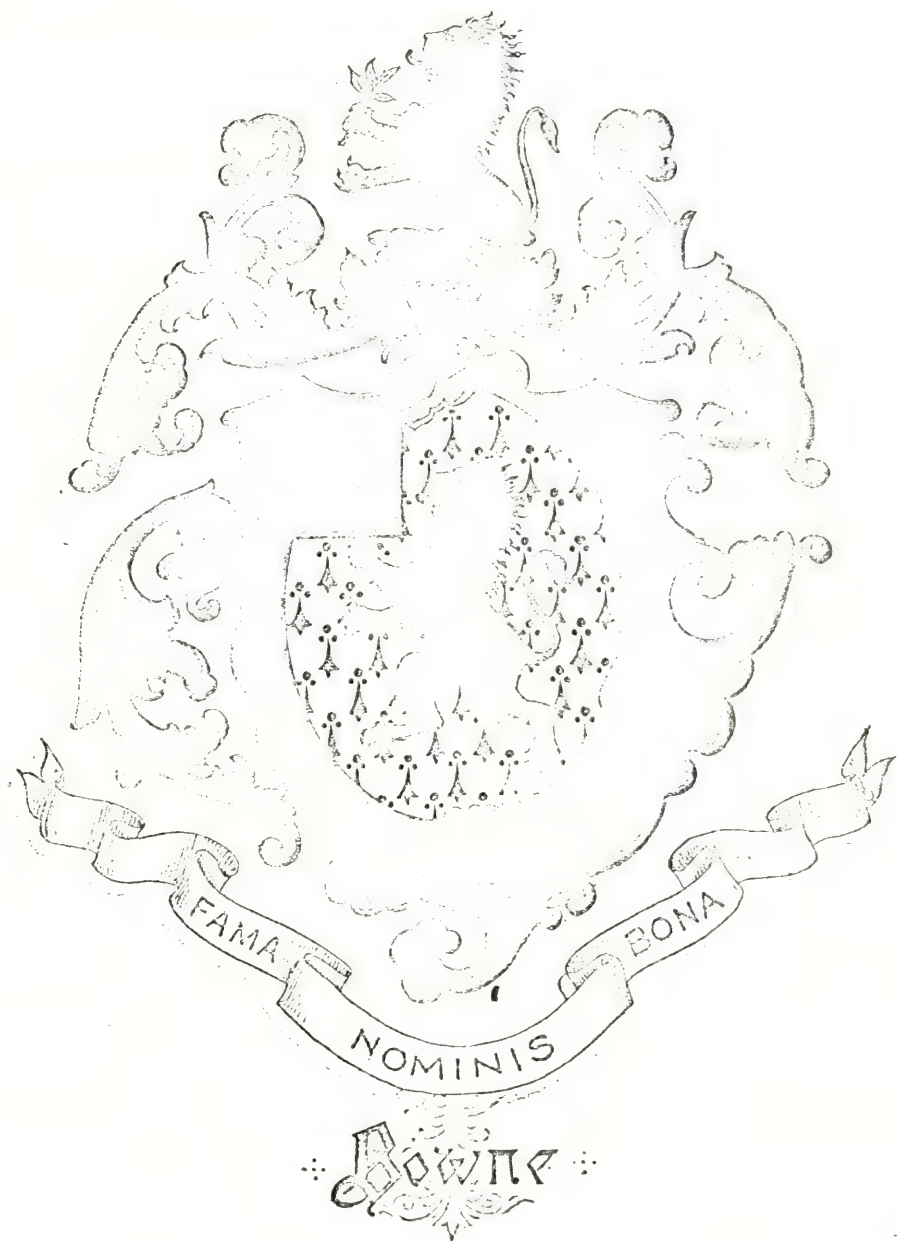


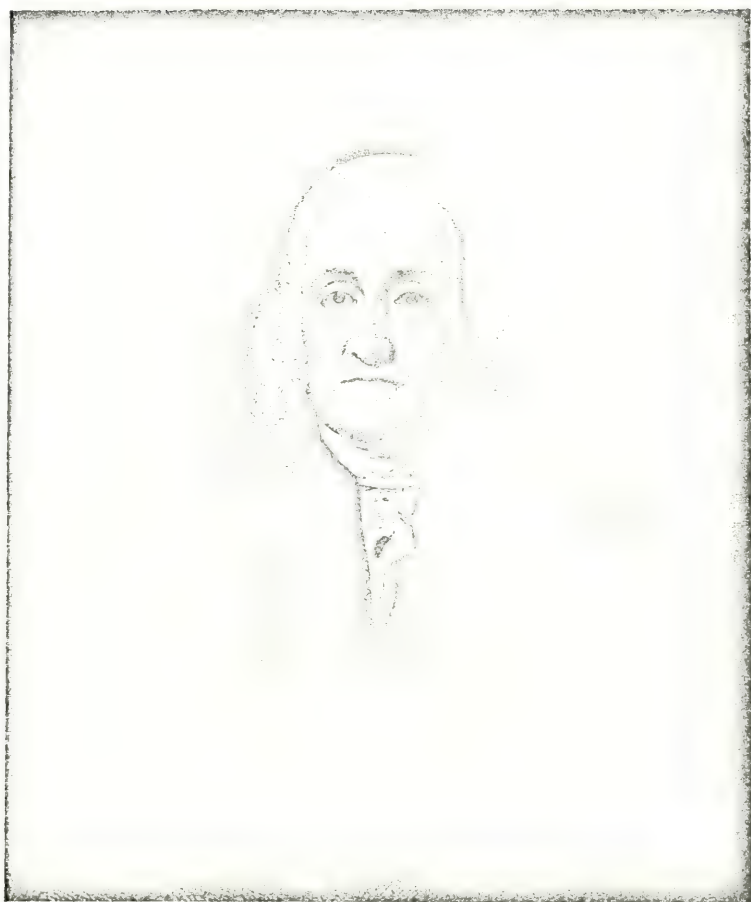


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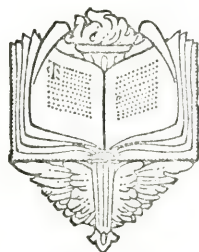


John; Trumbull

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JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD
Governor of New Jersey

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JANUARY, 1922

The New Jersey Oranges

Arrival of Settlers From England—The Beginning of Orange

By DAVID LAWRENCE PIERSON, SECRETARY OF NEW JERSEY SOCIETY
SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, EAST ORANGE, NEW JERSEY



INTER weather was gradually disappearing early in March, 1666, when two travelers from afar were daily expected on their return to Milford, Connecticut. The few dwellers in the quiet town, agog with interest, could scarcely wait for the tales these neighbors would bring of their journey of several weeks into the country lying west of the Hudson river.

Events of more than ordinary importance centered about them, for Captain Robert Treat and John Gregory had been sent in quest of an asylum for the Puritans who strongly objected to the union in 1662 of the New Haven and Connecticut Colonies, whereby restraint was removed from the religious accountability of the people. This was abhorrent to the strictly orthodox of the NewHaven Colony, who did not care for the more liberal constitutional provision permitting men not connected with the Church to vote in civil affairs, but not preventing the civil authorities from interfering with those of the Church. The union of the two colonies was a blow to restrained Puritanism.

They of the New Haven Colony wanted nothing of the Half-Way Covenant also incorporated into the Constitution which extended the privileges of the Church to those who were not in full communion. This particular clause allowed "all baptized persons not convicted of scandalous actions to become members upon acknowledgment of their baptismal covenant and promising an outward conformity to it, though without any pretensions to inward and spiritual acquies-

cence, to present their children for baptism." It practically widened the opposition to an irremediable breach.

There was, therefore, an immediate and ardent desire expressed by them for the institution of another theocratic government as an ideal system for carrying on their affairs temporal and spiritual. The effort to found the "Isle of the Innocents," known as the New Haven Colony, on Long Island, had proved a failure after twenty years experiment by the very people now so anxiously awaiting the return of their emissaries. The present situation was to them unbearable. A number of Branford and Guilford families, living only a few miles distant, also were in accord with the proposed movement.

Captain Treat and his fellow committeeman arrived in due season, bringing intelligence most favorable to the sequestration of the religionists from their more worldly brethren. Truly, Governor Carteret's agents, appearing among them in 1665, did not exaggerate one iota the possibilities of home-making and the erection of a Godly government in the territory adjoining the provincial seat on the north, and extending westward to the mountains.

Delineation of all that was observed by the committee—immense areas of clearing, meadows, forests of timber suitable for building purposes, a river of pure water in which were large numbers of the finny tribe, flowing by the easterly boundary, fur-bearing wild animals, game of many varieties, fowl in innumerable flocks, inland water courses irrigating the soil—provoked more than one of the company to fervently exclaim that Providence was leading the way to a realization of their hope and faith.

Captain Treat gave it as his judgment that the productivity of the soil would meet the most sanguine expectations. He explained the trip minutely. They had penetrated the interior to the east bank of the Delaware river, where a very mild climate was found, but otherwise the conditions were not so favorable as those in the territory further north, about which Governor Carteret was at much pains to confer with them. Liberal indeed was his offer to homesteaders. They were not to be disturbed in the conduct of their local government nor of their church relation. The Indian rights were attended to, and occupation of the land could be made upon an agreement with the Governor to pay him a half-penny per acre per annum as a quit rent. That it should work no hardship, payment was not to

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begin till New Year's Day, 1670. This was March 25, and it remained as the beginning of the calendar year till the Julian Calendar, in vogue since 45 B. C., was substituted for one issued by Pope Gregory in 1752.

Charles II, King of England, who assumed possession of the territory extending from the west bank of the Connecticut river to the east shore of the Delaware bay, by right of discovery of the Cabots, had in 1498 ceded it to the Duke of York, giving it the name of New Albion. Colonel Robert Nichols as Governor established headquarters on Manhattan Island. With more or less generosity, the Duke assigned that part of the tract now known as New Jersey to Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley, the consideration being ten shillings and an annual rent of one pepper corn, payable on the day of nativity of St. John the Baptist, if legally demanded. Title was given on June 23-24, 1664, and Philip Carteret, fourth cousin of Sir George, was appointed governor. He arrived in the settlement back of Achter Koll (Staten Island Sound) in August, 1664, and promptly named it Elizabeth Town, in honor of Lady Elizabeth, wife of Sir George Carteret. "With due preparation and solemnization for it," as the Puritans termed their devotional exercises preceding important undertakings, the compact to enter upon the venture was made between man and man and then as a company. Rev. Abraham Pierson, pastor of the Branford church, the soul of the enterprise, encouraged the people to take up their burden and carry it not with them, but cast it aside when once the pilgrimage was under way.

Born in Yorkshire, England, Rev. Mr. Pierson received his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating therefrom in 1632 at the age of nineteen years. He was episcopally ordained at the parish church in Newark-on-the-Trent. Coming to America in 1639, he settled at Boston, and while there was ordained a Congregational minister, later organizing a church at Lynn, Massachusetts. In 1640 he was leading a company of people "finding themselves straightened" in that town, to Long Island, where they founded Southampton. Their hopes again thwarted in the establishment of the "Isle of the Innocents," they migrated to Branford. Rev. Mr. Pierson was endowed with superior talents and which he exercised indefatigably, spreading the gospel as he interpreted it, even among the Indians, among whom he made many converts. Having famil-

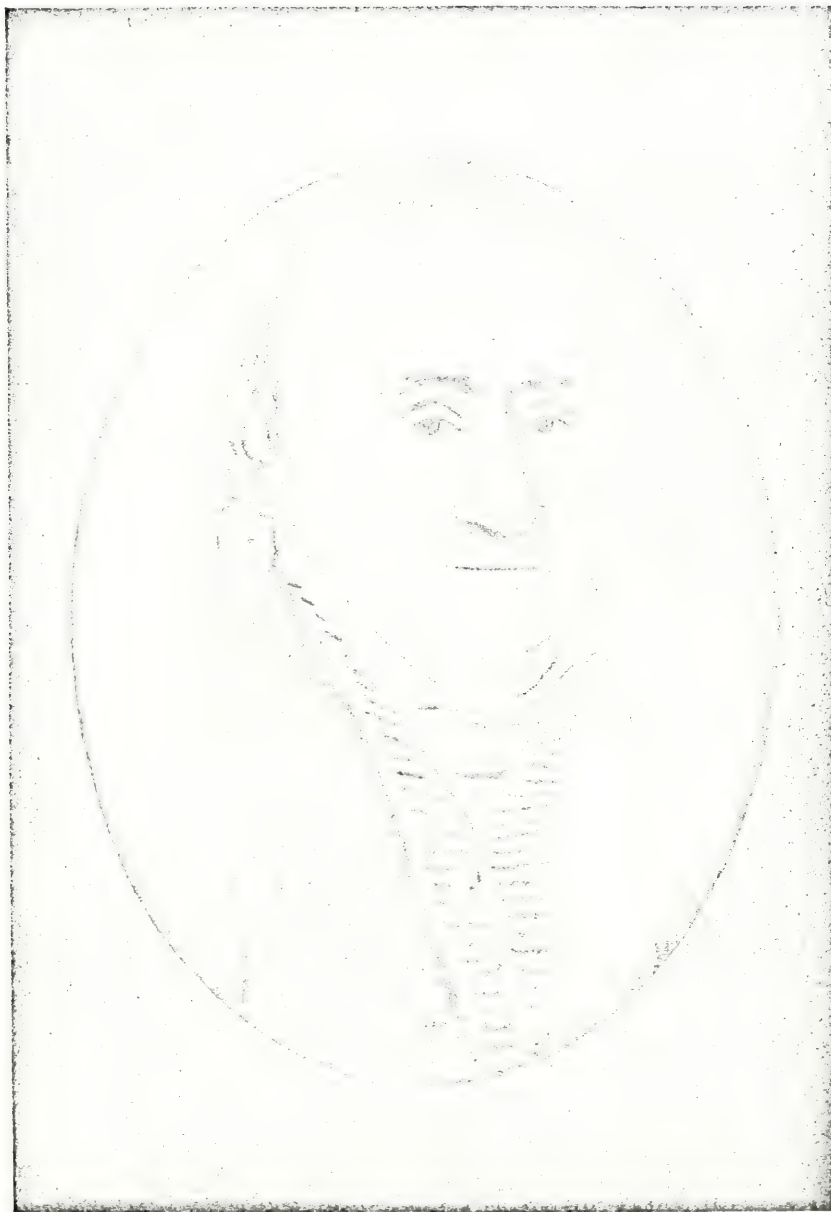
iarized himself with their language and customs, he prepared a catechism, and printed it in their native tongue.

Obdurate was the minister, who had now been settled about twenty years in Branford, when it was suggested to him that he remain in the Connecticut Colony, after its union with New Haven. He hailed with manifestations of spiritual delight the report of Captain Treat regarding the availability of the site selected upon the bank of a large river, symbolic of the River Jordan, for the planting of another church by the living waters.

Abraham Pierson and Abigail Wheelwright were married, it is believed, at the bride's New England home. She was the daughter of Rev. John Wheelwright, of Lincolnshire, England, who emigrated to Exeter, New Hampshire. Their children were: 1. Thomas, born in Southampton, Long Island, in 1641-42, died before 1684, at Newark. 2. John, born in Southampton, Long Island, in 1643, died before 1671. 3. Abigail, born in 1644; married, in 1663, John Davenport, Jr., son of Rev. John Davenport, first minister of New Haven. 4. Rev. Abraham, second pastor of Newark, born at Southampton, in 1645; married Abigail Clark. 5. Grace, born in 1650, at Branford; married Samuel Kitchell, signer of the Fundamental Agreement. 6. Susanna, born in December, 1652, at Branford; married Jonathan Ball, of Stamford. 7. Rebecca, born in 1654, at Branford; married Joseph Johnson, town drummer of Newark; died in November, 1732. 8. Theophilus, born in 1659, at Branford; became prominent in Newark affairs, and died in 1713. 9. Isaac. 10. Mary.

In April the men and women were busily engaged, not in preparing the soil for another harvest and in tidying up their homes, a springtime essential, but in rooting up their very rooftrees, their homes, upon which they had expended much labor. Neighbors who shared with them the trials and holy joys of the rigorous era were to be forsaken, perhaps forever, in this all impelling desire to worship God and conduct temporal affairs, as the pastor often said, in the manner the Good Lord intended—in complete subjugation to His will, and in glorifying His Holy Name, thereby uplifting mankind to the high Puritan conception of living.

Abandoning the home was not an easy matter for the women, with whom sentiment, sweet and simple, clustered about the diminutive cottage and the acreage under cultivation. One of the dwellings about to be left tenantless was historically related to the stirring



CAPT. THOMAS WILLIAMS
A Hero of the Battle of Springfield

THE NEW JERSEY ORANGES

scenes of England a few years before. Michael Tompkins, an unrelenting follower of Rev. Mr. Pierson, offered his home as a refuge to the Regicides, Goffe and Whaley, who sat in judgment upon King Charles I. The sense of justice of those who were aware of their hiding place forbade any inkling of the fact being communicated to the English emissaries, who searched the Colony in vain. The Regicides were harbored in the Tompkins home over a year.

On an early May day the Milford Company, with delegations from Branford and Guilford, proceeded to the sailing craft at anchor in the harbor of New Haven. The movable worldly goods were carefully stowed, and then with a solemn service to Almighty God, the anchors were lifted, the sails responded to the wind, and the last hope of the Puritan for the founding of his idealized community was now before him. It was a memorable day, fraught with far-reaching possibilities.

Rev. Mr. Pierson, it was agreed, should remain with the Branford company till the following year, when a home could be prepared for him in the new town. Captain Treat was deputed the chief, and to him all bowed in submission in whatever he elected to do for their interests while on the trip.

The vessels made their way, accommodating to wind and tide through the waters with more or less speed. After reaching the river which emptied into the bay, the progress was much slower on account of the tortuous course through a meadow stretching away in every direction. The vista made a most pleasing picture to Puritan eye and mind. Undulating acres of wooded land, clearings of wide areas, and lowlands thickly covered with growth of tender grass, swept before the gaze till the view was lost in the blue haze of mountain top. In a northeasterly direction (now known as the Hackensack Meadows) a dense growth of cedar trees serving as a protection against the northeast winter storms, was observed by the now eager company of men, watching every changing scene with all the eagerness permissible by the severe tenets they professed. A bluff on the westerly bank was noted where the river narrowed to closer confines, and the men, under Captain Treat's guidance, directed the vessels toward a depression serving as a landing place. This identical spot is unknown. The Puritans gave little thought to its perpetuating. They were more impressed with the pleasing prospect of again setting foot on solid earth.

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The anchor was thrown out, the boats maintained their equilibrium, and the first scene of this historical pilgrimage was concluded. The company scrambled ashore. With the assistance of strong men, the women and children were first taken to dry land. All was animation, but with decorum, as the goods were removed under the great blue canopy of heaven to the high ground above the river, naught disturbing the scene but a wild animal scurrying here and there, alarmed by this strange intrusion.

Ah, but there was a group of Indians! They were interested observers of the scene. They had long watched the unfamiliar craft laboriously moving along the stream. Intently did they view the high prows, cumbersome sails, and other clumsy appointments of the vessels drawing near. Prosperous people they saw standing upon the decks—uncompromising religionists, determined upon erecting a government according to their idea of correct living.

The unloading of sundry articles of household goods and perchance some live stock and other requisites for the pioneer life was quickly accomplished. Prayer followed, offered by one of the men, for safe deliverance from the misfortunes of the sea and for safe debarkation in the new home—this branch of Zion now being instituted.

An Indian, stolidly watching the scene, then stepped forward and demanded payment for the land thus summarily occupied. The claim was advanced that the red men owned the property, and these Puritans, dressed in small clothes, and wearing queer, steeple-crowned hats, were interlopers. At least, that was thought to be the probable explanation of the speaker's vehement expression. The Puritans, by enlisting the services of an interpreter, John Capteen, a Dutchman who lived at Hackensack, soon learned the cause of Indian ire. They were quickly apprised of the fact that the governor had not attended to the treaty price with the Indians as he had guaranteed. Reluctantly it was decided to return to Milford. Alas! the migration was in vain!

"I had expected the Governor had cleared the plantations from all claims and encumbrances," said Captain Treat to the Indians through the interpreter, "and had given us quiet possession, which he promised to do; but no sooner are we on the place and having our goods landed than I and others of this company are ordered off. You claim right as Hackensack Indians by being first here. We have the

Governor's order to take the land, but you say that it is unpurchased."

The captain was very much exercised. Carteret appeared upon the scene as the vessels were being reloaded. The fate of the expedition now hung in the balance. Captain Treat called upon the Governor to explain matters. Had not the company agreed to pay the half-penny annual quit-rent per acre? Had they not come to the land determined to settle and even end their days here, cultivate the soil, and glorify the name of God? The Puritan blood of the speaker was rising. Every word was listened to with profound interest by his associates, for he was a man of wisdom and of much experience in worldly and spiritual affairs. The interpreter communicated the statement to the Indians. They then knew the truth was told, if suspicion to the contrary had been entertained by them.

The Governor acknowledged failure on his part to fulfill the contract, but implored the people to remain. Consent to this appeal was finally granted by heads of families (women had no voice in public affairs). Perro, a minor chief, acting as spokesman for the Indians, informed Captain Treat that Oraton, the great chief, was four score and ten years of age, and would therefore be compelled to leave the business details to younger men.

The articles placed on the vessels were again brought ashore, and preparations made for spending the night as comfortably as the conditions permitted. The ever-ready flint and steel, a combination which produced the spark for igniting the fire, were in the hands of an expert. The ruddy glow of the burning wood soon illumined the landscape as the flickering shadows gathered in the twilight. And now the pilgrimage from Milford to the wilderness was accomplished. The men were noticed reading their Bibles, though one or two depended upon their neighbors to perform this service for them. Privileges of tuition were not their portion.

Not a little surprise was expressed by Captain Treat and his committeemen, upon visiting the village at Hackensack, to note the well-cultivated gardens planted with corn, peas and other vegetables, all faithfully tended by the women while the men were absent on hunting trips, fishing excursions, or engaged in warring upon other tribes. The principal style of dwelling was the lodge. Bark of the chestnut tree, grass and other material were woven in the construction, making it quite impervious to the inclemencies of the seasons.

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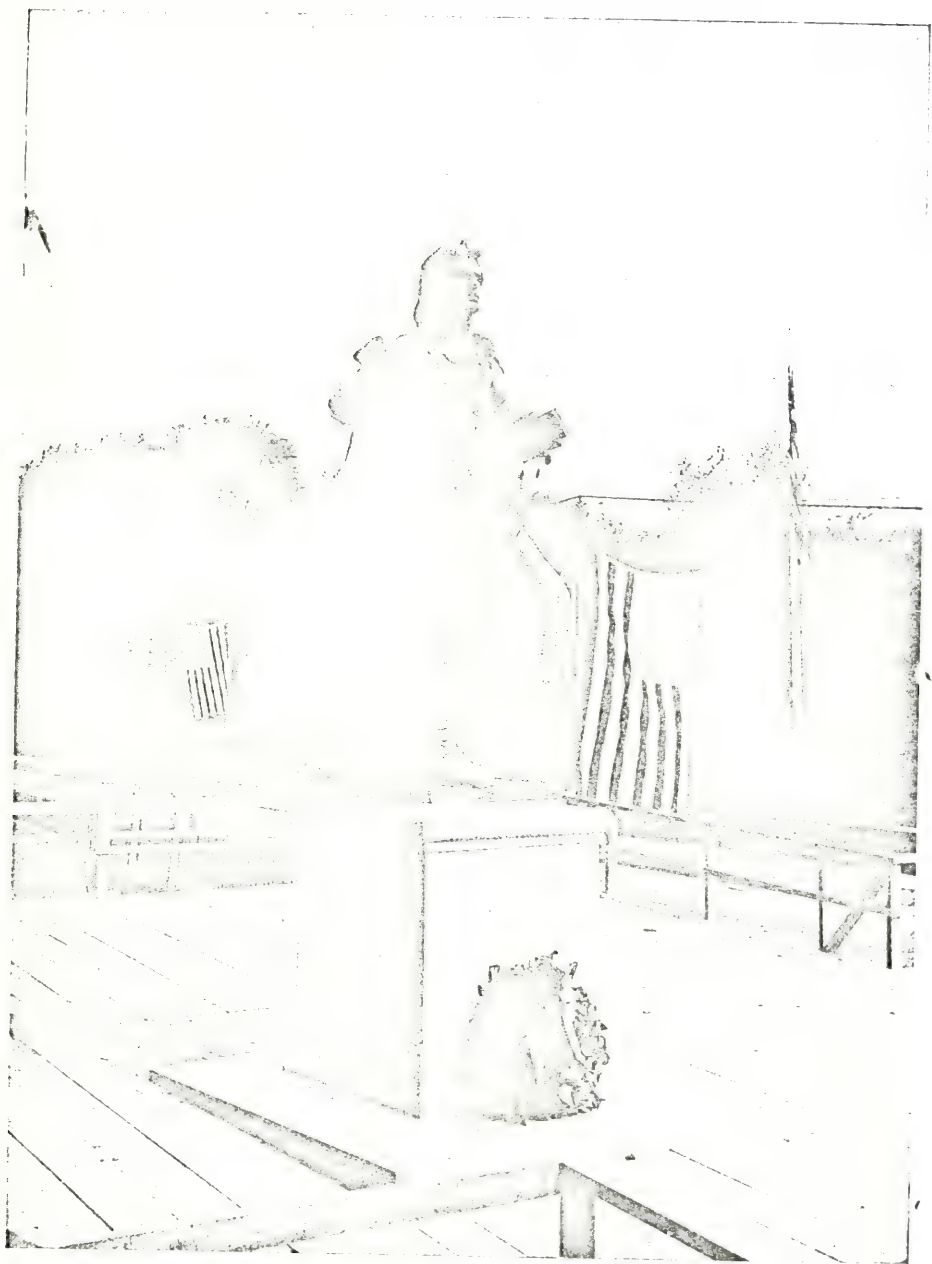
The roof was usually dome-shaped; the oblong building was also used.

The antecedents of the Hackensack band, Unami division, of the Delaware or Leni Lenape tribe, with whom the Puritan Fathers negotiated, are unknown, but there is no doubt of long possession. Implements of stone and other material were found in the soil, and the evidences of long settlement at landing places and the character of the abodes, all tended toward this belief. The Hackensacks were not warlike, were scantily clothed, and always ready for a run over the fields in search of game. The principal garment of the women had more the appearance of a bag than a dress, consisting of a square piece of buckskin wrapped about the waist and allowing a bulge into which articles needed in the daily life were placed while on a march.

Oraton, through Perro, assured the committee that the settlers would not be disturbed in their home making. The bill of sale, it was agreed, to hold in abeyance till after the Branford and Guilford companies arrived in the spring of 1667. Opportunity was thereby given to secure at leisure the purchase price—sundry useful articles of more value to the Indians than silver and gold.

On the voyage from Milford, the leaders were in close conference over the form of town government to be established. The provisions of the Fundamental Agreement, as the Constitution was named, were very exacting, but acceptable to the heads of families. The instrument was finally adopted at the first town meeting, May 21, 1666.

It was then “agreed upon mutually that the aforesaid persons from Milford, Guilford and Branford, together with their associates, being now accepted of, do make one township, provided they send word so to be any time between this and the last of October next ensuing, and according to fundamentals mutually agreed upon, do desire to be of one heart and consent, through God’s blessing with one hand they may endeavor the carrying on of spiritual concerns, as also civil and town affairs, according to God and a Godly Government, there to be settled by them and their associates.” Eleven men were chosen, “empowered for a committee for the speedier and better expedition of things then emergent to be done.” This agreement also provided “for allotments in every division, equally privileged with the rest of the planters then being or to be.” Captain



REVOLUTIONARY DISPATCH RIDER

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Treat affixed his signature as recorder, and Samuel Swain signed his name attesting its authenticity.

Though adopted at the first town meeting on May 21, 1666, it did not become fully effective till five months later, when on October 30 the Branford and Guilford names were signed, thus completing the transaction:

October 30, 1666.

At a meeting touching the Intended design of many of the inhabitants of Branford, the following was subscribed:

1st. That none shall be admitted freemen or free Burgesses [Deut. i-13] within our Town upon Pesayak River in the Province [Exod. xviii-21] of New Jersey but such Planters as are members [Deut. xvii-15] of some or other of the Congregational Churches, nor shall [Jer. xxx-21] any but such be chosen to magistracy or to Carry on any part of said Civil Judicature, or as deputies or assistants, to have power to Vote in Establishing laws, and making or Repealing them or to any Chief Military Trust or Office.

Nor shall any But such Church Members have any Vote in any such elections; Tho' all others admitted to be planters have Right to their proper Inheritances, and do and shall enjoy all other Civil Liberties and Privileges, According to all Laws, Orders, Grants, which are or shall hereafter be made for this Town.

2d. We shall with Care and Diligence provide for the maintenance of the purity of Religion professed in the Congregational Churches. Wherefore unto subscribed the Inhabitants of Branford.

Signed by Jasper Crane, Abraham Pierson, Samuel Swaine, Laurence Ward, Thomas Blatchly, Samuel Plum, Josiah Ward, Samuel Rose, Thomas Pierson, John Ward, John Catling, Richard Harrison, Thomas Huntington, Ebenezer Canfield, John Ward, Sr., Edward Ball, John Harrison, John Crane, Delivered Crane, Aaron

Blatchly, Richard Laurence, John Johnson, Thomas ^{his} L. Lyon.

And upon the reception of their Letters and Subscriptions, the present inhabitants, in November following, declare their consent and readiness to do likewise, and at a meeting the twenty-fourth of next June, following, in 1667, they also subscribed with their own hands unto the two fundamental agreements expressed on the other side, their names as follows:

Robert Treat, Obadiah Bruen, Matthew Canfield, Samuel Kitchell, Jeremiah Peck, Michael Tompkins, Stephen Freeman, Henry Lyon, John Browne, John Rogers, Stephen Davis, Edward Rigs, Robert Kitchell, John ^{his} B. Brooks, Robert ^{his} V. Lymens, Francis ^{his} F. Linle, Daniel Tichenor, John Bauldwin, Sr., John Bauldwin, Jr., Jonathan

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Tompkins, George Day, Thomas Johnson, John Curtis, Ephraim Burwell, Robert R.^{his} Dennison, Nathaniel Wheeler, Zachariah Burwell, William Camp, Joseph Walters, Robert Dalglesh, Hauns Albers, Thomas Morris, Hugh Roberts, Ephraim Pennington, Martin Tichenor, John Brown, Jr., Jonathan Seargeant, Azariah Crane, Samuel Lyon, Joseph Riggs, Stephen Bond.

The texts of Scripture incorporated and emphasized the complete obedience to an overruling Providence:

Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you.—Deut. i-13.

Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens.—Exod. xviii-21.

Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose; one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee; thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.—Deut. xvii-15.

And their nobles shall be of themselves and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them.—Jer. xxx-31.

The document was once more read, discussed, and agreed to, at a meeting in June, 1667, after the Branford and Guilford families arrived. Included in the seventeen “items” attached to the document was one which provided that men seeking residence in the town shall bring certificates from the chief of the place from whence they came. Three other important “items” were:

It is agreed upon that in case any shall come into us or rise up amongst us that shall willingly or wilfully disturb us in our Peace and Settlements, and especially that would subvert us from the true Religion and worship of God, and cannot or will not keep their opinions to themselves or be reclaimed after due Time and means of Conviction and reclaiming hath been used; it is unanimously agreed upon and Consented unto us as a Fundamental Agreement and Order, that all and Persons so ill disposed and affected shall after due Notice given them from the Town, quietly depart the place Seasonably, the Town allowing them valuable Considerations for their Lands or Houses as Indifferent Men shall price them, or else leave them to make the best of them to any Man the Town shall approve of.

It was ordered and agreed upon, in Cases of changes of Lands or any kind of obligation whatsoever by Gift, Sale, Exchange, or otherwise, that any new Inhabitant shall arrive or come into Town,

THE NEW JERSEY ORANGES

to inhabit with us; it is agreed and ordered that he or they from Time to Time shall in all Respects subscribe and enter into the same engagements as his Predecessors or the rest of the Town have done, before he or they can or shall be accounted Legal Inhabitants in our Town, or have . . . Title to their Lands or Possessions therein.

It is solemnly consented unto and agreed by all the Planters & Inhabitants of the Town of Newark from their settling together at first, and again publicly renewed as their Joint Covenant one with another, that they will from Time to Time all submit one to another to be led, ruled and governed by such Magistrates and Rulers in the Town as shall be annually chosen by the Friends from among themselves, with such orders and Law whilst they are settled here by themselves as they had in the Place from whence they came, under such Penalties as the Magistrates upon the Nature of the offence shall determine.

The rate upon which every man was assessed to provide funds for carrying on the town government was annexed, as a "sure list of every man's estate, approved by the sale men." The total valuation of the worldly goods brought to the town, computed by modern day calculation, was about \$175,000. Signatures of the Milford people were duly attached to the document, and the remainder of the meeting was devoted to solemn service of prayer. In this manner was "Milford by the Pesayak river" dedicated to the service of God and man. The name was later changed to Newark, in honor of Rev. Abraham Pierson, who received his ministerial orders at Newark-on-the-Trent, in England. The name was also pronounced and spelled New Worke and New Ark.

Every step was deliberately taken; every precaution exercised that no pitfall mar the daily routine. The Fundamental Agreement, iron-clad provisioned as it was, lacked one essential, which could not be placed in its binding clauses—human participation in its observance—but it did reckon with man's frailty in the long list of "items" appended. "Weighed in the balance and found wanting" is often the verdict following a fair trial of many virtuous enterprises, and so it was with the Bill of Rights of the Essex County Founders. They who strongly possessed the faith could not for a moment believe that their ideals would fail to strengthen the bonds of close corporation, increasing proportionately with the added population. Fellowship with God was the foundation upon which the town was built. This would ensure piety, peace and prosperity. Thus the Puritans argued. Endeavor was made to impress upon the

minds of all within the borders, whether of the elect or of the profane, that the fullest measure of success in any movement is through constant communion with the Ruler of the Universe. Life was a serious medium for doing His will. Humor was seldom if ever expressed, and levity was a sin.

The Puritan dwelt in an atmosphere of comity and probity. Assistance came not in a tardy manner, but with the heart full of service to his fellow creatures. "The poor ye have always with you" was not only a Sabbath Day reminder, but a week-day opportunity to perform a worthy act. Four-square dealing marked the deportment of the townsman. Indeed, he was commanded to observe this trait by the very articles of agreement which he signed, or to which he assented if a later day arrival.

Silently the Indians came into the settlement on July 11, 1667, formed a semicircle in a convenient grove and there found the Puritans, solemn-visaged, awaiting with the purchase price arranged in front of them. After "due preparation and solemnization for it," the sale began. Carefully the parchment was brought forth, the Indians looking on in awe as it was unrolled. Quiet reigned, save for the gentle midsummer breeze stirring the trees.

Nearly fourteen months had passed since the enactment of the memorable scene on the river bank, when the white man promised to reward the native for settling on his land. Fulfilment of the contract, verbally made, was now being executed, with every legal and moral requirement. Articles named in the bill of sale, and agreed upon by both parties, were enumerated, first by Samuel Edsall, who conducted the business in behalf of the Puritans, and then by John Capteen, the Dutch interpreter, representing the Indians.

Slowly and with emphasis upon each article the list was read: "Four barrels of beere!" And given by our Puritan Fathers, too! But this stern, pious folk were tolerant of individual tastes when held within due bounds. Next was heard, "two ankors of liquor or something equivalent!" Then "Fifty double hands of powder, one hundred barrs of lead, ten swords, twenty axes, twenty coates, ten guns, twenty pistols, ten kettles, four blankets, ten paire breeches, fifty knives, twenty howes (garden hoes), 850 fathoms of wampum, three troopers' coates." "These things," the bill concludes, "are received, only a small remainder engaged to them by bill." For this array of articles the Indians promised:

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To deliver a Certain tract of Land, Upland, and Meadows of all sorts, Wether Swamps, Rivers, Brooks, Springs, fishings, Trees of all sorts, Quarries and Mines, or Metals of what sort soever. With full liberty of hunting and fouling upon the same, excepting Liberty of hunting for the above said Proprietors, that were upon the upper commons, and of fishing in the above said Pesayak River; which said tract of Land is bounded and Limited with the bay Eastward, and the great River Pesayak northward, the great Creke or River in the meadow running to the head of the Cove, and from thence bearing a West Line for the South bounds Wh. said Great Creke is Commonly Called and known by the name Weequachick, on the West Line backwards into the Country to the foot of the great Mountaine called Watchung, being as is Judged about seven or eight miles from Pesayak towne.

The said Mountaine, as Wee are Informed, hath one branch of Elizabeth Town River running near the above said foot of the mountaine; the bounds northerly, viz: Pesayak River reached to the Third River above the towne, ye River is called Yauntakah, and from thence upon a northwest line to the aforesaid mountaine; all which before mentioned Lands for the several kinds of them, and all the singular benefits and Priviledges belonging to them, with ye several bounds affixed and expressed herein, as also free liberty and range for Cattle, horses, hoggs, and that though they range beyond any of the bounds in this deed Expressed, to feed and pasture Without Molestation of or damage to the owners of the cattle, etc., above said.

Fantastical flourishes were used by the Indians with which they indicated their mark. Oraton, feeble in health, sent able men in his stead. The signers were, on his behalf, Wapamuk, Harish, Captamin, Sessom, Mamustone, Peter, Wamesane, Wekaprokikan, Cacanakrue and Perawae. For the Puritans, Obadiah Bruen was selected to first place his signature, followed by Michael Tompkins, Samuel Kitchell, John Brown, and Robert Dennison.

Wampum mentioned in the bill of sale was made by the squaws of Indian tribes from the thick or blue part of sea clam shells. Ten of these were placed on a hempen string about one foot in length. From five to ten strings constituted a day's work by one fairly well adapted to the task. The price of each string was reckoned at one shilling.

Governor Carteret was very anxious to install the Provincial Government, stating in the call for delegates to meet at Elizabeth Town, May 25, 1668, "for the making and Constituting such whole-

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some Lawes as shall be most needful and Necessary for the good government of the said Province & the maintayning of a religious Communion & Civil society one with the other as becometh Christians, without which it is Impossible for any body Politicq to prosper or subsist."

Two delegates from each of the settlements at Bergen, Woodbridge, Middletown, Piscataway, Elizabeth Town and Newark, composed the lower house of Burgesses, as they were named, while the Governor's Council of six members composed the upper house. The laws there enacted were very rigid:

Persons resisting established authority were ordered punished at the discretion of the court. Men between sixteen and sixty years of age were required to provide themselves with arms, on penalty of one shilling for the first week's neglect and two shillings for every week thereafter.

Punishment for burglary and highway robbery was cruel. For the first offence, burning in the hand was prescribed, and for the second infraction, burning in the forehead. In both cases restitution was made. For the third offence the penalty was death. Then, it was adjudged, the culprit was incorrigible and a detriment to society. Undutiful children, smiting or cursing father or mother, except provoked thereto for self-preservation, were punished with death. Treble restitution for stealing was exacted, and for second offence such increase of punishment as the court might determine, even death, if the party so offending appeared to be utterly depraved. The thief, if unable to make restitution, was punished at the whipping post or sold for satisfaction. Night walking or reveling were misdemeanors of serious character. Woe betide the innocently minded individual walking, even in modest manner, after the prescribed hour for retirement. Curfew was set at 9 o'clock, and the assembly gave the magistrate discretion in administering punishment to disturbers of the quiet of the town.

No son, daughter, maid or servant could marry without the consent of his or her parents, masters or overseers. Three times the notice of forthcoming wedding must be published in public meeting or kirk near the abode, or set up in writing at some public house near where the parties lived, fourteen days before the ceremony. The marriage was then solemnized "by some approved minister, justice or chief officer, who, on penalty of twenty pounds and to be



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LINCOLN STATUE

put out of office, is to marry none who have not followed these directions."

Thirty pounds was the first levy made for provincial expenses, Newark's share being five pounds. Winter wheat was accepted for taxes at the rate of five shillings per bushel, summer wheat at four shillings and six pence, peas at three shillings and six pence, rye at four shillings, and beef at two pence and half penny per pound. These articles passed as currency in town and province.

The Indians did not intrude upon the life of the Puritans, but it was their delight to bring to the early homes sundry articles of food-product of hunting expedition or exploration along the ocean beach for oysters and clams. These proved a very acceptable change in the daily diet, and the donors were always rewarded with an equivalent from the white woman's larder, besides a word or two of appreciation. The Indians lived upon terms of amicability with the settlers, going and coming at will through the thoroughfares and fields. Thus there are no scenes of bloodshed, no Indian massacres marking the progress of our community in its primitive days.

Indian customs were interesting to the settlers. The marriage ceremony, particularly, was witnessed by grown people as opportunity afforded. The bride and bridegroom and their families assembled and were seated in a semicircle. First, the bridegroom delivered a wild animal's rib to the bride. Then she gave him an ear of corn, signifying that she was to provide the bread and he the meat. Without further formality the couple began the round of existence, having the great outdoors as a dwelling place.

Assembled at a given point in a forest or clearing, where danger of attack from warring tribes was lessened, the natives formed circles one within the other when worshipping the Great Spirit, and on certain occasions made sacrifices of first fruits. The fattest buck was burnt upon a fire kindled for the purpose, and all feasted upon provisions brought by the women, taking care that no bones of animals eaten should break or be broken in any manner, for that, they reasoned, would be to invite a visitation of evil spirits upon them.

The Surveyor-General of Elizabeth Town arranged "Middle highways in the length and breadth of the town (Broad and Market streets of our day) to be eight Rods wide and the Rest four." Mulberry and Washington streets, included in the first map of road laying, were named respectively East Back Lane and West Back Lane.

Three ranges were provided "with due preparation and solemnization," one each for the people of Milford, Branford, and Guilford. Drawing for home lots was adopted February 6, 1667, as the most expeditious and harmonious method of settlement. These lots consisted of six acres, except that of Captain Treat, who was allowed not only two additional acres, but also the privilege of first choice. This honor was in return for his skill and expense in negotiating the purchase of the land. He selected the lot at the southeast corner of the highways running the length and breadth of the towns, and extending easterly to East Back lane (now Mulberry street), and in a southerly direction beyond the point now occupied by the First Presbyterian Church. The two extra acres were on the westerly side of the roadway, near the watering place.

The Newark settlers provided a meeting house, comfortably domiciled their pastor and themselves, established an ordinary for the entertainment of strangers visiting the town, built a cornmill, provided a vessel for traffic by water, established courts, installed a schoolmaster, laid highways, and had taken steps for the formation of a county which in 1675 was named the county of Essex.

All this was accomplished during the first ten years. Expanding population created a need for allotment in the third division, which, practically included all remaining upland. An order was accordingly issued for the drawing to be held at the town meeting, May 28, 1675. The highest estate, it was decreed, should not exceed forty-one acres, and the lowest not less than twenty acres, and it was further provided "that this shall all lie common for pasture, timber and stone, till it be enclosed by fence." Where this particular western line ended was never fully determined, "being, as judged, about seven or eight miles from Pesayak towne," as the deed declared.

Three years after this exodus began, it was decided to acquire more territory, therefore in March, 1678, Daniel Dod and Edward Ball, surveyors, were appointed to run the northern line of the town to the top of the Mountain. On the thirteenth of the month the deed was executed, the transfer being made by the Winacksop and She-nacktos Indians, owners of the great Mountain Watchung, so named. The consideration was "thirteen kans of rum, three coates and two guns." The entire cost of both tracts, extending from the Pesayak river to the Mountain, the Third river as its northern boundary and Bound brook as the southerly boundary, was about \$700, computed by present-day standards.

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And now the migration mountainward was developing, a spreading out into the fertile fields. West of the ridge was the beginning of Orange. Many a covetous eye had been cast by groups of settlers tramping over these outlying possessions in days ago. Now they were available. Immigrants from abroad, Scotland principally, were coming to America in large numbers late in the seventeenth century, and not a few of them found their way here, subscribed to the town regulations and became acceptable planters. By general consent the settlements in the third division and the second purchase were designated the Mountain Society, though it remained under the government first instituted.

Magnificent specimens of oak, ash, hemlock, maple, hickory, and other trees, were indigenous to the soil. On the mountain-top fine elms grew, the bark of which (slippery elm) was used in making a syrup for the cure of incipient colds. Herbs savory, profuse, and needed for stuffing the wild and domestic fowls for the table, and many other varieties having medicinal properties, gathered in the summer, were stored for future use. Fruit grew luxuriantly. Wild strawberries, raspberries and currants, bursting into crimson hue with the rising summer solstice, mulberries, persimmons, plums and grapes predominated. The grapevine gained enormous proportions, undisturbed, even by the Indians, who were satisfied to pluck the delicately flavored product and allowed the growth to continue. The vines, more numerous on the mountainside where the water-courses flowed, were frequently entwined among the giant forest trees. Verily, here was a paradise where the family could flourish on little or nothing gained from outside sources. The soil was for the most part a sandy loam, suitable for the growth of grain, garden produce and fruit trees.

The pioneers, as they pushed toward the mountain peak, met a heavy growth of timber, but on the plain it was sparsely set, void of undergrowth of any appreciable extent, and, says Smith, New Jersey's first historian, in 1750, "two or three men in one year will clear fifty acres, in some places sixty, and in some more. They sow corn the first year, and afterward maintain themselves. The trees are not many to the acre, except in the hill country, and there is much meadow." Swamps were the bane of the people's lives. Cattle wandered away into the cool recesses when summer heat was strongest, and often were entangled in the bogs. Springs of potable

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water burst out of the ground in every direction, sparkling and pellucid, and some of them were sources of well-defined streams flowing merrily toward the sea.

The wild animals contesting the forward movement of civilization were the bear, wolf, panther and wild cat. Deer, elk, fox, coon, oposum and others of the lesser animals also roamed about the upland. The beaver assiduously felled trees when it willed, damming up watercourses and flooding the adjacent territory. This was noticed on the Wigwam brook, a sizable stream having several tributaries. Rattlesnakes, always apprising one of their presence by the strange jingling noise as they swished their tails, and the copperhead, were reptiles most feared. They were not exterminated till many years later.

When winter snows were upon the ground, the wild animals, nearly crazed for the want of food, stealthily approached the clearings under cover of night. Wolves were the chief annoyers. They even attacked horses and oxen. It was no uncommon occurrence for a housewife upon opening her door to see snarling wolves displaying their fangs as they prowled about the yard. Bears also appeared, but were more cautious. Restless nights were caused by the wolves as they howled singly, and in chorus when appearing in the settlement during the hours of darkness. An occasional crash at the enclosures where sheep, pigs and other animals were thought to be safeguarded, revealed the presence of the intruders. The ever-ready flintlock was brought forth in the hands of a trusty Puritan, and there was one less wolf to annoy the people after its well directed charge reached a mark. Provoking indeed was the problem of conquering the beast. Bears were seen about the uplands in the summer seeking berries and other food. They were trapped and also taken by hunters. Other fur-bearing animals were captured and their pelts used in making warm garments for the women and children. Wild pigeons, ducks, and turkeys, flocking about the watering places, furnished the homes with a choice array of edibles.

Bounties were offered continuously, leading the colonists to enter the campaign of exterminating the wolf. The routine of life was varied with exciting chases after the wary animal over the fields and through the woods, where in this day are comfortable homes and other evidences of a highly civilized community. The planters more skilled in the use of firearms or at trapping, added a considerable

sum to their accounts. But they were suspected of shrewd practices, and at the town meeting of February 24, 1681, "it is agreed that if any Person or Persons kill any Wolves or Bears, which they require pay for from the Town, they shall only be such Wolves and Bears that are killed within our Town Bounds, that they shall be allowed pay for." Other less ferocious animals, chiefly the deer, damaged fences surrounding the gardens, ate the tender shoots of new corn in the spring, and trampled with impunity over the vegetables in the summer months.

The unconquered beast so exasperated the people that on September 6, 1698, "it is agreed upon by vote for Incouragement to those that will kill wolves that they shall have Twenty Shillings p. Head allowed them in a Town Rate for this Year." Four years later (November 2, 1702), "It is voted that those Persons that have killed Wolves since the last Town Rate or shall kill any wolves, shall be allowed twelve Shillings p. Head." Decimation of the species was in process. An economical clause of the September meeting action provided that "those Creatures which People intend to kill for their Use, shall be Rate Free." The bear, at first exempt, came under the ban when the town offered five shillings for the capture of cubs. An additional bounty was offered by the Provincial Assembly. The wolf continued a pest for a century, notwithstanding all the efforts made to drive it out of the country. In Samuel Harrison's account book, a source of local historical narrative of the early years of the Meeting House Society, an entry made January 23, 1744-45, states that "Samuel Freeman brought to me two wolves heads and I marked it (them) according to law, and gave him a ticket for the same."

Well-beaten paths, many, many years in the making, were begun first by the wild animals instinctively finding the surest ground. Then came the Indians, traveling in single file, who widened it and gave a definiteness to its dimensions. In this way a number of highways originated, and were known as Indian trails. One of them followed Market, Bank and Warren streets, Newark; Main street, East Orange, branching into Washington street, through Eagle Rock avenue and over the mountain to the Delaware river. This was the favorite path of the Delaware tribe encamped in the vicinity of Milford, Pennsylvania. The red men traveled down to tidewater in search of shell and other salt-water fish and they were never unre-

warded. Great quantities were always secured. A stopping place was on the high ground, now the site of the Washington School, West Orange. In the rear still flows the Wigwam brook. This formed an excellent camping place. Near the Swinefield bridge crossing of the Passaic river, it has been said that a bed of flint was utilized by the Indians in making arrow and spear-heads and other needed implements. They were peaceable, and while the inviting region extending many miles was an ideal hunting ground, not once was there a clash between the Indian and his white brother.

During the first twelve years there were two severe trials. On July 30, 1673, the town passed into Dutch control in the war between England and France-Holland, and continued until February 9, 1674, when the Treaty of Peace was signed, and the former government restored.

The health of the Rev. Abraham Pierson failed during the summer of 1678. As the midsummer flowers were fading into their long sleep, the Shepherd of the Flock, on the ninth day of August, 1678, relapsed into unconsciousness, and he, too, entered upon a long sleep, to wake in the glorious likeness of the Master he loved and served so faithfully. The days of this Pilgrim and the Puritan were over, and earth would know him no more.

Reverently, on the day set for the funeral services, the congregation assembled at the Meeting House and expressed their sorrow. It was a season of sore trial and of discipline. Those physically able, followed the bearers down the lane leading to a knoll west of the edifice where all that was mortal of Rev. Abraham Pierson, the first pastor, was placed in the grave. The little God's Acre, back there somewhere in the vicinity of Branford Place, Newark, and long, long since lost to the view of man, had already received several of the Puritan company. Deacon Lawrence Ward, Sargeant Riggs, senior, Robert Kitchell, Hugh Roberts, Matthew Canfield, Delivered Crane, Stephen Crane, John Harrison and Josiah Ward were among those who preceded the pastor in death. Solemnly the people wended their way to the parsonage where the last office was performed. Refreshments were served, and then the last will and testament was publicly read. The instrument bore the date of August 10, 1671, well remembered as the time when a serious illness seized the minister, and fear was then expressed that his end was near. Upon his son, Rev. Abraham Pierson (2nd) now fell the honor of serving as the town leader.

New London County, Connecticut

*Homes Visited by Washington and Lafayette—Stage Coaches
and Taverns*

By MRS. EDNA MINER ROGERS, OF NORWICH, CONNECTICUT



URING the period of the Revolutionary War, many notable men and officers visited Norwich. There were several reasons for this; one was the situation, at the head of navigation, as boats could come through Long Island Sound to New London and then to Norwich; or passengers leaving the boats at New London would come by land to Norwich and then on to Providence and Boston.

Another, perhaps more potent reason, was that not many miles from Norwich lived the Governor of Connecticut, Jonathan Trumbull. The Trumbulls were among the largest shipping merchants of those days, and their business interests reached far and wide. When the news of the Lexington alarm arrived, Jonathan Trumbull's store in Lebanon was the place where all the soldiers in his own vicinity who marched for the relief of Boston, were supplied. In the little office of the store was transacted much of the business of the war, and here and in the governor's house next door were entertained many of the most conspicuous characters of the Revolution. Among these may be mentioned Generals Washington, LaFayette, Knox, Sullivan, Putnam, Doctor Adams, John Jay, Jefferson, the Comte de Rochambeau, Admiral Tiernay, the Duke de Lauzun, the Marquis de Chastellux, and many others. It is said that the gay young French officers were very fond of company and cordially accepted hospitalities extended to them, and the blooming belles of Windham, Lebanon and Norwich had the good fortune to participate in many brilliant entertainments, while the silver freely lavished by these young men found its way to many a farmer's pocket.

NOTE.—The writer of this narrative, Mrs. Edna Miner Rogers, is Past Regent of Faith Trumbull Chapter, D. A. R.; Genealogist of Connecticut Society, Colonial Dames of America; Registrar of Society of Founders of Norwich, Conn.; State Chairman National Old Trails and Roads, National Society, D. A. R.; Member of Connecticut Historical Society; New London County Historical Society; and Newport (R. I.) Historical Society.

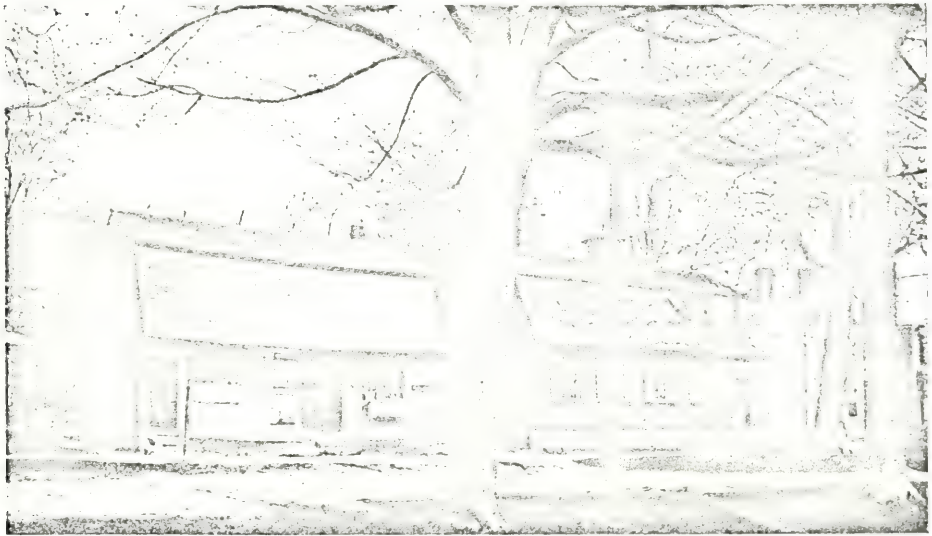
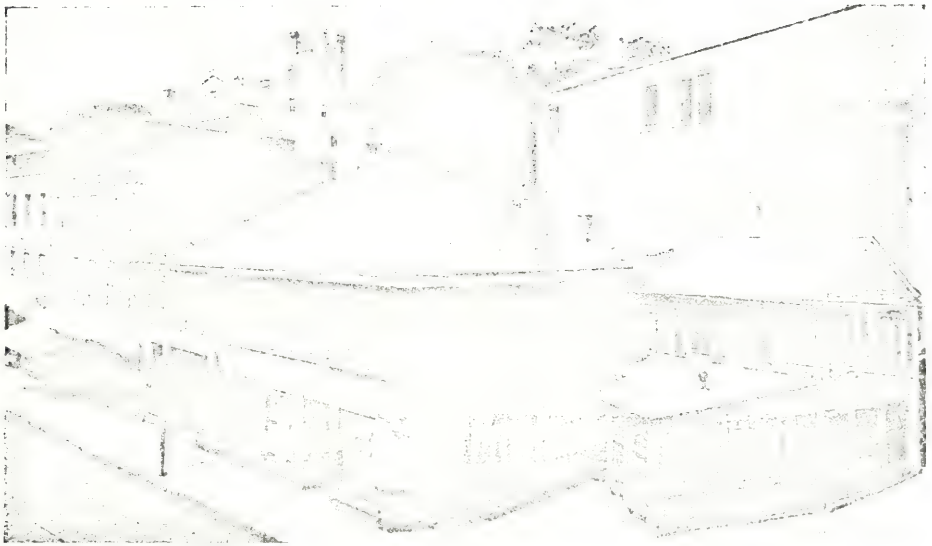
Governor Trumbull's wife was Faith Robinson, and from her Faith Trumbull Chapter, D. A. R., received its name; their daughter, Faith Trumbull, married General Jedediah Huntington (in 1766), who in May, 1777, was appointed a brigadier-general "at General Washington's request." With the Governor's son-in-law living in Norwich, where also lived Colonel Leffingwell, another ardent patriot and one of the Committee of Correspondence, it is readily seen how close the connection between Lebanon and Norwich must become. David Trumbull gave up his house in Lebanon to the Duke de Lauzun, and his wife came to Norwich.

One of Washington's visits to Governor Trumbull was in April, 1776, when they met by appointment at General Jedediah Huntington's home in Norwich. Washington had written on March 21st that he should take his army from Boston to New York by the seacoast route, coming through Norwich, and on April 13 they dined with Huntington and conferred together till evening, when Washington proceeded to New London.

Rochambeau had written to Trumbull in regard to the cantonment of the troop commanded by the Duke de Lauzun; this was a celebrated legion of horse, six hundred strong. About two hundred and forty of these Hussars with about an equal number of horses were stationed on Lebanon Commons, still called "the Barracks," where they remained for seven months, and traces of their brick ovens still exist. Of the trips made by some of the officers to Norwich, we have already heard. On March 5th, 1781, Washington stopped at Lebanon, and, with great satisfaction alike to himself, the French, and the crowds of spectators, bestowed upon Lauzun's imposing legion the compliment of a stately review.

The War Office, as it was later called, was restored by the Sons of the American Revolution, and dedicated on June 15, 1891. The house has been occupied for many years by Miss Mary E. Dutton, and now by two of her cousins. It is said that people were so crazy to have some souvenir from this house that the oaken boards of the attic floor were sold in pieces.

Washington's death, on December 14, 1790, was commemorated in Norwich with solemn religious services. On the Sabbath following, Dr. Strong delivered a memorial sermon. At the Landing, the Episcopal and Congregational churches were both shrouded in black, and the two congregations united in the commemorative services.



Above, Brick Tavern, Norwich, where Washington rested the night of June 30, 1775.
Below, Joseph Carpenter's silversmith shop, now Museum of Faith
Trumbull Chapter, D. A. R.

They assembled at the Episcopal church, where prayers were read and a solemn dirge performed. A procession was then formed of both sexes, which moved with plaintive music and tolling bells to the Congregational church, where a discourse was delivered by Mr. King from the text, "How are the mighty fallen."

Subsequently, on the day recommended by Congress for the national observance, the societies again united; the Rev. Mr. Tyler delivered an oration, and several original odes, hymns and lamentations were sung or chanted. The sermons of Messrs. Strong and King and the eulogy of Mr. Tyler were each separately published. (Caulkins' "Hist. Norwich, Conn.," page 525).

Colonel (afterwards General) Samuel Mott, at whose house General Washington is said to have called, lived at Preston City; his house occupied the spot where now stands the Public Library of that town, the Library and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on the lawn having been given by some native sons of the place. This General Samuel Mott was a Revolutionary patriot who was a local magistrate, and a civil engineer of such note as to have made the preliminary plans and drawings of the military works at West Point.

One of the most interesting houses up-town is the one which was known far and wide for many years as the Leffingwell Inn. This is situated at the corner of Washington and East Town streets, and is known by all passers-by, as nearly every one remarks on the way the house is set to the road. As early as 1701, the house began to be used as an inn, and in early days slaves are said to have been auctioned off at the north door. Miss Perkins says: "The house is large and rambling, and many parts of it bear the marks of great age. Some of the rooms are on a much lower level than others, and these may indicate where additions were made to the original Backus homestead, for this is one of the houses which claims to date from the settlement of the town. The windows still retain their wooden shutters, the door its bar-fastening, and the rooms are heavily wainscoted, and the large parlor panelled throughout." Deep window seats open like the lid of a chest. "The entrance door was formerly on the north of the house and faced the old highway coming down over the hill. Either the course of this highway, or the desire to have the house stand due north and south, may perhaps account for its singular position at the present day."

At the time of the Revolutionary War, Colonel Christopher Lef-

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Leffingwell owned and occupied the house, with his wife, Elizabeth Coit, daughter of Captain Joseph Coit, of New London and Norwich. He was an ardent patriot, and was appointed on the committee of correspondence. The first announcement of the battles of Lexington and Concord was addressed to him, and at the two hundredth anniversary of Norwich, in 1859, the original document was exhibited, from which not only the citizens of Norwich but Governor Trumbull himself first heard those alarming tidings. Colonel Jedediah Huntington writes to him from the camp at Roxbury, a little later, and Colonel Trumbull from the camp at Cambridge, asking for supplies.

General Parsons, on his way to Bunker Hill, June 10th, 1775, writes that one of his companies will lodge at Norwich; Captain Leffingwell must provide for them.

Innumerable calls were made upon him, but amid them all he exercised a generous hospitality. In August, 1776, Colonel Wadsworth introduces to him an English loyalist who had been advised to leave New York, but who is worthy of respectful and considerate treatment in the rural districts. Titus Hosmer introduces to him Mr. Timothy Dwight, who had been a tutor for several years in the college of which he was afterwards the distinguished president, and who thinks of settling in Norwich to practice law. General Washington in one of his visits partakes of the hospitality of the Leffingwell home, and Governor Trumbull sends his respectful apology that he is unable to meet at Mr. Leffingwell's the commander-in-chief.

It is said that of all the companies which marched at various times to New London, none equalled in order and equipments the light infantry under Captain Leffingwell. In his historical discourse in 1859, Dr. Gilman says, "As I mention his name, there are many present who will recall his stately and venerable form, his head white with years, the dignified bearing which marked the gentleman of the old school, and the energetic manner which was equally characteristic of the successful man of business."

After the close of the war, in 1784, Colonel Leffingwell was appointed by General Washington the first naval officer under the new government. The wife who shared those troubled times with him, died November 9, 1796; Colonel Leffingwell died November 7, 1810.

Later on, the house came into the possession of a granddaughter,



Above, once Headquarters of Washington, New London; now occupied by New London County Historical Society. Below, Chateau de Chevaniac, birthplace of Lafayette; has been purchased by a group of Americans for a Franco-American Memorial Museum, a French Mount Vernon

Mrs. Benjamin Huntington. The house itself, with its well-kept grounds, always attracts the attention of strangers in the town, as well as those who have always been familiar with its appearance. An amusing little tradition may be whispered here—it is said that one Monday, General Washington came to the house unexpectedly. The family washing was under way, in the basement. Needless to add that the tubs were very hurriedly put away in the cellar.

Not many miles from Norwich is another house which was visited by Generals Washington and LaFayette. In Plainfield, on the main road traversed by travellers, was situated the "LaFayette Inn."

By 1710, public travel through Plainfield had increased so greatly that the governments of both Connecticut and Rhode Island were obliged to make provision for better accommodations. In 1711 the General Assembly of Rhode Island ordered "That a highway should be laid out from Providence through Providence, Warwick, to Plainfield," and representations were made to the Connecticut Assembly that travelers from the westward to Boston and Providence met with great difficulty and were exposed to great danger for want of a suitable road through Plainfield, so the selectmen of Plainfield were ordered to lay out a suitable road. This road went through Plainfield village, and is now known as Plainfield street. The needful land was given by the owners "in consideration that it is convenient and necessary for travellers, being the nearest and best way to and from Providence, Rhode Island, (meaning the Island of Rhode Island), Narragansett, and many other places and convenient for town and country." A tavern or inn was of course the logical sequence of the opening of this road. When Lafayette Inn was built is not known to the writer, but, it is said to have early stood there. General Gates and his division marched through Plainfield, Canterbury and Windham on their withdrawal from Newport. The following item concerning the old inn is taken from the "Norwich Record" of May 10, 1911:

A large crowd attended the auction sale of furniture held by Mrs. H. B. Ball at Lafayette Inn on Saturday. Mrs. Ball recently sold the inn property at public auction to H. A. Gallup. The Lafayette Inn, which was formerly the old Plainfield Hotel, has been a public tavern and hostelry for over a century, it being one of the relays for the old stage coach line between Providence and Hartford. There is a whole lot of history connected with this old inn, General Washington and Marquis De LaFayette stopping in it over night on their way

NEW LONDON COUNTY, CONNECTICUT

to Philadelphia. Lafayette wrote a letter while sitting in a combination desk chair which has since bore the name of the "Lafayette chair." This chair, which is very well preserved for one that has done so much service, was bid off at the auction on Saturday for \$26, but it is the public opinion that it was bid in, for it is reported that Mrs. Ball had a standing offer of \$100 for it by some Colonial association in Philadelphia long before the auction sale.

The house was divided and part of it was moved nearer the street, thus making two buildings.

In these days of good roads, trolley cars, automobiles, fast expresses, fast steamships and flying machines, with their accompaniment of immense hotels where every luxury is obtainable and the watchword is not "anything in its season," but "everything in any season," so quickly do people accept the innovations and become accustomed to conveniences that few pause to reflect on the fact that these things have come mainly within a period of seventy years, and the greatest of them within even twenty-five years. While appreciating the advantages of many of our modern ways, and perhaps to more recognize their value, let us look back briefly to a time when these things were not, and see how they came to be, and to a later time when, fully

"Long ago at the end of the route,
The stage pulled up and the folks stepped out."

As the Indians, the aboriginals of this country, wandered here and there from one hunting ground to another, or from tribe to tribe as messengers or visitors, they made faint trails on the most used ways. Their moccasined feet passed lightly over the grassy plains and through the forests, for their instinct of direction was unerring. When the white men came to this country, they found these faint trails leading in various directions, as also trails made by wild animals in their journeys to and from their favorite hunting or watering places. The settlers utilized these trails, and soon deepened and enlarged them with their heavy shoes. At first, everybody walked, even the governors; domestic cattle, called the best of pathmakers, were soon introduced, and aided in the work with their heavy, leisurely tread; it was not long before the trails became "trodden paths," worn narrow lines, scarcely two feet wide, in which it was necessary to walk Indian file.

In 1635, horses were imported, small and poor, it is true, but soon



HEAD OF THE GREEN, NORWICH, IN 1836

Building on left was the Old Court House, afterward the Academy;
 that on upper end of Block, a Tavern. The Church edifice
 is the "Meeting House of the Rock," the first church
 in the settlement

replaced by better ones; then little walking was done, and the narrow trodden path became a scarcely wider bridle path for horses, while blazed trees served as guide posts. As new settlements were made and communication established with the older ones, paths slowly grew to rough uncertain roads and cartways. Many of these roads followed, and still follow, the old trails, and some of our best and most used highways are simply an improvement and elaboration of some old Indian trail or early "trodden path" of the white settler.

The earliest path mentioned in the records is the old Plymouth or Coast path, connecting Plymouth and Boston, and passing through Braintree, now the regular thoroughfare. This path was established by order of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1635. The Old Connecticut path started at Cambridge and continued through Marlborough, Grafton, Oxford, on to Springfield and Albany; the New Connecticut path, also starting at Cambridge, went through Grafton, Worcester and Brookfield to Albany. The Providence path led from Boston to Providence and the Narragansett Plantations. Perhaps the most familiar to us of this part of New England is the famous "Pequot path," later called the Post road, leading from Providence through Wickford, Charlestown and Westerly, Rhode Island, to New London, or "Pequit," Connecticut. This old path is frequently mentioned in land deeds and in the court records of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut; it is practically identical with the favorite automobile road of the present day, and is also closely followed by the Shore Line railroad.

The longest and best known path in Massachusetts was the Bay path, passing through the Province of Massachusetts Bay, as it was formerly called; this path, starting at Cambridge, left the old Connecticut path at Wayland, then went through Marlborough, Worcester, Oxford, Charlton to Brookfield; here the Hadley path branched off to Ware, Belchertown and Hadley, while the Bay path joined the old Connecticut path and so on to Springfield and Albany. This Bay path is made familiar to us by J. G. Holland's story of that name.

As the number of settlements increased, travel increased in proportion; then came the demand made by travellers overtaken by storm or darkness, for a place of shelter, food and lodging. Few homes of that period were prepared to entertain strangers at any and all hours, and as the dignitaries themselves had to travel fre-

quently on business for the colonies, they immediately took action in the matter.

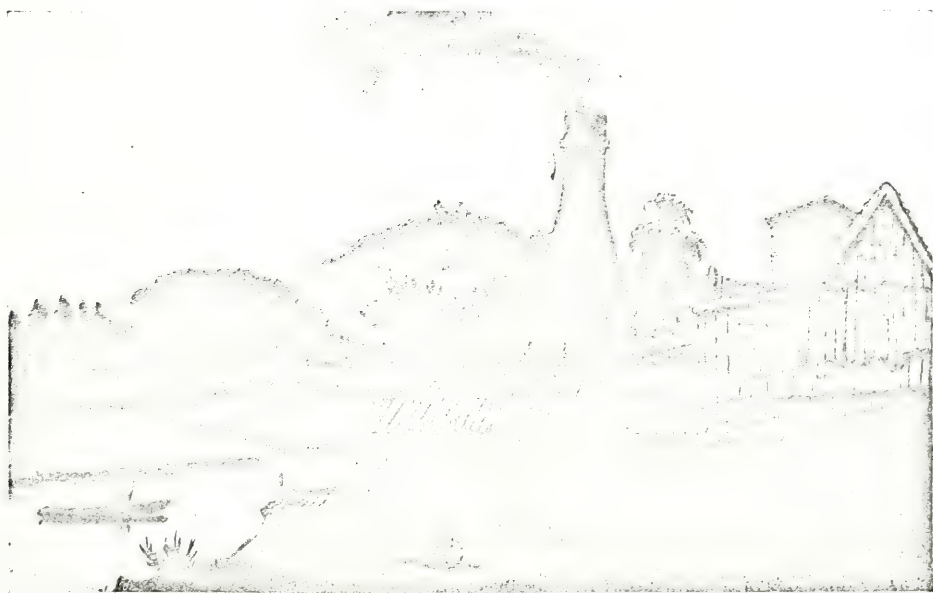
In 1644, as shown by the Colonial Records of Connecticut, the General Court ordered "one sufficient inhabitant" in each town to keep an "ordinary," since "strangers were straitened for lack of entertainment." In 1656, the General Court of Massachusetts made the towns liable to a fine for not sustaining an ordinary.

These houses of public entertainment were at first called "ordinaries," probably ordinary, in the sense of common, and established by law. The ordinary was under the supervision of the General Court and later of the town officers, and was hedged about with so many regulations and restrictions that the landlord of the present day would give up in despair. The ordinary was usually a large house, with great fireplaces, and many rooms, and ample stable accommodations;

"Across the road the barns display
Their lines of stalls, their mows of hay."

The better class had a parlor which was used as a sitting room for ladies, or was engaged by some dignitary for himself or family. The most interesting as well as the most used room of the house was the taproom; its enormous fireplace, bare sanded floor, and ample settles and chairs, with a constant flow of visitors, combined to make a cheerful spot. A tall rudely made writing desk served as a place for the landlord to cast up his accounts, and for the accommodation of the few guests who desired to write. The bar itself was usually made with a sort of portcullis gate, which could be closed if desired. While the bars remained until very recently in some of these old places, the old portcullis gate is rarely seen. At Howe's Tavern in Sudbury, Massachusetts, more familiar to us as the scene of Longfellow's "Tales of a Wayside Inn," this gate remained, as also at the Wadsworth Inn, built in 1828; this house stands on the Albany turnpike, about three miles from Hartford, Connecticut, and was one of the twenty-one inns within twenty miles, on that road.

By the end of the Seventeenth Century the designation "ordinary" had passed into disuse, and "tavern" was the name by which the ordinary was known. It was singular that the word "inn," used in England, was not common in America; "inn" was a word of Anglo-Saxon origin, meaning house; while tavern was in France



ABOVE, OLD HUNTINGTON HOUSE, NORWICH. BELOW, OLD POTTERY
OF SIDNEY RISLEY, ERECTED ABOUT 1835

taverne, in Spain and Italy, *taverna*, while the Latin form, *taberna*, was also used, all derived from the Latin root, *tab*, hence *tabula*, a table. One wonders what influenced the colonists at that early day, to use this form rather than the customary English one. In later days, the word tavern had fallen into disrepute, but formerly it denoted a highly respectable place, kept by a most worthy landlord.

As to the entertainment of these places, opinion differs. In 1637, Lord Ley declined Governor Winthrop's invitation to make his home at the Governor's house, on the plea that he was so comfortably situated at the ordinary. Hempstead, in his journey to Maryland in 1749, writes of being "handsomely entertained;" while Madam Sarah Knight, on her trip to New York, found the accommodations little to her liking, as she has fully informed us.

Each tavern was known by name, and some of these names are most interesting—the Blue Anchor, the Great House, the King's Arms, the King's Head, the Thistle and Crown, Rose and Thistle, Duke of Cumberland, St. George and the Dragon, the Red Lion, the Green Dragon, Dog's Head in the Manger, the Fighting Cocks, the Black Horse, the Three Cranes, Bunch of Grapes, Plow and Harrow (one of the places where Hempstead stopped), are some of the names adopted. The corruption of some names gave amusing signs—The Bag o' Nails, from the "Bacchanalians," this was a favorite name; the Cat and Wheel, from St. Catharine's Wheel; the Goat and Compass, from "God Encompasseth Us;" Pig and Carrot, from the French *pique et carreau*; an English one was the Bull and Mouth, from the Boulogne Mouth or Harbour.

Like the inns of Shakespeare's day, some of the large taverns had names for each room. The King's Arms in Boston, Massachusetts, one of the earliest, stood at the head of Dock street, and in 1651 was sold for £600; an inventory of the goods and furnishings of the house showed that some of the chambers were the Star Chamber, the Court Room, the Nursery, etc. The Blue Anchor, another Boston ordinary, had among its rooms the Rose and Sun Low, the Cross Keys, the Anchor and Castle, the Green Dragon—which are more interesting than our Pink Room, Blue Room, Red Room, and the like.

Before it became customary to name the streets and number the houses, at a time when comparatively few people were able to read

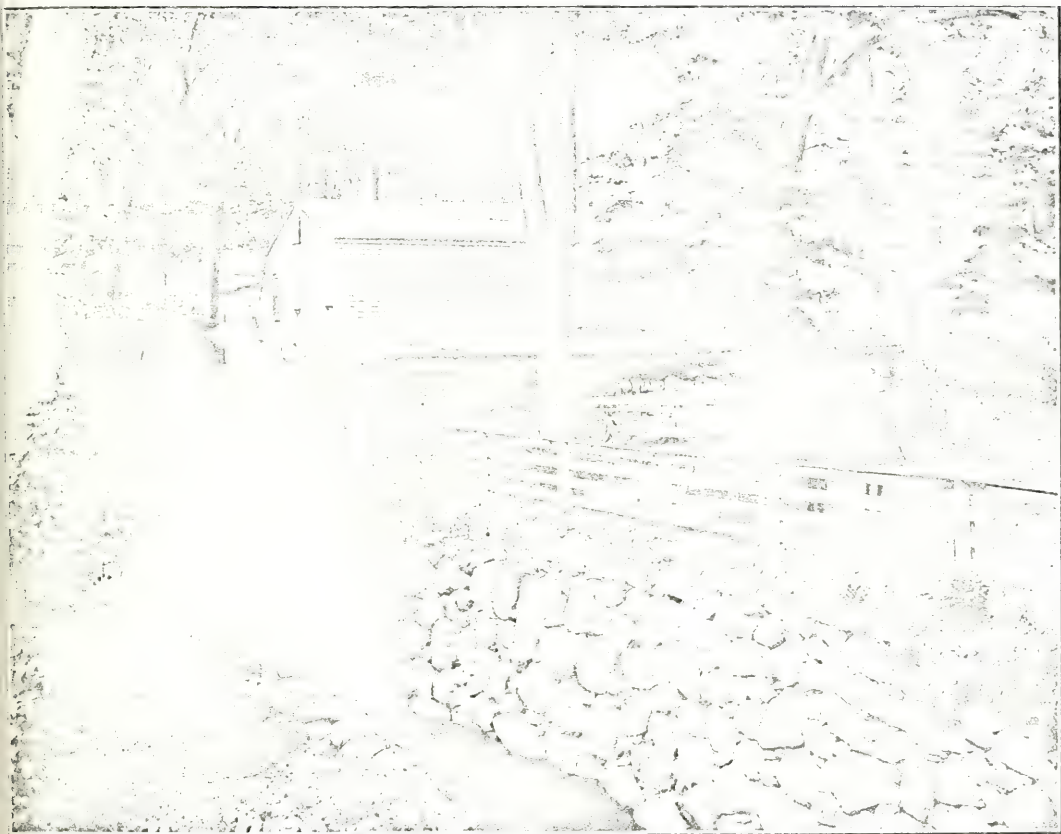
or write, sign boards were a necessity, for the sign language is universal. Not only inn-keepers, but men of all trades and callings, made use of them. The signs were widely varied; some were painted or carved boards; and images—some carved from stone; modeled in terra-cotta or plaster; painted on tiles; wrought of various metals, and even stuffed animals were utilized. Some of these old signs are still in existence; occasionally such a sign is noticed at some inn, whose landlord has recognized its value and drawing power in these days of antique hunting. Such for example, is Ye Golden Spur, on the East Lyme trolley line; and the signboard bearing the Lion and the Unicorn, at the Windham Inn, on Windham Green. More, however, are carefully preserved among the treasures of the historical societies.

In Salem, Massachusetts, in 1645, the law granted the landlord a license provided "there be sett upp some inoffensive sign obvious for direction to strangers." The Rhode Island Court in 1655 ordered that all persons appointed to keep an ordinary should "cause to be sett out a convenient Signe at ye most perspicuous place of ye said house, thereby to give notice to strangers yt it is a house of public entertainment, and this is to be done with all convenient speed." The signs were attached to wooden or iron arms extended from the tavern, or from a post or a near by tree, or from a frame supported by two poles. The Buck's Horn Tavern in New York City had a pair of buck's horns over the door. Of the "Wayside Inn," Longfellow wrote that

"Half effaced by rain and shine,
The Red Horse prances on the sign."

In the library at Windham Green is preserved an image of Bacchus, carved from a piece of pine by British prisoners confined at Windham during the Revolutionary War, and bequeathed by them to Widow Cary, who kept a tavern on the Green. Miss Larned says, "The comical Bacchus, with his dimpled cheeks and luscious fruits, was straightway hoisted above the tavern for a sign and figure-head, to the intense admiration and delight of all beholders."

In the custody of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford is a signboard showing on one side the British coat-of-arms, and on the other side a full-rigged ship under full sail, flying the Union Jack; it has the letters "U A H," and the date 1766. This sign belonged to Uriah and Ann Hayden, who kept a tavern near the



OLD TOWN MILL, NEW LONDON

Connecticut river, in Essex, then the Pettapaug parish of Saybrook.

Bissell's Tavern, at Bissell's Ferry in East Windsor, Connecticut, had an elaborate sign depicting thirteen interlacing rings, and in the center of each was a tree or plant peculiar to the State designated, the whole surrounding a portrait of Washington. It may be mentioned here, that during and after the War of the Revolution scarcely a town but had its Washington tavern, with varied Washington signboards; all names or signs relating to the King or to the British Kingdom were discarded, and as the Golden Lion changed into The Yellow Cat, so the other names underwent a similar change.

Not only are these old signs interesting in themselves, but they have a still greater value for the reason that many noted painters, even great artists, have frequently been compelled to make use of the signboard as a temporary means of livelihood. Hogarth, Richard Wilson, Gerome, Cox, Harlow, Millais, Holbein, Corregio and Watteau are among those thus accredited; while Paul Potter's famous "Young Bull" is said to have been painted for a butcher's sign. Benjamin West is said to have painted many of the tavern signs in Philadelphia, and the "Bill of O. Cromwell's Head" was designed by Paul Revere.

As has been said, the ordinaries were established by order of the General Courts at first, and later by the town authorities, who considered them as town offices, the appointment one of honor, and were therefore very particular to whom a license was granted. A landlord was one of the best known men in town, influential, and possessed of considerable estate. The first house of entertainment in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was kept by a deacon of the church, who was afterward made steward of Harvard College. The first license to sell strong drink in that town was granted to Nicholas Danforth, a selectman and representative to the General Court.

In New London, Connecticut, on June 2, 1654, "Goodman Harries is chosen by the Towne ordinary keeper." The Goodman died the following November, and on the sixth of that month "John Elderkin was chosen Ordinary Keeper." "Widow Harris was granted by voat also to keep an ordinary if she will." On Foxen's Hill, at the other end of the town, Humphrey Clay and his wife Catharine kept an ordinary till 1664. In this same town, "At a General Town meet-

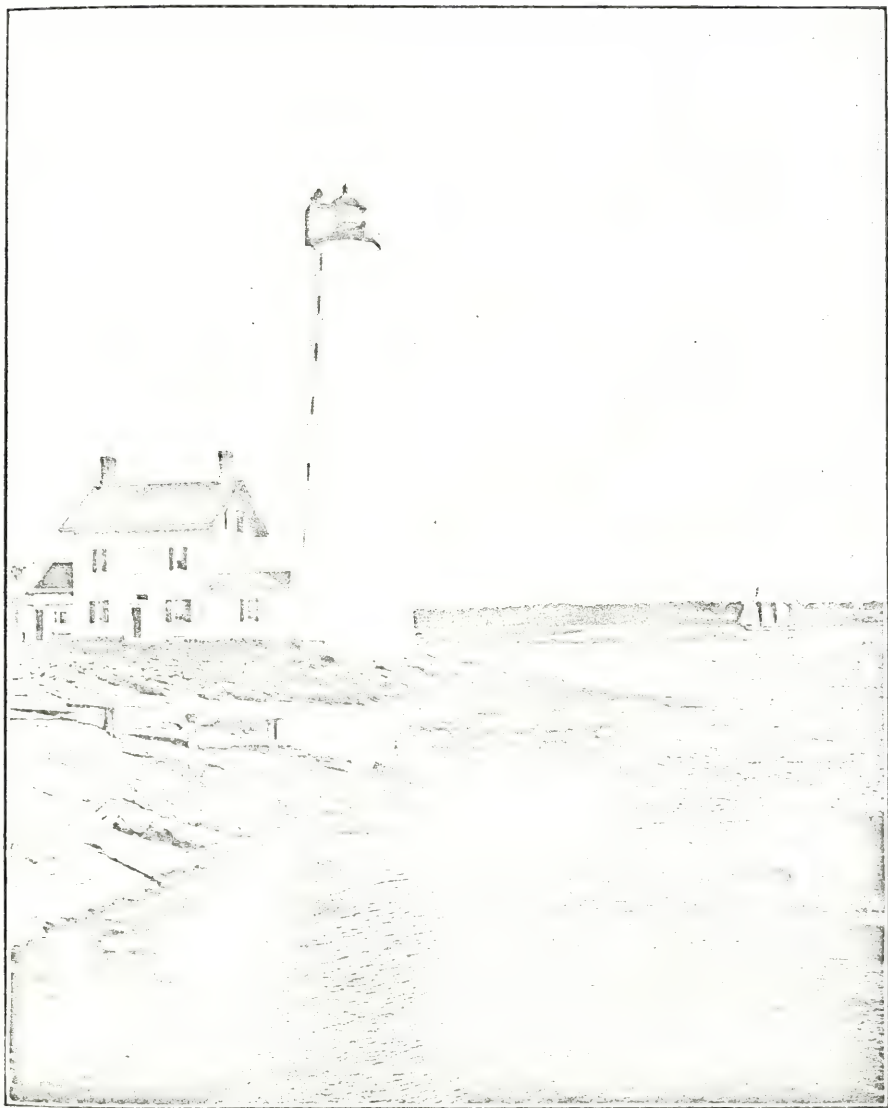
ing September 1, 1656, George Tongue is chosen to keep an ordinary in the town of Pequot for the space of five years, who is to allow all inhabitants that live abroad the same privilege that strangers have, and all other inhabitants the like privilege except lodging. He is also to keep good order and sufficient accommodation according to Court Order being not to lay it down under six months warning, unto which I hereunto set my hand. (Signed) George Tonge."

George Tongue bought a house and lot on the Bank, between the present Pearl and Tilley streets, and opened the house of entertainment which he kept during his lifetime and which being continued by his family, was the most noted inn of the town, for sixty years. His daughter married Governor Winthrop, and after the Governor's death his widow went to live in this house on the Bank, which she inherited from her parents.

In Norwich, on December 11, 1675, "Agreed and voted by ye town yt Sergent Thomas Waterman is desired to keepe the ordynary. And for his encouragement he is granted four ackers of paster land where he can convenyently find it ny about the valley going from his house into the woods." He was succeeded in 1690 by Deacon Simon Huntington. Under date of December 18, 1694, "The towne makes choise of calib abell to keep ordinari or a house of entertaynment for this yeare or till another be choosen." In 1700, Thomas Leffingwell received a license, and this is supposed to have been the commencement of the famous Leffingwell Tavern, situated at the east corner of the town plot, and continued for more than a hundred years. In 1706, Simon Huntington, Junr., and in 1709, Joseph Reynolds, were licensed. On December 1, 1713, "Sergent William Hide is chosen Taverner." Here is shown the change of name from "ordinary" to "tavern."

Women sometimes kept the ordinary and tavern, as quoted in the case of Widow Harris and Widow Cary; some of the taverns kept by them became quite noted. In 1714, Boston, with about ten thousand inhabitants, had thirty-four ordinaries, of which twelve were kept by women; four common victuallers, of whom one was a woman; forty-one retailers of liquors, seventeen of these being women; thus proving that women were accorded some rights and privileges in the early days.

The taverns were not used entirely as a convenience to travellers; the Puritans had no special reverence for a church except as a lit-



OLD LIGHT HOUSE, NEW LONDON

eral meeting house; often until a church edifice could be erected, services were held in barns, as in Deacon Park's barn in New London; oftener, their meetings were held in the large room of a tavern. The Great House at Charlestown, Massachusetts, the official residence of Governor Winthrop, became a meeting house in 1633, and later a tavern. The "Three Cranes" kept by Robert Leary and his descendants for many years had the same experience, the building being destroyed in June, 1775, in the burning of the town.

In New London North Parish, Samuel Allen, from Massachusetts, built a large house on the Governor's road leading from New London through Colchester to Hartford; he was licensed to keep a tavern, and was one of the seven men who organized the church in the North Parish; before the meeting house was built, services were held in the great east chamber of his tavern, and here the Rev. James Hillhouse preached his first sermons and received his call to become their pastor. This house stood on or near the present site of the Montville town farm.

The relations of the town and meeting house did not end here, but continued on the most friendly terms. The church officials looked sharply after the conduct of these houses of sojourn. Usually ordinary and meeting house kept close company, the license generally specifying that condition; in the intervals between sermons, the congregation frequently repaired to the tavern, which must, however, be cleared during the hours of worship. Besides serving as a place to hold religious services, if needful, the tavern was an important factor in the social and political life of the early settlers. Here they met to exchange news and views, to discuss town affairs, talk over the horrors of Indian warfare, and, incidentally, to sample the so-lacing liquors on tap.

At Brookfield, then Quambug, Massachusetts, the only ordinary was kept by Captain Ayers, who was the captain of the trainband of the place, and this tavern was the garrison house of the settlement. Its interesting story has been often told.

The taverns also served as recruiting stations for the French and Indian wars; the trainbands met and drilled there; here were held "Book Auctions," "Consorts" of music; entertainments, dramatic and otherwise; the agents for various lines of business made the tavern their headquarters; the first insurance agencies were there, so that the tavern may well be called the original business

exchange; lodges of Freemasons organized and held their meetings, as did the medical societies. At the tavern was frequently to be found the only newspaper in the town.

The story of the War of Independence cannot be dissociated from that of the old taverns, and those which still remain are counted among our most interesting relics and pilgrimages are made to them. The meetings of those who were among the first to rebel against injustice, were held at the taverns, and Paul Revere has left a record of the conferences of the band of which he was a member, their meetings being held at the Green Dragon in 1774 and 1775. On that night when Revere stood "impatient to ride," watching for the signal, at the Wright Tavern in Concord was lodged Major Pitcairn, the British commander, and in the parlor of this tavern, on the morning before the battle of Concord, he stirred his glass of brandy with his bloody finger, saying that thus he would stir the rebel's blood before night. The Buckman Tavern at Lexington was the headquarters of Captain John Parker, on that night of April 18, 1775, and the rallying place of the minute-men; the tavern contains many a bullet hole made by the shots of the British soldiers. Lord Percy made his headquarters at the Monroe Tavern at Lexington, on that April 19th. After the battle of Lexington, the American men reassembled at the Wayside Inn at Sudbury and the Black Horse Tavern at Winchester. Cooper's Tavern and Russell Tavern both at Arlington, were the scenes of great activity during this war.

In the village of Bennington, Vermont, the most noted tavern was that built before 1770, by Captain Stephen Fay. The north and south road passed through the village and became the thoroughfare for much travel between Connecticut and western Massachusetts to the new lands to the northward. Many people went from eastern Connecticut to Bennington. Gradually the thoroughfare became a route from Boston to Albany. The tavern was a great resort for travellers and emigrants, and was widely known as the headquarters of the settlers in the contest over the lands claimed by New York. On the top of a high signpost before the front door was placed the stuffed skin of a catamount, "grinning defiance at the State of New York;" hence Landlord Fay's house was more generally known as "Catamount Tavern." One of the rooms was used for meetings on town affairs, and in the marble mantel over one of the fireplaces was cut in deep letters the words "Council

Room." Before the fireplace in this council chamber sat Ethan Allen the night before he sent forth his summons for the Green Mountain Boys to muster for the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, on May 10, 1775; here sat the Vermont Council of Safety during that trying campaign of 1777; and here Stark and Warner planned their famous attack which won the victory at Bennington, August 16, 1777. Five sons of Captain Fay participated in this battle, one of them being killed. In 1778, David Redding, a traitor and spy, was tried here and condemned. Afterwards the tavern was used as a private dwelling house, and was burned to the ground March 30, 1871. The site of the old place is now marked by a finely modelled bronze catamount mounted on an immense block of black marble.

The tavern at Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, was kept by Major John Farrer, who became an officer of the Revolution; there was great rejoicing at this house when Washington visited it in his triumphal journey through the country. This same place was later known as the Pease Tavern, and was kept by Levi Pease, who has been called the "Father of the Turnpike."

At Wickford, Rhode Island, the Phillips farmhouse, still standing, was used as a tavern; the two immense chimneys are over twenty feet square and take up so much room that there is no central staircase, but little winding stairs ascend at three corners of the house; on each chimney piece are hooks to hang firearms, and at one side are set curious little drawers for pipes and tobacco. Landlord Phillips was a major in the Revolution.

Time is lacking for mention of the many taverns, large and small, noted or obscure, or even our own State or section. Our valued historians in the "History of Norwich, Connecticut," and in the "Old Houses of the Antient Town of Norwich," have named some of them—the Leffingwell Tavern, Peck's and Jesse Brown's taverns, all still standing; the latter became the home of Mr. Moses Pierce, and is now the Rock Nook Home; the Lathrop tavern, destroyed by fire soon after 1821; on the site was erected by the Union Hotel Company the brick building now known as the Johnson Home, belonging to the King's Daughters of the city.

At various times, at Bean Hill, Major Durkee Webster and Jacob Witter kept a public house; Morgan at East Great Plain; at the Landing, Ebenezer Fitch and Jeremiah Harris. Between Norwich and New London were at least three—Raymond's, Bradford's

and Haughton's. Haughton's tavern was near Haughton's Cove in Montville, and during the war of 1812, when the warships were anchored in the river, the officers of the ships often visited this tavern for social recreation. Much of the business of the town was transacted there, and the trainband met for its annual drill. A large room was fitted up for dances, parties and entertainments.

With the advent of stage and mail coaches, travel, and consequently the number of taverns, increased. The milestones themselves could tell a story of those days. Benjamin Franklin, the post-master-general, undertook the work of setting up milestones on the post roads. The Pequot path, later the King's highway and then the Post road, was one of those so marked, and it is said that one of these milestones still stands at New London and another at Stratford. One of the advertisements of tavern and stage coach lines stated that "This Elegant road is fully Set with well cut milestones."

Judge Peleg Arnold, one of the most ardent patriots of the Revolution, kept a tavern in the northern part of Rhode Island, where is now Union Village, (a suburb of Woonsocket), on the Great Road from Smithfield to Mendon, Massachusetts. In 1666 this road was a footpath, which by 1773 had grown into a cartpath. Judge Arnold was one of a committee appointed to re-lay the old road, and near the northern boundary of his farm he set up the milestone with the inscription, "14 miles to Providence; Peleg Arnold's stone, 1774."

The first turnpike of the United States is claimed by Miss Caulkins to have been established in 1792, between Norwich and New London. Turnpikes meant better roads and more travel, and tavern and stage coach reached the height of their popularity together. At Windham Green, for example, as late as 1840, four-horse stage coaches passed through daily, going north, south, east and west, with smaller stage lines for mail service from Windham to Woodstock, Middletown and other points. Similar conditions prevailed everywhere.

Then came the railroad and steam coach, and the doom of the stage coach was at hand. In 1840 there were four hundred and twenty-six miles of railroad lines in New England in short, disconnected lines; they increased rapidly, and line after line of stage coaches was discontinued and tavern after tavern fell into disuse, until before many years had gone by, stage coach and tavern were found only in isolated regions.

NEW LONDON COUNTY, CONNECTICUT

Nothing has been said of the discomforts and inconveniences of those early days of travel, nor need we pity the travelers too much. As the old lady remarked, when asked *how* she managed to get along without certain conveniences, "You don't miss what you never had." Looking back over the changes the years have brought, the question inevitably arises whether the same number of years in the future will bring equally great changes in means of travel and manner of living.



Some Characters of National Fame

By JOHN P. WALL, OF NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY



THE New Brunswick, New Jersey, of the present day is preëminently one of the enterprising and progressive cities of the State. The markets of the world are open to her commercial interests and manufacturing industries, located as she is in direct communication and connection with the two populous seaports of the eastern portion of the Nation. The traveler from the East, reclining in his comfortable seat in a Pullman of today, as he approaches the east bank of the Raritan river, sees spread before him the smoke rising towards the heavens from the large brick chimneys of her thriving manufactories, and in the distance the campus and classic college buildings. In his overhead passage, the highways and byways of the city attract his attention, glimpses are caught of twirling trolley cars, and a busy class of people engaged in the various vocations of life. If he is a student of history, he cannot fail to call to his mind the description of Kalm, the great Swedish traveler, and the autocratic New Englander, the second President of the United States, who in voluminous notes more than a century and a half ago recorded their impressions of New Brunswick, then in her infancy. Since then, the city has had native born sons and residents who in their chosen profession have gained not only a local but a national reputation.

A naval career appealed to Charles Stuart Boggs. His mother was a sister of Captain James Lawrence, who is notable in American history as the commander of the "Chesapeake," and who, when mortally wounded in the engagement with the British frigate "Shannon," gave the famous command, "Don't give up the ship."

The future rear-admiral of the United States was born at New Brunswick, New Jersey, January 28, 1811. When quite young he became a cadet at Captain Patridge's celebrated military academy at Middletown, Connecticut. But the navy was his chosen profession, and on November 26, 1826, he received the appointment of midshipman from the State of New Jersey and was ordered to the Med-

iterranean squadron, which was engaged in protecting American commerce from Greek pirates. Here three years were passed, the next two years spent with the West India squadron. Having been appointed passed-midshipman, he was for four years, one year excepted, on land service on board a receiving ship at New York. He joined the ship-of-the-line "North Carolina" in 1836 as master, and on September 6, 1837, was appointed lieutenant. He returned to this country in 1839, when the "North Carolina" was made a school ship in New York harbor. As lieutenant in charge of the apprentices, Lieutenant Boggs displayed his fine capacity for command, combining mildness and courtesy of manner with absolute strictness in the enforcement of discipline. The decade between 1840 and 1850 was spent by Lieutenant Boggs on the sloop "Saratoga," on the coast of Africa, bombarding and destroying slave ports. Later, on the steamer "Princeton," in the Mexican War, he took part in the bombardment of San Juan de Ulloa and Tampico. With a boat crew he successfully destroyed the U. S. brig "Truxton," which had surrendered to the Mexicans; this was a mission requiring tact and courage on the part of the commander to prevent the capture of the attacking party. The "Princeton" was ordered to the Mediterranean, and was the first propeller to navigate those waters. Lieutenant Boggs, as executive officer of the frigate "St. Lawrence," carried the American contributions to the World's Fair held in London, England, in 1851. His next assignment was as inspector of clothing and provisions at the New York Navy Yard. Here he remained until 1854, and the following year was placed in command of the mail steamer "Illinois," in the service of the California Steamship Company.

At the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion, Lieutenant Boggs requested to be placed in active service, and was given command of the "Varuna," which was ordered to join Farragut's fleet below New Orleans. The "Varuna" was the first ship to force its way past the rebel batteries, but was demolished by the ironclad "Stone-wall Jackson." Following the notable command of his famous uncle, Boggs ran the "Varuna" ashore, firing her guns until they were under water. For his gallantry in this unparalleled naval combat, his native city and State each presented him with a sword.

Having been commissioned a captain July 16, 1862, he was placed in command of the "Sacramento," of the blockading squadron off

SOME CHARACTERS OF NATIONAL FAME

Cape Fear river. Here his health failed him and he was obliged to resign. During the last years of the war, he was on shore duty at New York, engaged in superintending the building and fitting out of a fleet of steam picket-boats planned by himself. One of these was the torpedo-boat with which Lieutenant Cushing sank the Confederate ram "Albemarle." After the close of the war, Captain Boggs cruised in the West Indies, attached to the North Atlantic squadron. He was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral July 1, 1870, and given duty as lighthouse inspector of the Third District. He was placed on the retired list in 1873, and died April 22, 1888.

A resident of New Brunswick for nearly thirty years was Theodore Sanford Doolittle. His boyhood days were spent in his native town of Ovid, Seneca county, New York, where he was born November 30, 1834. He became a student at Rutgers College in 1855, was one of the editors of the "Rutgers Quarterly," and in his senior year gained the Suydam prize for the best English composition. As a collegian, he familiarized himself with the works of essayists, historians, and poets, was a proficient student in the classics, and became especially versed in the German language. His mastery of this language enabled him to preach to German speaking congregations. Dr. Doolittle entered the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick in 1861, and after his graduation became pastor of a church at Flatlands, Long Island. His pastorate was of short duration, as in 1864 he accepted the chair of rhetoric, logic and metaphysics in Rutgers College. He remained a member of the faculty of the college during his life, was elected vice-president in 1891, and from August, 1890, to February, 1891, acted as president. He was a contributor to magazines, reviewer of important works, a keen critic, and a brilliant writer. An extensive traveler, he twice visited Europe, and also toured the Bahamas, Canada, and the Pacific coast. He died at New Brunswick, April 18, 1893.

For nearly a score of years president of Rutgers College, the Rev. William Henry Campbell was a familiar figure to the citizens of New Brunswick. He was born in Baltimore, Maryland, September 14, 1808, a son of a merchant of that city. Young Campbell became a student at Dickinson College at the age of sixteen; after his graduation a year was spent at the Theological Seminary at Princeton. Mr. Campbell's first settlement was as assistant to the Rev. Dr. Andrew Yates, at Chittenango, New York. This pastor-

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ate included a large number of dependent churches, and in the performance of his duties Mr. Campbell contracted a throat malady that interrupted his career as a preacher, and from 1834 to 1839 he became principal of Erasmus Hall, Brooklyn, New York. During the next decade he established a church in East New York, and was pastor of the Third Reformed Church at Albany, New York.

Returning to educational pursuits in 1848, Dr. Campbell accepted the principalship of the Albany Academy, and three years later was called to the professorship of Oriental literature in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick. Here he also occupied the chair of *belles-lettres* under the trustees of Rutgers College for twelve years. On the death of Dr. Frelinghuysen, in 1862, after much persuasion on the part of the trustees, Dr. Campbell consented to become his successor as president of the college, and entered with exceptional enthusiasm and ability into the work both of teaching and securing a large endowment fund for the institution. During his administration over \$300,000 was raised, six new professorships were established, the number of students was doubled, a large geological hall was erected, also a beautiful chapel and library under one roof; an astronomical observatory was erected and thoroughly equipped; an addition made to the grammar school, doubling its accommodations; and useful buildings were erected on the experimental farm. At the age of seventy-three years, Dr. Campbell resigned the presidency of the college, and a new professorship was created, "The Chair of Evidences of Christianity," his services being thus retained by the college until his death, September 7, 1890. Of his twenty years' service as president, the inscription on Sir Christopher Wren's tomb in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, may stand for the whole story: *Sirequiris monumentum circumspecte.*

In the Navy of the United States, another son of New Brunswick was, in the opinion of Attorney-General Jeremiah S. Black, the victim of more governmental blunders than any one man in the history of the American Navy. Philip Falkerson Voorhees was born in New Brunswick in 1792. He entered the navy as midshipman, November 15, 1809, and was engaged in the second war with Great Britain, taking part in the capture of the "Macedonian" by the "United States," and of the "Epervier" by the "Peacock," for which he received a medal from Congress. He was promoted to commander April 24, 1828, and to captain February 28, 1838, and

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three years later was assigned to the frigate "Congress" on her first cruise. He assisted in rescuing the stranded British ship "Gorgon" in the La Plata river, and in 1844 captured an armed Argentine squadron and allied cruiser which had fired into his convoy, a Boston bark, on which some fishermen chased by the cruiser had taken refuge. Captain Voorhees released the squadron, but detained the cruiser, which had aggravated the assault by firing from under a false flag. The cruiser was subsequently released, but Captain Voorhees' action was justified, and he was highly praised by the United States diplomatic and consular representatives and foreign naval officers in South America. Yet this capture was made the occasion for a series of charges on which he was tried by court martial. The sentence of the court was not approved by President Polk, who restored Captain Voorhees to his full rank and gave him the command of the East India squadron, and the proceedings of the court-martial were by the attorney-general declared null and void. Returning to this country in 1851 on his flag-ship "Plymouth," he was placed four years later on the reserved list; this he deemed an injustice, and he appealed to Congress for reinstatement, but a court of inquiry reaffirmed the decision. A second appeal was made to President Buchanan, who referred the whole matter to Attorney-General Jeremiah S. Black, whose opinion is stated at the commencement of this paragraph. Having been restored to the leave pay-list, at the opening of the Civil War Captain Voorhees urged his assignment to active duty, but his death took place at Annapolis, Maryland, February 26, 1862.

The Terhune family was of Huguenot origin, as early as 1651 the emigrant ancestor, Albert Terhune, settling at Gravesend, Long Island. A descendant of this emigrant, John Stafford Terhune, served with the New Jersey troops during the Revolution. His son John, born at Blawenburg, Somerset county, New Jersey, May 4, 1793, became a resident of New Brunswick in 1812. He engaged in the trade of printer and bookbinder, and also became a publisher and stationer, which business he conducted until his death, January 9, 1886. He was printer of the celebrated Webster's "Elementary Spelling Book," and was the father of Rev. Edward Payson Terhune, the noted divine, whose wife was well known to the literary world under the *nom-de plume* of Marion Harland. A son by this marriage was Albert Payson Terhune, whose short stories and

novelettes, besides miscellaneous articles, have appeared in popular magazines of the present day.

In the world of arts and sciences, New Brunswick's claim to recognition is that it was the birthplace of Johnson Marchant Mundy, the sculptor. His paternal ancestor, Nicholas Mundy, emigrated from England in 1680 and settled in Middlesex county. The sculptor was the son of Frederick and Mary (Marchant) Mundy, and was born at New Brunswick, May 13, 1832. When Johnson was only three years of age, his parents removed to Geneva, New York, and with the western part of that State the family were ever afterwards identified. The boy was educated, making rapid progress with his studies, particularly in the languages, and early displayed remarkable taste for art, especially in drawing, carving, and the study of music. His school studies, however, terminated when he was fourteen years of age on account of a disease of the eyes; though his sight was not impaired in the daytime, he was subject to what was called "night-blindness." A maternal uncle was a distinguished surgeon in North Carolina, and young Mundy was sent in 1847 to him for treatment, but, receiving no benefit, he returned North and was placed under charge of different medical men in Philadelphia and New York.

A sea voyage was undertaken in the summer of 1849 to the Azores, and he lived several months at Fayal. He became skilled in cameo and ivory carving. In 1851-52 he determined to study sculpture, and accordingly went to New York City, procuring employment in a marble yard. From this primary practice he went to the studio of J. K. Brown in Brooklyn, New York, and began modeling in clay, at the same time giving attention to drawing. Here he remained eight years, acquiring the art of the bronze-worker and the principles and processes of sculpture. He also familiarized himself with anatomy, and modeled a number of busts. During this period his financial resources became exhausted, and he was obliged to depend on his art to enable him to carry on his studies, and accordingly made portraits and drawings from the antique, which he sold. After spending two years at Watertown, New York, he settled in 1863 in Rochester, New York, where he opened a studio. He was first known as a crayon artist, working also in pastels, and made a large number of medallion portraits and portrait busts of prominent people in Rochester and its neighborhood; he executed also several ideal heads.

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The disease of his eyes had been steadily developing; in 1879-80 he was obliged to abandon his art work; his condition improving, he opened the Rochester Art School, where he taught drawing and modeling. His power of vision was extremely limited and feeble, and most of his work had to be accomplished by the sense of touch. It was in this condition that he performed his two masterpieces,—the Soldiers' Monument in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery at Tarrytown-on-Hudson, which represents a vidette in the volunteer service, and is adjudged as the most graceful and spirited statue of a soldier in the country; the other heroic statue was that of Washington Irving, the work upon which proved a severe strain upon the artist's nerves and marked diminution of sight. Materials for the statue were gathered and compared and studied by the aid of magnifying glasses. After eighteen months of arduous labor, in which the actual work was performed by the sense of touch, the statue was completed and received encomiums from all visitors. The statue was intended for a bronze casting to be placed on a granite pedestal in an open air location. The gifted author is represented sitting in an appropriate armchair, in his habitual easy manner while in conversation, the body well settled in an ample cushion, the limbs crossed in a natural and easy manner, the arms rest upon those of the chair, the head is slightly inclined to one side, and the countenance is illumined by a most genial and tender feeling. As a whole, the figure is marked by a natural and easy posturing, and presents that happy combination of qualities so characteristic of Mr. Irving—modesty, dignity, and benevolence. Among Mr. Mundy's other works mention might be made of the statuettes of "The Reaper," "The Pilgrim," and "Columbia." His life came to a peaceful close at Geneva, New York, August 16, 1897.

A familiar figure in the streets of New Brunswick in the middle of the past century, was Gustavius Fischer, a member of the faculty of Rutgers College. He was born at Berlin, Germany, in June, 1815, receiving his education at the Universities of Berlin and Göttingen, and making a specialty of the study of law, philology and music. Becoming involved in the revolution that swept over Germany in 1848, he became a member of Parliament, and on the overthrow of that rump body he fled to Switzerland and from thence came to America in 1850. He became professor of modern languages at Rutgers College in 1858, and also taught French and German in

a private seminary for young ladies in New Brunswick. He held his chair in the college until 1869, when he resigned, spending the remainder of his life in musical study. He ended an eventful life at New Brunswick, September 16, 1893.

One of the noted benefactors and philanthropists of New Brunswick was Simon Van Wickle. A native of Middlesex county, he was born at Jamesburg in March, 1820. After attaining his majority, he removed to New Brunswick, where he became a marine captain, obtaining wide notoriety as the commander of the steamer "Antelope," which operated in opposition to Commodore Vanderbilt's boats. He afterwards engaged in the coal business and became interested in the firm of Van Wickle & Stout, of New York City. A prominent member of the Baptist church, he held official positions in the New Jersey Central Baptist Association and the State Baptist Convention. He was also a member of the board of managers of the Peddie Institute, at Hightstown, New Jersey. To this institution he gave \$15,000; he also erected a church in New Brunswick for the colored Baptists, and gave various sums to struggling congregations of that denomination throughout the State, his gifts aggregating more than \$100,000. His death occurred at New Brunswick, May 15, 1888.

Two sons of James and Mary Faugeres (Ellis) Bishop, both natives of New Brunswick, gained a wide reputation in their chosen profession. The eldest, James Remsen Bishop, born September 17, 1860, prepared for college in the schools of Germany and at the famous St. Paul's School at Concord, New Hampshire, where having received the highest honors, he entered in 1880 the sophomore class of Yale University. Throughout his collegiate course he was distinguished for proficiency in the classics, also for skill in athletic sports. Leaving Yale in 1881 he was, in consequence of the favorable reports of his instructors, admitted to the senior class of Harvard College. Here he devoted himself almost exclusively to classic philology based upon the study of Sanscrit. After graduation at Harvard, for a year Mr. Bishop taught Greek and English at his old school in Concord, New Hampshire. President McCosh, of Princeton University, invited him to the difficult task of building up the decayed preparatory school founded by Henry E. Marquand, as a feeder to the University. Mr. Bishop possessed novel methods of school government and instruction, in which he advocated the

cultivation of self-activity in the moral and mental nature of the young as the chief end of education. Adopting this principle, he succeeded in arousing a rare enthusiasm in the boys of the school, and in 1887, the future of the Princeton Preparatory School having been assured and the practicability of his educational ideas established, Mr. Bishop removed to Cincinnati, Ohio, to accept a position in the Hughes High School in that city. He was connected with educational institutions in Cincinnati until 1904, when he removed to Detroit, Michigan, to take charge of the Eastern High School, in which labors he was engaged at the time of his death. A younger brother, Louis Faugeres Bishop, born March 14, 1864, after graduating from Rutgers College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia College, became resident physician of St. Luke's Hospital, New York City, and professor of diseases of the heart and circulation at Fordham University Medical School. He is also a member of the medical staffs of Lincoln Hospital, and Mersey Hospital at Hempstead, Long Island. Dr. Bishop was secretary of the New York Academy of Medicine from 1889 to 1892, and is engaged in the practice of his chosen profession in New York City.

Thomas Hill, the twenty-first president of Harvard College, was born at New Brunswick, January 6, 1818, the son of Thomas Hill, a Unitarian in religious belief, who left his native country of England to enjoy a larger freedom of thought, speech and action in America. The future president of Harvard College was left an orphan at an early age, and was educated by his sisters. When old enough to be placed at work he was apprenticed to a printer, and on completing his term of apprenticeship in 1833 he attended school at the Lower Dublin Academy, near Philadelphia, of which his oldest brother was principal. After a year at this school, he was apprenticed to an apothecary in New Brunswick. He commenced his preparation for college in 1838, and in August of the following year was matriculated at Harvard College for the class of 1843. After his graduation, high standing in mathematics and physical science secured him the offer of a position in the National Observatory in Washington, but he could not be dissuaded from studying for the ministry. He attended the Divinity School, graduated in 1845, and was for fourteen years settled as minister of the Unitarian church at Waltham, Massachusetts. In 1859 he succeeded Horace Mann as president of Antioch College, of Yellow Springs, Ohio, and during

his incumbency of this office served as pastor of the Church of the Redeemer at Cincinnati. He resigned from the presidency of Antioch College in 1862, and the same year succeeded President Cornelius Conway Felton as president of Harvard College. The faculty welcomed his presidency, as he had their entire respect and confidence, and the science teachers recognized in him their rightful head. The academic council was started at his suggestion, and the university lectures were first opened to the public. He held the office until 1868, when he was compelled by ill health and domestic afflictions to resign, and was succeeded by Charles William Eliot. He had married a niece of an eminent Unitarian minister.

After his retirement from the presidency, he returned to Waltham, Massachusetts, and later accompanied Professor Louis Agassiz to South America on his well known expedition. Upon his return he accepted the pastorate of the First Parish Church of Portland, Maine. He was devoted to the study of mathematical problems, became a foremost investigator in natural science, an accomplished classical scholar, and was especially conversant with Hebrew and cognate Oriental languages. He made in May, 1891, his annual visit to the Divinity School at Meadville, Pennsylvania, to deliver a course of lectures before the students, and upon his return homeward, while at his daughter's home in Waltham, Massachusetts, died on November 21, 1891.

Among those whose inventive brains have aided in the safety of ocean travel may be numbered Lawrence Fisher Frazee, born in New Brunswick, May 22, 1813. In his early life he was apprenticed to learn the jewelry trade, and finally carried on that business in his native city. At the time of the great tornado of June 19, 1835, his store was completely demolished, which ruined him financially. He then entered the employ of the New Brunswick Steamboat and Transportation Company, remaining with its successors, the Camden & Amboy Railroad and the Pennsylvania Railroad, until his death, except during the period of the Civil War, when he commanded the government transport "Massachusetts," which ran between Fortress Monroe and points on the James river. During his marine career, he invented and perfected appliances of much value, including a stern paddle-wheel for canal boats, a life-boat, a life-raft, that was adopted by the United States government; a safety gang plank, the life boat davits used on ocean steamers and ferry-

boats, and the safety gates on the latter. He died at New Brunswick, October 10, 1896.

In the banking circles of New Jersey in the latter part of the past century there were two sons of New Brunswick who gained prominence in the financial interests of neighboring cities. Augustus A. Hardenbergh was a son of Cornelius L. Hardenbergh, one of the most eminent members of the bar of the State, a grandson of Rev. John R. Hardenbergh, the founder of Queen's College, afterwards Rutgers College, and its first president. The younger Hardenbergh was born in New Brunswick, May 18, 1830, and became a student at Rutgers College in 1844. He, however, was obliged to relinquish his studies before the end of the course on account of the sudden blindness of his father, to act as his amanuensis. His banking career commenced in 1846, when he became connected with a banking firm in New York City, and from this time he became a resident of Jersey City. He became connected in 1852 with the Hudson County Bank in that city in the capacity of a teller, and four years later was made cashier. Being an eloquent speaker, he soon attracted political attention, and although a Democrat, he was elected in a strong Whig district in 1853 to the State Legislature, and though the youngest member of that body, he became one of the most prominent by his services in securing the passage of the General Banking Act, and in opposition to granting further powers to the Camden & Amboy Railroad Company, which at that time was a gigantic monopoly. He was nominated in 1874, without solicitation on his part, for the Forty-fourth Congress, and was elected by a large majority. He was reelected in 1876, but having been elected president of the Hudson County National Bank in 1878, he declined to serve. Two years later, on the imperative demand of the leaders of his party, he again became a candidate and was elected to the Forty-seventh Congress by five thousand majority. During his first term of Congress he was a member of the military, centennial and District of Columbia committees, and during his second and third terms he was on the banking and currency committee. Mr. Hardenbergh's six years of congressional life were full of activity and energy; he discharged his duties with all the thoroughness and fidelity which characterized his action in his private business, and during his term of service he did not miss a single vote in the House of Representatives. His death occurred at Jersey City, October 3, 1889.

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The active career of Edward Stelle Campbell was distinguished by exceptional business ability and sagacity. He was born in New Brunswick, January 8, 1854. He attended the public schools of that city, graduating in 1868, and two years later found employment in the National Bank of New Jersey, where he spent fourteen years, during ten of which he was cashier. In January, 1894, he became vice-president of the National Newark Banking Company, the oldest banking organization in the State, and on its merging with the Newark City National Bank in 1902, when the capital stock was made \$1,000,000, Mr. Campbell became president, which position he held at the time of his death at Lake George, New York, July 2, 1905.

In the army circles of the present day, New Brunswick is represented by William Weigel, who was born in the city, August 25, 1863, a son of Philip and Anna (Slizer) Weigel. A graduate of West Point in 1887, his first military duties were in Indian warfare in the West. At the breaking out of the Spanish-American War he was assistant to the chief-quartermaster of the Division of Cuba. He was transferred in 1901 and became chief-quartermaster in the Philippine Islands and participated in the campaign against the Ladrones. In the insurrection in the island of Samar, he held Samar with forty-eight men for sixteen days against the insurgents. He returned to the United States in 1903, but was again assigned for duty in the Philippines from 1907 to 1909. General Weigel was on duty on the Mexican border in 1913 and 1914. At the time of the entrance of the United States in the World's War, after serving as commander of the Seventy-sixth Division and Cantonment at Camp Devens, Ayer, Massachusetts, he sailed for France, and from May 5, 1918, to the demobilization, June 14, 1919, for the greater part of the time was commander of the Eighty-eighth division. He participated in the Champagne-Marne defensive, the Aisne-Marne offensive, Oise-Aisne offensive, and the Meuse-Argonne offensive. He was awarded two *croix-de-guerre* by France, was made a commander in the Legion of Honor, and "for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services" was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal.

Brigadier-General Joseph C. Castner, who commanded the Ninth Infantry Brigade in all its operations as a part of the Fifth Division, American Expeditionary Forces, was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey, November 18, 1869, son of Cornelius W. Castner, who

was captain of one of New Brunswick's first companies in the Civil War. Joseph C. Castner in 1891 was graduated from Rutgers College with the degree of Civil Engineer. On August 1, 1891, he was commissioned second lieutenant in the United States Army and assigned to the Fourth Infantry for duty. He has since been promoted as follows: First lieutenant, Fourth Infantry, April 28, 1898; captain, Squadron Philippine Cavalry, April 23, 1900; captain, Fourth Infantry, February 2, 1901; major, Twenty-first Infantry, August 27, 1913; lieutenant-colonel, Sixth Infantry, May 13, 1917; colonel, Thirty-eighth Infantry, August 5, 1917; brigadier-general, Ninth Brigade, April 12, 1918. He attended the Infantry and Cavalry School in 1895, and was in the War College in 1915.

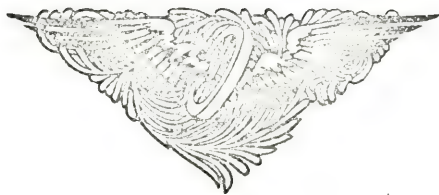
Prior to the World War, General Castner had already distinguished himself. While a lieutenant he rendered great service to the American government as an explorer in Alaska. In the Philippines, for his services with the Tagalog scouts, he was promoted to a captaincy in the Philippine squadron of cavalry, which commission he held until receiving a captaincy in the regular army. Later he served as constructing quartermaster in both Honolulu and in Yellowstone National Park. While yet a captain, he commanded the Second Battalion, Fourteenth Infantry, and under his training that battalion made an unequalled record in known distance firing. While a major he was adjutant-general of the National Guard of the District of Columbia, which he developed to a high state of efficiency. As colonel of the Thirty-eighth Infantry he instilled that fighting spirit which won for that regiment its fame as the "Rock of the Marne."

As brigadier-general he took command of the Ninth Infantry Brigade. In the quiet Anould and St. Die sectors he gave the units of the brigade effective training for the big operations that were to follow. In the St. Mihiel offensive, General Castner's brigade was at first in reserve with the Tenth Brigade in line. When passage of lines was made he pushed his outpost lines up near to the Hindenburg Line. In the first phase of the Meuse-Argonne offensive his brigade captured Cunel, and drove the enemy from the Bois-de-la-Pultiere and the northwestern Bois-de-Forêt. In the second phase of the Meuse-Argonne offensive, General Castner's brigade captured Aincreville, Cléry-le-Grand, Cléry-le-Petit, Bois de Babieumont, the Punchbowl and Doulecon. Then the brigade forced the

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difficult crossing of the river Meuse, and fighting northward captured in succession Dun-sur-Meuse, Milly-devanta-Dun, Lion-devant-Dun, Cote St. Germain, Charmois Chateau, Mouzay, and the Foret-de-Woevre.

In appreciation for his services in the Meuse-Argonne operation, General Castner was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He has been cited in Fifth Division Orders. General Castner is a man's man, a soldier and a leader. In mental and physical alertness, in devotion to duty, in zeal and energy, he is an example, alike to men and officers. There is no man in his brigade who will not gladly join him at any time for any duty. While his brigade formed a part of the Army of Occupation, General Castner took the course of instruction at the Army Center of Artillery Studies at Trier, Germany.



Witchcraft in Massachusetts

BY WINFIELD S. NEVINS, SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.



SALEM Witchcraft was a unique and interesting episode in the history of the settlement of New England.* Witchcraft had raged in such differing countries as England and Spain. It had been a recognized crime in Great Britain many generations before the people of this country began to settle America. It was nearly three-quarters of a century after the settlement was begun in earnest at Plymouth (1620) and at Salem (1626), that the outbreak occurred in Salem Village. There had been sporadic cases here and there, previously, it is true, but nothing serious.

The early cases on this side the water were not in Salem, nor very near it. Hutchinson, the historian, says that were several cases in Springfield in 1645, but our information on that point is uncertain and unsatisfactory. In 1651, Mary Parsons, wife of Hugh Parsons, was charged with witchcraft, tried before the General Court, and acquitted. Subsequently she was convicted of murdering her own child, and sentenced to be hanged. Whether sentence was executed, the records do not disclose. There were witchcraft charges in 1652 against John Bradstreet, of Rowley; in 1655, against Ann Hibbins, of Boston; in 1659, against John Godfrey, of Essex county; in 1662, against Ann Cole, of Hartford, and a Greensmith woman; in 1671, against Elizabeth Knapp, of Groton, Massachusetts; in 1688, against Mary Glover, of Boston, a laundress in the house of John Goodwin, and who was convicted and executed. Of these cases, Bradstreet was convicted of telling a lie, and was fined twenty shillings, "or else to be whipped." Ann Hibbins was convicted and hanged. There is no record that Godfrey was ever tried for witchcraft. Ann Cole, of Hartford, and the Greensmith woman, were

NOTE.—In this article I make no claim to originality of material. That was exhausted years ago by the many writers upon this subject. I have drawn, to considerable extent, from my own works upon it, more particularly "Witchcraft in Salem Village," 1892, and "The North Shore," in 1891. W. S. N.

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executed. Mrs. Greensmith's husband was condemned, but not hanged.

The first Essex county witchcraft case was that of William Morse, of Newbury, in 1679, still far from Salem. In this connection it is interesting to note that not a case of witchcraft ever occurred among the Plymouth colonists or their descendants. Yet, in Salem, comers from the same English race, the same English soil, the same English government, prosecuted if not persecuted their most worthy and honored citizens for witchcraft. They hanged nineteen of them after elaborate and painstaking examinations and trials, and pressed Giles Corey to death in a vain effort to wring a confession from him.

Let it be understood at the very outset of this story, that these twenty people in Essex county in 1692 were arrested on warrants issued in the usual way by the magistrates, that these cases were heard by a grand jury and indictments found as in all other cases, and, finally, the testimony was presented to a jury of trials presided over by six of the wisest and most discreet men in the colony. Many were found guilty, some pleaded guilty; and others were discharged. These men and women were tried under laws which had been in operation in Great Britain for generations, and which remained on the statute books for a full generation after having been discarded on this side of the Atlantic.

Many complaints were made by children, it is true, but the majority were from fully-grown people—God-fearing, highminded men and women. Why this unusual outbreak in Essex county, and more particularly in and about Salem, no one can explain satisfactorily. Efforts have been made to convey the impression that it was due to family feuds, and at one time that was quite generally believed; but the historic facts do not sustain the charge. That the people were intelligent, fairminded and discriminating, is manifested by their final refusal to convict on the same sort of evidence that had been effective at first, which refusal resulted ultimately in the death of belief in witchcraft as a crime, not alone in this country, but in the world, although it was many years before England repealed its witchcraft laws. Essex county men in Essex county courts struck the deathblow to witchcraft in all the world. All honor to them. How we would like to know what they were thinking and saying during that last court session when they refused to convict!

The first execution for witchcraft on this continent was in Charles-

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town, Massachusetts, in 1648, when Margaret Jones was hanged. Her offense appears to have been like that of Rebekah, the Jewess, in Scott's story of "Ivanhoe," practicing irregular." Ann Hibbins, of Boston, was found guilty of witchcraft in 1655, but the court would not receive the verdict. She was then tried before the General Court and convicted. Governor John Endicott sentenced her to be hanged, and hanged she was.

There had been rumors of witchcraft practices during the winter of 1692 in the household of Rev. Samuel Parris, pastor of the church at Salem Village, located in what is now Danvers. Parris had in his household a West India servant named Tituba, and a daughter and niece, aged respectively nine and eleven. It is thought that Tituba practiced some Indian tricks and incantations for the amusement of the children and others during the winter. Gradually stories of these performances spread abroad. Dr. Gibbs said the girls were bewitched. Mr. Parris called a meeting of neighboring ministers to investigate and they said it was witchcraft. The children told the ministers that Tituba bewitched them, and they also named Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne. These women were old, the former melancholy and the latter bed-ridden. However, complaint was lodged against them in February, 1692, and on the 29th of that month warrants were issued for their arrest by magistrates Jonathan Corwin and John Hathorne. The examinations were begun on March 1st in the Salem Village Meeting House. Sarah Good was the first to be examined. She was the wife of William Good, a "laborer," about seventy years of age and not of good repute. I give here in full the indictment found against Good by the grand jury. Most of the subsequent ones were substantially the same:

The jurors for our sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, present that Sarah Good, wife of William Good of Salem Village, husbandman, the second day of May in the fourth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord and Lady, William and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King and Queen, defenders of the faith, etc., and divers other faiths and times, as well before as after, certain detestable acts called witchcraft and sorceries, wickedly and feloniously hath used, practiced and exercised at and within the township of Salem within the county of Essex aforesaid, in, upon and against one Sarah Vibber, wife of John Vibber, of Salem aforesaid, husbandman, by which said wicked

acts she, said Sarah Vibber, the second of May in the fourth year above aforesaid and divers other days and times as well before as after, was and is afflicted, pained, consumed, wasted and tormented, and also for sundry other acts of witchcraft by said Sarah Good committed and done, before and since that time, against the peace of our sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, their crown and dignity and against the forme of the statute in this case made and provided.

Dorcas Good, five years of age, was a witness in this case against her own mother. She said that her mother "had three birds—one black, one yellow, and these birds hurt the children and afflicted persons." The color of the other bird is not mentioned. Dorcas herself was later charged with bewitching Mary Walcott and Ann Putnam. Sarah Good was convicted, and executed on July 19. At the execution Rev. Mr. Noyes told her she was a witch, to which she replied, "You are a liar."

Sarah Osborn was sixty years of age, and Osborn was her third husband. She died in jail in Boston while awaiting trial.

Martha Corey was arrested soon after Good and Osborn were. She was a woman of intelligence and judgment for those days; she did not believe in witchcraft, and talked against it, and she urged her husband Giles to keep away from the examination, but he did not heed her advice and soon found himself in the meshes of the law.

During the trial of Sarah Good, a witness by the name of Hobbs cried out that Good had stabbed her and had broken the knife blade in doing it. On examination the point of the blade was found in her clothes, to the great consternation of the court and the spectators. Then a young man in court said that that was the point of a knife which he had broken off the previous day and thrown away.

After the trial of Bridget Bishop, the court asked advice of the ministers. The answer, written by Cotton Mather, was a calm, judicious document. It urged "a very critical and exquisite caution." That "all proceedings be managed with an exceeding tenderness toward those who may be complained of, especially if they had been persons formerly of unblemished reputation." The ministers decidedly cautioned against conviction on spectre evidence alone. Nevertheless, they urged prosecution of all who had rendered themselves obnoxious according to the laws of God and man.

Giles Corey was pressed to death for refusing to plead to a charge of witchcraft, in accordance with an ancient English law. This was

WITCHCRAFT IN MASSACHUSETTS

the first and only case of the kind in New England as far as it is known. The reason for the refusal is supposed to have been to avoid forfeiture of his property and attain of his family if he were found guilty. It was a horrible punishment. The victim was laid on his back and a heavy weight placed on his chest, so that he died after a long time and in great agony. Only the stoutest heart could possibly endure the ordeal, and Cory begged for "more weight," that the end might be hastened.

Bridget Bishop was the first actual victim of the frenzy, although she was not the first one arrested. As we have seen, Sarah Good was the first person accused and was arrested on February 29, but she was not executed until July 19. Bishop was arrested April 19, and hanged June 10, being the only person executed on that day. She had been arrested and tried on a witchcraft charge in 1680, and found not guilty. Samuel Gray, her accuser on this occasion, long after, on his deathbed, expressed his regret and admitted that his complaint had been wholly groundless. The Bishops did not bear a good reputation. They had been before the courts previous to 1692 on various complaints. Bishop was Bridget's third husband; he himself married again nine months after her execution.

We have on the court files in the office of the clerk of courts in Salem the original warrant issued for Bridget's execution, together with the sheriff's return that he had obeyed the command of the court. As this is the only case in which the warrant was preserved, it is reproduced here in full, *verbatim*. The others were undoubtedly couched in the same terms. The words in brackets were written in and then crossed out, the sheriff evidently concluding that "burial" was not enjoined in the warrant and not required in the return.

To George Corwin gentm. High Sheriff of the county of Essex greeting:

Wheras Bridget Bishop, als Oliver, the wife of Edward Bishop of Salem in the county of Essex, sawyer, at a special court of Oyer and Terminer held at Salem the second day of this instant month of June, for the countyes of Essex, Middlesex and Suffolk, before William Stoughton, Esq. and his associate justices of the said court was indicted and arraigned upon five several indictments for using, practicing and exercising on the 19th day of April last past and divers other days and times before and after certain acts of witchcraft on and upon the bodyes of Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam

junr., Mercy Lewis, May Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard of Salem Village, single women whereby their bodyes were hurt, afflicted, pained, consumed, wasted and tormented contray to the form of the statute in that case made and provided.

To which endictment the said Bridget Bishop pleaded not guilty and for tryal thereof put herself upon God and her country whereupon she was found guilty of felonyes and witchcraft whereof she stood indicted and sentence of death accordingly passed agt her as the law directs. Execution whereoff yet remains to be done. These are therefore in the name of their maj (es) ties William and Mary now King and Queen over England etc., to will and command you that upon Friday next being the 10th dy of this instant month of June, between the hours of 8 and 12 in the aforenoon of the same day you safely conduct the sd Bridget Bishop als Oliver from their majties gaol in Salem aforesaid to the place of execution and there cause her to be hanged by the neck until she be dead and of your doings herein make return to the clerke of the sd court and precept, and hereof you are not to faile at your perial and this shall be your suffieient warrant given under my hand and seal at Boston the 8th dy of June in the fourth year of the reign of our sovirgne Lord and Lady William and Mary now King and Queen over England etc, annogr dom 1692.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

According to the within written precept I have taken the body of the within named Bridget Bishop out of their majesties gaol in Salem and safely conveyed her to the place provided for her execution and caused ye sd Bridgett to be hanged by the neck untill she was dead [and buried in the place] all which was according to the time within required and so I make return by me,

GEORGE CORWIN, Sheriff.

Rev. George Burroughs was a noted victim of the frenzy. He had been pastor of the Salem Village church from November, 1680, to some time in 1683, when he withdrew and went to Portland, where he had previously preached. He was a Harvard graduate. When he terminated his pastorate in Danvers, the parish owed him some money on his salary, and he lacked funds wherewith to pay the funeral expenses of his wife, who had just died. When arrested on the witchcraft warrant, he was living and preaching in Wells, Maine. The testimony against Burroughs was given by the same group of young girls that had testified against the other accused persons. There was also much testimony as to his physical strength. Samuel Webber told how he had seen Burroughs put his fingers in the bung of a barrel of molasses and lift it. He was found

guilty, and executed on August 19, this occasion being memorable for the attendance of ministers, among them being Cotton Mather, Rev. Mr. Noyes, Rev. Mr. Hale, Rev. Mr. Cheever, Rev. Mr. Sims. Robert Calef tells us that when Burroughs' body was cut down, it was denuded of most of its clothing, and dragged to a hole, or a grave and put in, with one of his hands and an arm sticking out.

Rebecca Nurse, wife of Francis Nurse, was one of the most interesting figures in this history. She was seventy-one years of age in 1692, when arrested on March 23. The complainants were Thomas and Edward Putnam, who had made complaint against Sarah Good. Four indictments were found against her for bewitching Ann Putnam, Elizabeth Hubbard, Mary Walcott and Abigail Williams. A verdict of "not guilty" was returned June 28, whereupon the accused were taken in violent fits, rolling and tumbling about. The judge sent the jurors out again. Still they could not agree, and returned to court seeking further explanations by the accused, but she made no answer and the jury returned a verdict of "guilty." The accused woman, on being informed later that her silence had been construed as a confession, explained that by reason of old age and deafness she had not understood. She was sentenced to be hanged. The governor granted a reprieve, but she was excommunicated from church—the First Church of Salem. Then the accusers renewed their charges, and the governor recalled the reprieve, and July 19 the venerable woman was hanged on the summit of Witch Hill. The house in which the Nurses lived in 1692 is still standing in Danvers Centre, and is owned by the Rebecca Nurse Association. She is represented to have been a most exemplary woman, and she was the mother of eight children.

The Jacobs family received harsh treatment at the hands of the authorities and their neighbors. George, senior, seventy years of age, George, Jr., and his wife Rebecca, and daughter Margaret, were all accused. The old man and the young Margaret were arrested first, May 10. Young Jacobs and his wife were summoned four days later. When the constable took Rebecca away, four young children followed some distance, but finally the neighbors took them in. Her husband escaped. George, Sr., was tried, found guilty, and hanged on August 19. Rebecca was brought to trial in January, 1693, and acquitted. Margaret confessed to being a witch, and testified against her grandfather. Later she retracted these confessions and eventually was released.

Other victims were John Willard, of Salem Farms, arrested May 17, tried in August, and hanged on August 19. Martha Carrier, of Andover, arrested May 28, examined on the 31st, tried and executed August 19. She was forty years of age, and was the mother of a large family, four of her children being taken into custody with her. Sarah Carrier, aged eight years, confessed herself a witch and testified against her mother. Elizabeth How, wife of John How of Topsfield, was arrested May 29 and examined the 31st. She was tried and hanged in July. Her husband was blind, and was left with two young motherless daughters.

Susanna Martin, of Amesbury, arrested on May 2, was tried in the higher court in July and executed on the 19th. She had been tried for witchcraft in 1669.

Mary Easty, wife of Isaac Easty, of Topsfield, lived on what is now known as the Pierce farm. She was fifty-eight years of age. Arrested on April 22, she was examined and committed, May 18, but was discharged and rearrested on the 21st, tried before the higher court in September, and hanged on the 22d of that month; Sarah Cloyes, convicted and sentenced with her, was never executed. Alice Parker of Salem, Wilmot Reed of Marblehead, Margaret Scott of Rowley, Mary Parker of Andover, and Ann Pudeator of Salem, were tried in September and executed on the 22d. The warrant for Mary Parker's arrest was not issued until September 1st.

Sarah Wildes of Topsfield, wife of John Wildes, was arrested April 22, tried June 29, and hanged July 19. Samuel Wardwell, of Andover, was examined September 1, and denied being a witch. On the 13th he made a confession, and his wife and daughter testified against him to save their own lives. Wardwell then retracted his confession, was convicted, sentenced, and on September 22, hanged.

The court took a recess until November 2. Nineteen persons had been convicted and hanged; Sarah Osborn and Ann Foster had been convicted, but died in prison, and Giles Corey had been pressed to death. A law having been passed creating new courts, the commissioner of oyer and terminer ceased to exist, and most of the judges were appointed to the new court. Trials were resumed in Salem the following January. Fifty indictments for witchcraft were found, twenty odd of them tried, and Mary Post of Rowley, Elizabeth Johnson and Sarah Wardwell of Andover convicted; they were never executed. Trials continued some months, the last at Ipswich in May, but no more convictions could be secured.

The following is a list of persons under suspicion of witchcraft: Executed, June 10—Bridget Bishop; July 19, Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth How, Susanna Martin and Rebecca Nurse; August 19, George Burroughs, John Proctor, George Jacobs, Sr., John Willard and Martha Carrier; September 22, Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Margaret Scott, Wilmott Reed, Samuel Wardwell and Mary Parker; September 19, Giles Corey pressed to death. Condemned, but not executed: At the third session of the court in August, Elizabeth Proctor; the fourth session, Dorcas Hoar; fifth session, Abigail Faulkner, Rebecca Eames, Mary Lacey, Ann Foster, and Abigail Hobbs; at the January session of the new court in 1693, Mary Post, Sarah Wardwell and Elizabeth Johnson.

The judges who presided at these trials before jurors were especially appointed as a commission of Oyer and Terminer, owing to the crowded condition of the jails. They were at first, William Stoughton of Boston, Nathaniel Saltonstall of Haverhill, Major Bartholomew Godroy, John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin of Salem (the two last named having issued most of the warrants for arrest); Major John Richards, Wait Winthrop, Peter Sargent and Samuel Small of Boston. Saltonstall sat with the court but a short time and then resigned, "because he was very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of it." Stoughton presided as chief-justice. Preliminary examinations for the purpose of issuing warrants for the arrest of accused persons were held in the two churches in Salem and Salem Village, in the residence of the minister in Salem Village, in Ingersoll's Tavern at the village, and Beadle's Tavern in Salem. Most of the final trials before juries were held in the court house on what is now Washington street, Salem, opposite the Masonic Temple. Some persons are thought to have been tried in the church.

After conviction and sentence, the victims were taken to the top of Gallows Hill and hanged, presumably from limbs of trees. This is the universal tradition, and we know that hangings in the early days took place on the highest elevation of land. John Adams has left a record of a visit in 1766 to Witchcraft Hill. This would be while persons were living who might well have witnessed some of the executions. He could not have made any mistake. A modern and lower elevation has been suggested, but Adams could not have

seen Salem Village from there, and he tells us that he saw that settlement from the hill he visited.

The prominent and influential part taken by children in these trials is a striking feature. The original accusers were children, and children had a leading part in nearly every case. But for their activity, it is doubtful whether as many convictions would have been secured. Ann Putnam testified in nineteen cases; Elizabeth Hubbard in twenty; Mary Walcott in sixteen; Mary Warren in twelve; Mercy Lewis in ten; Abigail Williams, Susan Sheldon and Elizabeth Booth eight, and little Dorcas Good, only five years of age, was allowed to tell her story or the story who some one may have manufactured for her.

Substantially everyone who had to do with these prosecutions subsequently admitted the error of his way—the judges of the court, the jurors, the ministers. The General Court revoked the attaint and reimbursed the individuals then living, or their descendants. Witchcraft was certainly repudiated by the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Sometime in the future, when narrowness shall have disappeared from certain of the present generation of Salemites, a monument will be erected on Gallows Hill, which will proclaim to all the world that these men and women of 1692 by their moral courage “struck the death blow” to witchcraft throughout the world right here in Salem, when they refused to confess themselves witches in order to save themselves from an ignominious death.



Thomas Chandler Haliburton

"Sam Slick," the Father of the American School of Humor

By EFFIE MAY ROSS, TRURO, NOVA SCOTIA



FOR a long time the proverb that "a prophet is not without honour save in his own country" might have been justly applied to Thomas C. Haliburton, for the appreciation and recognition accorded him as an author by litterateurs outside of Canada were far greater than his popularity in Nova Scotia, in spite of the fact that he was the first of her sons—both by the spoken and written word—who endeavored to arouse a widespread interest in the natural resources and immense future possibilities of his native province. The formation (1884) of the Haliburton Club in connection with his *alma mater*, King's College, has somewhat atoned for this neglect, and under its auspices a "Centenary Chaplet" was published, from which many of the following facts have been gleaned; and it is hoped that the centennial celebration of his arrival in Annapolis Royal (1821) to begin there his "distinguished career in Law, Literature and Public Life," may awaken still wider interest in the works of this "Father of the American School of Humour," as he was styled by Artemus Ward.

Born at Windsor, Nova Scotia, on December 17th, 1796, Thomas Chandler Haliburton was the only child of the Hon. William Hersey Otis Haliburton, District Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and Lucy Grant, daughter of one of Wolfe's Highland officers at the siege of Quebec; and having the same great-grandfather was distantly connected with the immortal Sir Walter Scott, whose tomb is in the ancient burial-place of the Haliburton family in St. Mary's Aisle, Dryburgh Abbey. Mr. Haliburton frequently puzzled his friends by saying that he and his father were born twenty miles apart, but in the same house, and the enigma was explained by the fact that his grandfather had formerly lived on his extensive grants

of land at the head of the St. Croix, but later removed his house by floating it down the river to place it on the bank of the Avon, where the town of Windsor now stands.

The future author was educated at the Collegiate School, being literally crammed with classics—for Lilly's Latin Grammar (said to have been partly compiled by Cardinal Wolsey, and which contained not a word of English) was still in vogue there. In due time he entered the very conservative King's College, the oldest Colonial University and the only one with a Royal Charter, where he pursued a course remarkable for its brilliancy, graduating Bachelor of Arts with honours in 1815, while their honorary degree of Master of Arts was awarded him many years later.

Though still a minor, in 1816 he married Louisa, daughter of Captain Lawrence Neville, of the Nineteenth Light Dragoons, and having been admitted to the bar, Mr. Haliburton settled in Annapolis Royal—one of the most charming and historically interesting nooks on the Continent—where he acquired a large and lucrative law practice. The house in which he resided for eight years still stands in the ancient capital where, at Fort Anne, a commemoration tablet was unveiled during the celebration in August, 1921. Not content with the success achieved as a barrister, Mr. Haliburton at an early age sought other worlds to conquer by entering politics, and was returned (1826) as representative for the county of Annapolis in the House of Assembly, where as a brilliant debater and orator he soon became one of the most prominent members. A notable incident of his short career (1826-29) in the Provincial Legislature was his eloquent and successful pleading of the Catholic Emancipation Bill for the abolition of the test oath containing a declaration against transubstantiation, which debarred devoted Roman Catholics from holding public office; and of this fine address the historian Beamish Murdoch says: "This speech was the most splendid piece of declamation that it has ever been my fortune to listen to. . . . As an orator, Mr. Haliburton's attitude and manner were extremely impressive, earnest and dignified; and although the strong propensity of his mind to wit and humour were often apparent, they seldom detracted from the seriousness of his language."

It is difficult to imagine a more uninviting arena than was presented at that time by Nova Scotian politics, for the province was ruled over by a Council consisting of a few officials living in Halifax,

one of whose leaders was the Church of England bishop. While only one-fifth of the population were Episcopalians, yet the remainder of the people, though paying the bulk of the taxes, had no educational advantages whatever; still it was in vain that Mr. Haliburton endeavoured to get the Council to grant a permanent endowment of four hundred pounds (the same amount as King's College had received for thirty-six years past) for Pictou Academy, a Presbyterian institution, although it had been repeatedly voted by the Assembly, which also contemptuously rejected another small grant in aid of public schools without even discussing the subject. Mr. Haliburton's sense of justice was so roused by what he termed the "bigoted and outrageous conduct of the Council," that from his seat in the House he angrily ridiculed them as

"Twelve dignified, deeply-read, pensioned old ladies, but filled with prejudices and whims like all other antiquated spinsters. They are the sublime oracles of Nova Scotia, and as everyone consults them, I, too, went to their board of green cloth to ask their opinion on my school bill. Two-thirds of them had never been beyond Sackville Bridge, and think all the world is contained within the narrow precincts of Halifax. . . . I found them all assembled in state, looking so solemn, so wise and so important, that I was struck with awe at so much female wisdom. I showed them the school bill and asked them their opinions and advice. Judge of my astonishment when they refused to read it, and rejected it upon reading the title. . . . When I complained of this extraordinary conduct, they threw the bill in my face and shut the door upon me. Such, Sir, was my reception at what I call the hospital of invalids. . . . I must say I have a poor opinion of their good breeding, their good sense and their humanity."

Mortally offended at such audacious utterances, the Council requested an apology—at first refused by the House on the ground that there was nothing objectionable in the remarks and that they were privileged; but when a still more peremptory demand came, the Assembly passed a resolution of censure, and the culprit appeared at the bar of the House to receive a reprimand from the Speaker. Keenly resenting the rebuke, Mr. Haliburton gladly resigned his seat at the age of thirty-two to succeed, on his father's death, to his judgeship; and shortly after removed to Windsor, where he acquired "Clifton," that beautiful property consisting of over forty acres of land adjoining the spacious grounds of King's College. At this picturesque spot the Judge made his home for a

quarter of a century with his family of two sons and five daughters; and, though many decades have passed, with frequent changes of ownership, one can still see traces of the original sylvan charm and beauty of this historic domain.

His experiences when travelling on circuit now afforded exceptional opportunities of studying the strong individualism and decided idiosyncrasies likely to be fostered under the primitive conditions of life in a sparsely settled country; and his keen observation and close familiarity with people of all types, combined with a warm, sympathetic and clear insight into the modes of thought and speech of his associates, provided him with abundant material for his particular humorous metier.

Haliburton's first literary work was "An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," published at Halifax, in 1829, and which was so highly esteemed that the House of Assembly tendered him a hearty vote of thanks. His opinion that the expulsion of the Acadians was quite unjustifiable is thought to have actuated Longfellow's poem "Evangeline," as, according to his brother and biographer, Rev. Samuel Longfellow, the poet first heard the tale of the separated French lovers from Hawthorne, who had learnt it from a rector in South Boston, to whom it had been related by Judge Haliburton's aunt.

Six years later, in a series of anonymous articles to the "Nova Scotian," a newspaper edited by Mr. Joseph Howe, Judge Haliburton became the unconscious author of the inimitable "Sam Slick," with which character his name has not only become immortalized, but virtually synonymous. Through the medium of this wide-awake Yankee business speculator, shifty and versatile, determined to gain his own ends quite regardless of the means employed, a past-master of slang and an expert in the use of all kinds of arts and expedients—"soft sawder," in his own parlance—to sell his cheap clocks, the author describes the characteristic peculiarities and speech of a new England peddler who is brimfull of his own importance, and, at the same time, by relevant satire and practical good sense, makes him sagaciously contrast the keen industry and enterprise of the Americans with the unfortunate indifference and *laissez faire* of Nova Scotians toward the enormous but as yet quite undeveloped natural resources surrounding them. These popular letters in Yankee dialect were widely copied in the American press,

and were finally collected together by Mr. Howe and published anonymously at Halifax in 1837 as "The Clockmaker, or the Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville," of which several editions were issued, and also in the United States, from whence a copy was taken by General Fox to England, where another edition was published and very favourably received, though the authorship was for some time assigned to an American resident of London. For this popular work Judge Haliburton never received any royalties, as it had not been copyrighted, but, on visiting England and becoming known as its writer, the publisher, Richard Bentley, presented him with a handsome silver salver inscribed by his friend, Rev. Richard Barham, author of the "Ingoldsby Legends."

Though Judge Haliburton had no liking for the United States politically, he was very glad to make the Yankee peddler his mouthpiece to goad his fellow countrymen, "who paid too much attention to the petty game of politics," into energetic alertness and a broader outlook on life; but the book was much more popular in the United States and England than in his homeland, where its pointed reflections and keen criticisms of the inherent laziness and procrastination of Nova Scotians naturally evoked much angry discussion. However, the most vehement literary attack came from Professor Felton, of Harvard University, in the "North American Review," who repudiated the whole conception and execution of the character of Sam Slick as a typical American. When asked if Sam Slick existed, the author said, "No, there is no such person. He was a pure accident. I never intended to describe a Yankee clockmaker or Yankee dialect; but Sam Slick slipped into my book before I was aware of it, and he was there to stay."

While it must be admitted that as a writer Haliburton has no romance, and "Sam" confesses that he hates poets, "lock, stock and barrel," yet it may be questioned whether he has ever been equalled on this continent as a genuine humorist; and in no other work of literature is there preserved so large a collection of idiomatic phrases, words and similes, whole stories in themselves, and pictures of society at that time which are now as historic as they are interesting. One critic has ranked him with Sterne and Dickens, and in answer to the charge that Sam Slick was merely a Yankee version of Sam Weller, it may be stated that the first number of "Pickwick Papers" appeared in April, 1836, a year after the early

chapters of "The Clockmaker" were published in Halifax. An English Reader has for many years been in use in French schools containing Sam Slick's chapter on "Buying a Horse," as one of its samples of classical English literature; and some years before Sydney Smith spoke of a day being so hot that it would be a comfort "to take off our flesh and sit in our bones," the expression had made its appearance in Sam Slick; while Topsy's remark, "Why, I guess I wasn't brought up at all, I growed up," was the reply of a country girl in (Chapter twelve) of the "Clockmaker" about fifteen years before the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Our author's second historical book was "The Bubbles of Canada," a series of letters on the Imperial Colonial policy, purporting to be written by Sam Slick in 1838, but showing none of the "Clockmaker's" peculiar diction; and his last historical work (1851) "Rule and Misrule of the English in America," is valuable for its philosophical comments and predictions of the collapse of the French Republic, the rise of Communism, and many of the other leading features of the political history of Europe and America since that date. "The Letter-bag of the Great Western" (1839), a collection of letters supposed to be written by various passengers from England to America on the famous steamship of that name, reveals his incorrigible weakness for punning. The author's vein of unsophisticated wit and quaint drollery were worked less successfully in "The Attaché" (1843), involving a contrast between American and English types of character as drawn by Sam Slick from his post at the American Embassy in London; while "Wise Saws and Modern Instances" and "Nature and Human Nature" continue the tale of the Yankee peddler's unique views and acts. In 1841 Haliburton was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, and eight years later appeared "The Old Judge, or Life in a Colony," describing the manners, customs and dialect prevalent in the early days of the nineteenth century, with the same *bouquet d'humour* as in his first narratives. His later books, "Traits of American Humour" and "Americans at Home," were largely collections of mirthful or marvelous tales, showing the old finesse of observation, but rather suffered from his fault of too much repetition of idea.

He retired from the bench in 1856 to reside in England, intending to devote himself to literature; but three years later he entered

English politics as Member for Launceston (1859-65), and thanked his constituents for his election "on behalf of four million British subjects who up to the present time had not one individual in the House of Commons through whom they might be heard." Haliburton really acted as representative of the British North American Colonies more than for his English constituency, and it was fortunate that such a strong advocate of the unity of the Empire was appointed to Parliament at a time when in his own words "those at home care little for, and like less, the Colonial possessions." Though he did not make the mark as a speaker in the "Mother of Parliaments" hoped for by the admirers of his writings—for his proneness to wander from his subject had increased with age—yet he put forward many strong pleas for Imperial Federation, and yearned to see all British subjects "united as one people, having the same rights and privileges, each bearing a share of the public burden," thus widening their aims and interests, as well as preventing dangerous disaffection. Though greatly admiring British law, constitution, literature, church and people, he was not blind to her misgovernment of the overseas dominions, and, looking far ahead of his contemporaries, he wrote ("Clockmaker," 3, 19): "In its present state the Empire was like a barrel without hoops, which must be bound together more securely or else tumble to pieces; or like a bundle of sticks ("Nature and Human Nature," C. 19) which needed to be tied or glued more firmly, or they would fall apart." With the modern acquiescence in many of his views it is interesting to read in "Wise Saws," (C. 25), "It shouldn't be England and her Colonies, but they should be integral parts of one great whole—all Counties of Great Britain. There should be no tax on Colonial produce, and the Colonies should not be allowed to tax British manufactures. All should pass free, as from one town to another in England; the whole of it one vast home market from Hong-Kong to Labrador. . . . They should be represented in Parliament, help to pass English laws, and show them what laws they want themselves. . . . Colonials are the Pariahs of the Empire." In the succeeding chapter Sam Slick advocates, in characteristic phraseology, an Anglo-Saxon alliance dominating and dictating peace to the world, in a passage singularly *à propos* to-day:

Now we are two great nations, the greatest by a long chalk of any in the world, speaking the same language, have the same religion,

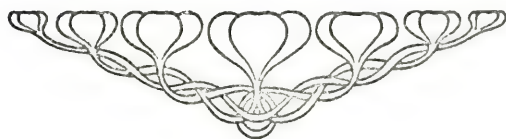
and our constitutions don't differ no great odds. We ought to draw closer than we do. We are big enough, equal enough, and strong enough not to be jealous of each other. United, we are more than a match for all the other nations put together, and can defy their fleets, armies and millions. Single, we couldn't stand against all, and if one was to fall, where would the other be? . . . It is the authors of silly books, editors of silly papers, and demagogues of silly parties that help to estrange us. I wish there was a gibbet high enough and strong enough to hang up all these enemies of mankind on."

Judge Haliburton's first wife having died in 1840, he married, shortly after reaching England, Mrs. Edward Hosier Williams, a lady of ample means and good social position, who leased Gordon House at Isleworth, near Richmond, which had been built by George I for the Duchess of Kendal; who, after his death, believed her royal lover visited her in the form of a crow, in what is still known as "the haunted room." He was warmly welcomed by litterateurs in England, receiving the honorary degree of D. C. L. from Oxford University two years after his arrival, and elected a member of the Athenaeum Club in London of which, in his last book, "The Season Ticket" (at first published anonymously) he makes one of the characters (Mr. Gary) fearlessly group himself with the two greatest writers of the day by saying: "Defend me from a learned Club like mine! The members are not genial, and they must be incurable, when such men as Thackeray, Sam Slick and Dickens, who (to their credit be it spoken) are all smokers, can't persuade them to have a smoking room!"

His last years were happily spent at his beautiful residence where he died, greatly mourned, in 1865, being interred in the Isleworth churchyard, not far from the last resting place of the famous navigator, Vancouver; "and the names of Cowley, Thompson, Pope and Walpole will find a kindred spirit in the world-wide reputation of the author of Sam Slick, who, like them, died on the banks of the Thames."

Among the most distinctive gifts of this celebrated Nova Scotian was his uncommon aptitude for aphorisms and short pithy sayings of all kinds, indicating a singular facility for finding similes and metaphors to elucidate his meaning; but his popularity with many readers rests upon his peculiar talent as a raconteur of tales of all kinds. With characteristic ingenuity, vivid imagination, and a lively

sense of the ludicrous, he pointed the keen shafts of his sarcasm usually at types and classes, seldom at individuals; and one critic says, no writer has produced purer conceptions of female character than are found in his works. Though severely criticising the shortcomings of his countrymen, with a view to their reform, Haliburton widely advertised the mineral wealth, fertile soil, extensive fisheries and other assets of his native province, in most flattering terms in "The Season Ticket"; while his graphic pictures of a "Silver Thaw" ("Old Judge," C. 10) "Prince's Lodge in Ruins" ("Clock-maker," 3rd series, Chap. I), "Day on the Lake" ("Nature and Human Nature," C. C. 10 and 11), show his skill at word painting; but his greatest success was achieved in conversational passages, in which he was very effective. Mr. Blake Crofton, in his admirable "Memoir," affirms that "Haliburton is more to be admired as a humorist than as a stylist in literature; and more than either, perhaps, as a thorough student and acute judge of human nature . . . for his literary faults include discursiveness, inconsistency in his characters, and lack of thoroughness in his researches"; but, in spite of many flaws, Philarete Chasles, in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" (1841) pronounced the books of this "Dickens of Canada" to be unequalled by anything that had been written in English since the days of Sir Walter Scott."



The Fries Rebellion

By FRANK M. EASTMAN, HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA



THE GREAT Rebellion of 1861-65 so far eclipsed preceding insurrections that many of the latter have been lost sight of. It is probable that most readers are familiar, by name at least, with Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts, in 1786; with the Whiskey Insurrection in the southwestern counties of Pennsylvania, in 1792, and, possibly, with Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island, which occurred as recently as 1842. It is thought, however, that Fries' Rebellion, which occurred in the counties of Bucks, Northampton and Montgomery in Pennsylvania in the year 1798, is but little known even to residents of that State. For this reason, a brief account of this insurrection and of the trial for treason of John Fries and other persons active therein, and of their conviction, sentence and ultimate pardon, may be of interest to the readers of this work.

On July 9, 1798, during the administration of John Adams, an Act of Congress was passed providing "for the valuation of lands and dwelling houses and the enumeration of slaves within the United States," and on July 14th an additional act was passed, entitled "An act to lay and collect a direct tax within the United States," fixing the amount to be raised at two million dollars, of which two hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy-seven dollars and seventy-two cents was the portion allotted to Pennsylvania. The rates of assessments under this act began with a rate of two-tenths of one per cent. where the dwelling and outhouses, on a lot not exceeding two acres, were valued at more than one hundred dollars and not exceeding five hundred dollars. The rate increased with the value of the houses and lands, so that a property worth thirty thousand dollars would pay a tax equal to one per cent. of its value.

NOTE—This narrative is from "Courts and Lawyers of Pennsylvania," by Frank M. Eastman, 3 vols.; 1922; The American Historical Society, Inc., New York City.

These acts were passed with a view to defraying the expenses of a war with France which was then thought to be imminent.

This law was violently denounced in Pennsylvania but the principal opposition was confined to the counties of Bucks, Montgomery, Northampton and Berks in the eastern part of the State.

Immediately after the passage of these acts, Pennsylvania was divided into nine districts for the purpose of the collection and assessment of the tax, Bucks and Montgomery counties constituting the third district, and Northampton, Luzerne and Wayne the fifth district. The commissioners for these districts divided them into assessment districts and furnished a list of persons qualified for assessors in each, who were appointed as such assessors.

The opposition to the tax appears to have been more general in Milford township, in Bucks county, and in some of the border townships of Northampton county. The inhabitants of these townships refused to be assessed, offered violence to the person of the assessors, and took away from them their assessment rolls.

The leader of the insurrection was one John Fries, of Milford, by occupation a vendue cryer, a man of little education, but considerable force of character. He had commanded a company of militia during the Revolutionary War, and also commanded a company in the Whiskey Insurrection. At this period he was about fifty years of age, and had theretofore been esteemed a quiet and inoffensive man. He had been a warm supporter of Adams and his administration, but suddenly became their most bitter enemy, giving vent to his feelings in terms of unmeasured denunciation.

Under the leadership of Fries, the inhabitants worked themselves up to such a degree of frenzy that it became utterly impossible to assess the tax, and armed and uniformed forces were raised with the object of opposing the collection of the same.

It being evident that it was beyond the power of the local authorities to enforce the assessment of the tax, application was made to Judge Peters, then judge of the District Court at Philadelphia, who issued warrants for the arrest of some of the persons most prominent in the insurrection, and sent the marshal of his court to serve the same. The marshal arrested a number of persons and took them to Bethlehem, where he held them in custody. While so held, a large number of armed insurgents, consisting of two companies of riflemen and one of mounted men, numbering in all about

one hundred and forty, proceeded to Bethlehem and released the prisoners, the marshal having only a small posse of unarmed men to defend them.

No sooner had this been done, however, than the insurrectionists, evidently alarmed at the probable consequences of their acts, quieted down, and it is probable that had the matter stopped here the tax could have been assessed and collected without further trouble. The President being officially informed as to the rescue of the prisoners, issued the following proclamation, endeavoring by this mild means to call the disturbers of the peace back to their duties before resort was made to harsher measures :

By the President of the United States of America :

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, combinations to defeat the execution of the laws for the valuation of lands and dwelling houses within the United States have existed within the counties of Northampton, Montgomery and Bucks, in the State of Pennsylvania, have proceeded in a manner subversive of the just authority of the government, by misrepresentations to render the laws odious, by deterring the officers of the United States to forbear the execution of their functions, and by openly threatening their lives. And, whereas, the endeavors of the well-affected citizens, as well as of the executive officers to conciliate compliance with these laws, have failed of success, and certain persons in the county of Northampton, aforesaid, have been hardy enough to perpetrate certain acts, which I am advised, amount to treason, being overt acts of levying war against the United States, the said persons exceeding one hundred in number, and armed and arrayed in warlike manner, having, on the seventh day of the present month of March, proceeded to the house of Abraham Levering, in the town of Bethlehem, and there compelled William Nichols, Marshal of the United States, for the District of Pennsylvania, to desist from the execution of certain legal processes in his hands to be executed, and having compelled him to discharge and set at liberty certain persons whom he had arrested by virtue of a criminal process, duly issued for offenses against the United States, and having impeded and prevented the commissioners and assessor, in conformity with the laws aforesaid, in the county of Northampton, aforesaid, by threats of personal injury, from executing the said laws, avowing, as the motive of these illegal and treasonable proceedings, an intention to prevent, by force of arms, the execution of the said laws, and to withstand, by open violence, the lawful authority of the United States. And, whereas,

THE FRIES REBELLION

by the Constitution and laws of the United States I am authorized, whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof, obstructed in any State, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by powers vested in the Marshal, to call forth military forces to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed, and I have accordingly determined so to do, under the solemn conviction that the essential interests of the United States demand it.

Therefore, I, John Adams, President of the United States, do hereby command all persons, being insurgents as aforesaid, and all others whom it may concern, on or before Monday next, being the eighteenth day of the present month, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes; and I do, moreover, warn all persons whomsoever, against aiding, abetting or comforting the perpetrators of the aforesaid treasonable acts, and I do require all officers and others, good and faithful citizens, according to their respective duties and laws of the land, to exert their utmost endeavors to prevent and suppress such dangerous and unlawful proceedings.

In testimony thereof, I have caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, the twelfth day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1799, and of the Independence of the said United States of America, the twenty-third.

By the President: JOHN ADAMS.

Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State.

As soon as this proclamation was promulgated, meetings were held through the disaffected sections, and almost all objection to the tax disappeared. Fries and his aiders and abettors submitted to the authorities, allowed their property to be assessed, and acquiesced in the law being carried into execution. Under these circumstances it is rather surprising that the following described action was taken by the national authorities.

On March 20th, 1799, the Secretary of War made a requisition on Governor Mifflin for militia forces for the purpose of suppressing the insurrection, and by authority of the Governor four troops of cavalry from the city of Philadelphia, one from the county of Philadelphia, one from the county of Chester, one from the county of Lancaster, and one from Montgomery county, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march for this purpose. To these were added about five hundred regular troops. The President also made

requisition on the executive of New Jersey for two thousand militia to hold themselves in readiness to march. This imposing military force set out from Philadelphia on April the 4th, and in a few days occupied the entire disaffected region. They arrested Fries and many others prominent in the insurrection. These arrests seemed to have been accompanied with unnecessary severity, and a veritable reign of terror existed while the troops were in the field, as appears from numerous letters which were written at the time by officers accompanying the expedition.

As an example, while the troops were at Reading, members of the Lancaster Light Horse, commanded by Captain Montgomery, dragged Jacob Schneider, the editor of the "Reading Adler," to the market house and publicly whipped him, by the order of the captain. Complaint of this outrage was made to General McPherson, commanding the troops, but he did nothing, and no redress could be had. Mr. Schneider was an anti-Federalist.

It is related that one of the captured was brought before a well known magistrate and was anxious to know the fate that awaited him, to which the official replied with becoming dignity, "In a fortnight the circuit court will meet, when you will be tried, and, in a fortnight after, will be in hell, sir." This circumstance is mentioned to show the bitterness of the times.

The next day after the arrest of Fries, he was taken before Judge Peters, who had accompanied the troops, and his statement was reduced to writing and signed by him as follows:

THE EXAMINATION OF JOHN FRIES, APRIL 6, 1799.

The examinant, confesses that he was one of the party which rescued the prisoners from the Marshal at Bethlehem; that he was also one of a party that took from the assessors, at Quakers-town, their papers and forwarned them against the execution of their duty in making the assessments. The papers were delivered with the consent of the assessors, but without force: perhaps under the awe and terror of the numbers who demanded them, and were by this examinant delivered to the assessors. He confesses that, at the house of Jacob Fries, a paper was written on the evening preceding the rescue of the prisoners at Bethlehem, containing an association or agreement of the subscribers to march for the purpose of making that rescue; but he is not certain whether he wrote that paper. He knows he did not sign it, but it was signed by many persons and delivered to the examinant; he does not know where the paper is. The examinant confesses, also, that, some weeks ago, he

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wrote (before the assessors came into that township) an agreement which he, with others, signed, purporting that, if an assessment must be made, they would not agree to have it done by a person who did not reside in the township, but they would choose their own assessor within their township. A meeting has been held in the township since the affair at Bethlehem for the purpose of making such a choice; examinant went to the place of election, but left it before the election opened. The examinant further acknowledges that his motive in going to Bethlehem to rescue the prisoners was not from personal attachment or regard to any of the persons who had been arrested, but proceeded from a general aversion to the law, and an intention to impede and prevent its exaction. He thought that the acts for the assessment and collection of a direct tax did not impose the quota equally upon the citizens and therefore were wrong. He cannot say who originally projected the rescue of the prisoners, or assembled the people for the purpose. The township seemed to be all of one mind. A man, unknown to the examinant, came to Quakertown, and said the people should meet at Conrad Marks' to go to Millarstown. The examinant says that, on the march of the people to Bethlehem, he was asked to take the lead, and did ride on before the people until they arrived at Bethlehem. The examinant had no arms, and took no command, except that he desired the people not to fire until he should give them orders, for he was afraid, as they were so much enraged, there would be bloodshed. He begged them, for God's sake, not to fire, unless they had orders from him, or unless he should be shot down, and then they might take their own command. That he returned the papers of the assessors, which had been delivered into his hands, back to the assessors privately, at which the people were much enraged, and suspected him (Fries) of having turned from them, and threatened to shoot him, between the house of Jacob Fries and Quakertown.

JOHN FRIES.

Taken April 6, 1799, before Richard Peters.

Fries and the other prisoners were taken to Philadelphia and confined in the common jail there until trial in the circuit court of the United States, which commenced its session in Philadelphia, April 11, 1799, the Hon. James I. Iredell, one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, being on the bench.

After the court was duly opened for business, Judge Iredell delivered his charge to the grand jury. He reviewed at considerable length the alien and sedition laws, argued their constitutionality, and said they were called for by the spirit of the times. He contended in advance of the trial and in the absence of testimony to

sustain his opinion, that the crime of which Fries was charged was treason, which, he said, consisted in opposing by force of arms the execution of any acts of Congress. The grand jury returned as a true bill the following indictment:

Indictment in the Circuit Court of the United States of America, in and for the Pennsylvania District of the Middle Circuit:

The Grand Inquest of the United States of America, for the Pennsylvania District, upon their respective oaths and affirmations, do present that John Fries, late of the county of Bucks, in the district of Pennsylvania, he being an inhabitant of, and residing in the said United States, to wit, in the district aforesaid, and under the protection of the laws of the said United States, and owing allegiance and fidelity to the same United States, not having the fear of God before his eyes, nor weighing the duty of his said allegiance and fidelity, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil, wickedly devising and intending the peace and tranquility of the said United States to disturb, on March 7, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, at Bethlehem, in the county of Northampton, in the district aforesaid, unlawfully, maliciously and traitorously did compass, imagine and intend to raise and levy war, insurrection and rebellion against the said United States; and to fulfill and bring into effect the said traitorous compassings, imaginations and intentions of him the said John Fries, he the said John Fries, afterwards, that is to say, on March seventh, in the said year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, at the said County of Northampton, in the district aforesaid, with a great multitude of persons whose names at present are unknown to the Grand Inquest aforesaid, to a great number to wit, to the number of one hundred persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with guns, swords, clubs, stones, and other warlike weapons, as well offensive as defensive, being then and there unlawfully, maliciously and traitorously assembled and gathered together, did falsely and traitorously assemble, and join themselves together against the said United States, and, then and there, with force and arms, did falsely and traitorously, and in a warlike manner, array and dispose them against the said United States, and then and there, with force and arms, in pursuance of such their traitorous intentions and purposes aforesaid, he, the said John Fries, with the said persons so as aforesaid traitorously assembled, and armed and arrayed in the manner aforesaid, most wickedly, maliciously and traitorously did ordain, prepare and levy public war against the said United States, contrary to the duty of his said allegiance and fidelity, against the Constitution, peace and dignity of the said United States, and also

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against the force of the Act of the Congress of the said United States, in such case made and provided.

WILLIAM RAWLE,
Attorney of the U. S. for the Pennsylvania District.

The case was called for trial on April 30, 1799, Alexander J. Dallas, father of Vice-President Dallas, and Messrs. Ewing and Lewis, representing the defendant. The United States was represented by Messrs. Rawle and Sitgreaves, the latter a resident of Easton, and at that time the United States Attorney for the Pennsylvania District. When the case was called, Mr. Lewis made the following motion in writing:

And now the prisoner, John Fries, being placed at the bar of this Court, at the city of Philadelphia, being the place appointed by law for holding the stated sessions thereof, and it being demanded of him if he is ready for his trial for the treason in the indictment mentioned, he moves, ore tenus, that his trial for the same offence may not be proceeded on here, and that the same may be had in the county in which the same acts of treason in the said indictment mentioned are laid, and where the offence therein mentioned is alleged to have been committed.

The application was founded on the Judiciary Act of September 24, 1789, the twenty-ninth section of which provides, "that in cases punishable with death, the trial shall be had in the county where the offense was committed; or where that cannot be done without great inconvenience, twelve petit jurors at least shall be summoned from thence." The court over-ruled the motion, and fixed the trial for the first day of May.

On that date the prisoner was duly arraigned, pleaded not guilty and a jury was impaneled. Mr. Sitgreaves opened the case on the part of the United States. He said "treason is defined in the Constitution of the United States, Section 3, Article III, in the words following: 'Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.' " He charged that Fries was guilty of treason in levying war and proceeded to elaborate upon the phraseology used in our Constitution, which is borrowed from the Statute of Edward III. He then passed to an exposition of the full meaning of the word treason, and pointed out what is necessary to constitute that crime; that, according to the definition of Lord Hale, it

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must consist both in levying war and in levying war against the Government of the United States. If the people assembled in a hostile manner only to gratify a spirit of revenge, or for any other purpose independent of war against the United States, it would amount only to a riot. He reviewed the leading operations of Fries and his friends, pointing out their combinations and conspiracy to resist the Federal authorities, and their actual resistance with arms at Bethlehem. He then called the witnesses to prove the facts stated in his opening. At this stage of the trial the confession of Fries above given was read.

The prosecution having rested, Mr. Dallas remarked that they desired to call two or three witnesses to prove that the unwillingness of the insurgents to permit the assessments to be made was owing to the uncertainty they were in of the real existence of the law; that the prisoner himself believed that it was no law, and that he and his associates had no intention of opposing Congress by force of arms, but wished for time in which to ascertain whether it was really in force, and, if so, they wished to appoint assessors from their own respective townships agreeably to their former custom; that it could be shown that Fries was perfectly quiescent after the proclamation. He then proceeded to an examination of the law of treason, and argued that none of the acts complained of amounted to that crime.

After Mr. Rawle had argued the constitutional definition of treason, Mr. Dallas opened the case for the defendant. He reviewed all the testimony of the witnesses, and denied that any of the facts proved established anything like the levying of war against the United States. He argued that treason could not be made out of the alleged facts, and that at most they were guilty of nothing but a conspiracy to resist the execution of an unpopular law. Having concluded, he called three witnesses to prove the facts he had alleged.

The jury was charged by both judges at considerable length, showing a strong bias against the prisoner, and after an absence of about three hours the jury returned with a verdict of guilty. The court met on the fourteenth day of May to pronounce sentence, when Mr. Lewis asked for a rule to show cause why a new trial should not be granted, which caused judgment to be suspended, and the prisoner was remanded back to prison. The ground upon which

this motion was based was that one of the jurymen at the trial had declared a prejudice against the prisoner after he was summoned as a juror. Finally a new trial was ordered.

The second trial of John Fries took place on April 29th, 1800, Judge Chase presiding, assisted by Judge Peters, of the District Court. Mr. Dallas and Mr. Lewis, who had represented Fries at the first trial, withdrew from the case at its beginning, because of the course of the judges in laying down their opinions as to the law before hearing counsel. They alleged that this proceeding was not only illegal, but unprecedented, and they therefore declined to have anything more to do with the case. This conduct of Judge Chase afterwards became the subject of the first of the articles of his impeachment, on which he was tried before the United States Senate in February, 1805. Their withdrawal left Fries without counsel, and as he expressed no desire to have counsel assigned to him he was without legal assistance during the trial.

The result of the second trial was the same as that of the first, and on May 2, 1800, he was sentenced to be hanged by the neck until dead. On May 23, 1800, the President issued a proclamation extending pardon to all persons concerned in the Rebellion, except such as stood indicted or convicted of treason in connection therewith. This proclamation did not embrace the cases of Fries and two of his associates, who were already under sentence, but a special pardon was made out for them a few days afterwards, very much against the wishes of the Cabinet.

Thus, not unhappily terminated the Fries Rebellion. It is unnecessary to say that politics figured in it from beginning to end; the Federalists contending that Fries was guilty of treason and should suffer the extreme penalty of the law; the Democrats claiming that he was the victim of tyranny and oppression. In view of the frenzy of the people and their lack of discipline, it was extraordinary that no lives were lost at the rescue of the prisoners at Bethlehem.

Horace Binney, in a sketch of the life of William Lewis, in his "Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia," published in 1859, gives the following account of the trial of Fries:

He [Lewis] had been counsel for John Fries, an insurgent of Northampton County, in Pennsylvania, upon a former trial before Mr. Justice Iredell, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and

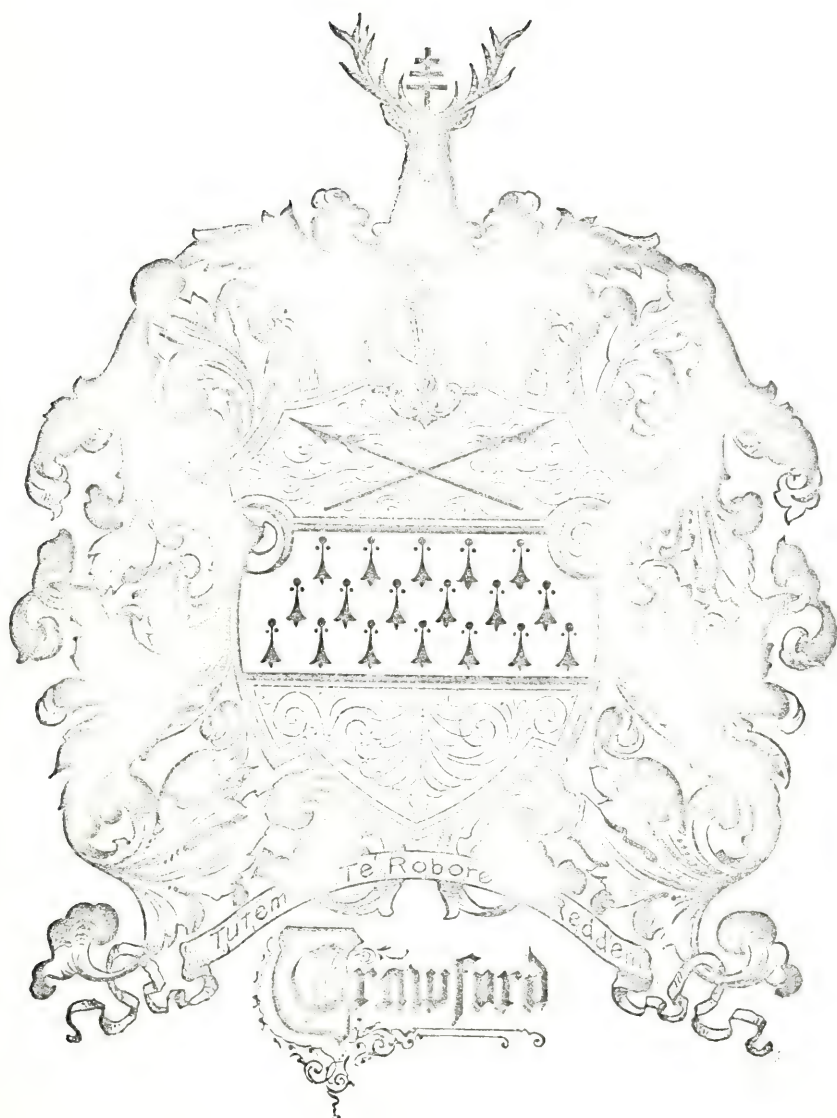
Peters the District Judge, upon an indictment for treason, where the law had been fully discussed, and Fries had been convicted. A new trial was awarded by the Court, on the ground of declarations by a juror, ascertained by the defendant and his counsel after the verdict had been rendered. Before a jury was empanelled for the new trial, Mr. Justice Chase, of Maryland, who was in the seat before occupied by Judge Iredell, informed the Bar, that the Court had made up their opinion upon the law of treason involved in the case; and to prevent being misunderstood, they had reduced it to writing, and had directed copies to be made for the District Attorney, the counsel of Fries the prisoner, and the jury; which were then handed for distribution to the Clerk of the Court, who placed them on the table at the Bar. Mr. Lewis with some deliberation and solemnity rose from his seat, slowly approached the papers, and lifting one of them to his eyes, gave a short glance at it, and threw it down upon the table. He then withdrew, and retired from the place he had occupied, without uttering a word. Mr. Edward Tilghman approached him, said a few words to him about the innovation, and after the transaction of some other business, the Court adjourned for the day. On the next morning when the cause was called, Mr. Lewis informed the Court, that upon full and solemn consideration, he declined proceeding as counsel for the prisoner, as the Court had prejudged the law; and Mr. Dallas, his colleague, declared himself to the same effect, though with a hesitation, he said, which he would not have felt, if the Court had not appointed him as assistant counsel for the prisoner. There was profound silence, and deep sensation at the Bar, and the Court had no doubt been previously led to expect it; for Judge Chase informed the counsel, that they were not bound by the opinion, but might contest it on both sides, and Judge Peters expressed a wish that the counsel would proceed, and take the course they should think proper. The papers, he said, were withdrawn. The Judge had probably deferred to Judge Chase, and let the papers go as the opinion of the Court, without any very cordial sanction. Mr. Lewis, with few, but distinct and solemn words, replied: "The Court has prejudged the law of the case—the opinion of the Court has been declared—after such a declaration, the counsel can have no hope of changing it,—the impression of it must remain with the jury,—the counsel, therefore, will not act in behalf of the prisoner." The effect was electric; for Mr. Lewis had the full sympathy of the Bar.

Judge Chase, however, did not forget his personal dignity, nor the dignity of the Bench, upon hearing this definitive reply. He immediately rejoined to the effect, that then, with God's help, the Court would be the counsel of the prisoner, and would see that he had a fair trial. And no doubt he had a fair trial, and was convicted a second time, and sentenced to death. But the pardon that

ensued was not improbably induced, in part, by what had happened. The life of the prisoner was saved, and the conduct of Judge Chase was made an article of the impeachment subsequently preferred against him by the House of Representatives; and sixteen out of thirty-four senators recorded against him, upon that charge, the vote of guilty. The larger number voted for his acquittal, upon the ground, probably, of the absence of all corrupt or oppressive intention. It was acknowledged that the previously declared opinion of the Court had been sound in point of law.

I was present at this scene, in April, 1800, and have given it as my memory retains it. The act of the Court was not regarded by the Bar as one of intended oppression of either the prisoner or his counsel, but as a great mistake, resulting, in part, from the character of the principal judge, a very learned and able man, but confident and rather imperious, and in part from his greater familiarity with the Maryland practice, where the Judge used to respond, and perhaps still does, more exclusively, for the law, and the jury for the facts, or rather more dividedly or separately than was, in point of form, the usage in Pennsylvania. In a criminal cause like this, however, the course of the Court would probably have been regarded as a mistake anywhere. It served as a signal lesson to stimulate the sense of professional independence, and of the jury, in criminal causes; and fitly closed Mr. Lewis's career in this description of case.





Crawford and Allied Families

Arms—Argent, a fess ermine. In chief two spears saltire, sable.

Crest—A stag's head, surmounted by a triple cross.

Motto—*Tutem te robore reddem* (I will keep thee safe through my strength).



THE first recorded ancestor of the historic House of Crawford, whose chronicles seem almost those of Scotland in epitome, was named Leofwine, and must have been born not far from the year one thousand. His son, Thor Longus (Thor the Tall), appears to have been one of the Northumbrian Anglo-Danes who soon after the Norman Conquest joined the forces of the Scottish King in vain effort to stay the victories of Duke William, now King of England. Between 1097 and 1107 Thor Longus was granted by King Edgar of Scotland, lands at Edinham, not far from the Barony of Crawford. So far as known, all who bear the name of Crawford descend from Swane, a son of Thor Longus. This Swane had a son Galfridus, and the latter two sons, Hugh and Reginald, and these held ownership of Crawford, as it is thought, did their father, Galfridus, and their grandfather, Swane. The known lineage descending from the aforesaid Hugh, the elder son of Galfridus, ended with two heiresses, who married one, Archibald de Douglas, ancestor of the Dukes of Douglas; the other, David de Lindesay, ancestor of all the Clan Lindesay and of the Earls of Crawford. But it is from Reginald, the younger son, of the above-mentioned Galfridus, that the family bearing Crawford for surname trace, and indeed the first known use of the surname was by John de Crawford, son of this Reginald, who thus witnessed a charter in 1140.

Numerous branches thence through some five hundred years helped make famous the name in Scottish history. They were strong adherents of the Bruce, allied by marriage to the valiant hero, Sir William Wallace, whose mother was Margaret Crawford, and in the troubled times of the faded Mary Queen of Scots faithful to her in misfortune as they had been loyal in support while she was enthroned.

Perhaps the most famous branch of the family was of Ayrshire, which in turn was the parent stem of many other branches. The grandson of John de Crawford, of the 1140 charter mentioned above, was Sir Reginald de Crawford, sheriff of Ayrshire, who married Margaret, heiress of Loudoun. The senior line descending from this marriage ended with an heiress, Susanna de Crawford de Loudoun,

who became the wife of Sir Duncan Campbell, thus conveying to the Campbell family the Earldom of Loudoun. Other branches, however, continued to flourish in Ayrshire and it was from this historic home of the Crawford family of Scotland that one of the descendants of Leofwine and Thor the Tall came to the New World in the latter half of the seventeenth century to establish here the American House of Crawford.

Arms—Gules, a fess ermine.

I. John Crawford, it is thought, came first to Massachusetts about 1672, thence going to Long Island, and by December 11, 1678, was at Middletown, Monmouth county, New Jersey, where on that date he was deeded a house and land in Middletown by Richard Gibbons and the latter's wife. A license for proprietorship of an ordinary at Middletown was granted him the same year. It seems evident that John Crawford was a man of means when he came to Monmouth county, for he began almost at once to purchase land and bought a number of properties. On December 3, 1687, the East Jersey Proprietors patented to him two hundred acres at Nutswamp, and this estate became the ancestral homestead. In this patent he was designated as John Crawford, Gentleman, a title which signified a very definite social distinction in the seventeenth century. John Crawford died in 1694, and was buried at Nutswamp. By his marriage to Elizabeth, whose maiden surname is unknown, he had two sons, George and John.

II. John (2) Crawford, son of John (1) and Elizabeth Crawford, inherited Nutswamp, also receiving from his father other land in Monmouth county. John (2) Crawford died before November 25, 1704, when letters of administration of his estate were granted. His wife was Abigail ———, and they had a son George, who resided at Nutswamp.

III. George Crawford, son of John (2) and Abigail Crawford, died between March 15 and May 10, 1745, the dates of the making and the proving of his will. The wife of George Crawford was Esther (Scott) Crawford, of Shrewsbury, New Jersey, born March 13, 1701, a daughter of John and Mary (Bills) Scott. Her paternal grandparents were William and Abigail Tilton (Warner) Scott, while those on the maternal side were Thomas and Joanna (Twining) Bills. George and Esther (Scott) Crawford had seven children: George, Richard, William, of whom subsequently; Job, Joshua, Lydia, and Elizabeth.

IV. William Crawford, third son of George and Esther (Scott) Crawford, married Catherine Bowne, their license being dated December 27, 1756. A study of the Bowne ancestry will appear below.



CRAWFORD



William H Crawford



Leah Gomer Crawford

William Crawford and his wife made their home in the Bowne homestead, which became known thereafter as the Crawford-Bowne Manor House. Their children were: Esther, William, of whom subsequently; John Bowne, and Mary.

V. *William (2) Crawford*, son of William (1) and Catherine (Bowne) Crawford, was born October 9, 1763. He was a very wealthy man, having inherited large estates from both his father and mother. He died December 14, 1837. By his wife, Rebecca (Patterson) Crawford, born October 9, 1768, the daughter of John Patterson, of Middletown, he had the following children: 1. John Bowne, who married Catherine Crawford. 2. William, who died young. 3. William Henry, of whom subsequently. 4. James Patterson, who married Margaretta Bowne. 5. Anne Bowne, who married Hendrick Conover.

VI. *William Henry Crawford*, third son of William (2) and Rebecca (Patterson) Crawford, was born August 18, 1809, in Monmouth county, New Jersey, near the present town of Holmdel. His eldest brother, John Bowne Crawford, inherited the Crawford ancestral estate at Nutswamp, and he received the old Bowne Manor at Crawford's corner in Holmdel township. William Henry Crawford was educated at Middletown Academy. He was what would be called in England "a gentleman farmer," devoting much of his time to the scientific cultivation of his large estates. He was the original propagator of the famous Early and Late Crawford peach. His agricultural activities, however, did not prevent him from holding place in the public affairs of his community. He was an earnest member of the Baptist church, in politics a staunch Democrat. Descending as William Henry Crawford did from so many ancestral families of social and intellectual distinction, he naturally sought the cultivation of his own mind, and was devoted to reading, choosing the greatest literature, the Bible, Shakespeare, and Milton. He died at Crawford-Bowne Manor, December 21, 1874.

William Henry Crawford married, January 8, 1834, Leah Conover, daughter of Cornelius Rulof and Mary (Stoutenborough) Conover. Studies of the Conover (Van Kouwenhoven) and Stoutenborough ancestry appear further in this monograph. The children of William Henry and Leah (Conover) Crawford, all but one now deceased, were: 1. Holmes Conover, who married Evelyn Peterson. 2. William Henry, who married Poebe A. Duryea. 3. John Bowne, who married Henrietta Schenck. 4. Albro Benton. 5. Charles, Voorhees, of whom subsequently. 6. Mary Jane Leslie. 7. Anna Lawrence, of whom subsequently. 8. Sarah Elizabeth, who married Daniel T. Polhemus. 9. Katherine Bibb, who married Horace A. Field.

VII. Charles Voorhees Crawford, fifth son of William Henry and Leah (Conover) Crawford, was born in the Crawford-Bowne Manor House, November 17, 1844, and died April 16, 1908, at Keyport, New Jersey. He was a graduate of Glenwood Institute at Matawan, New Jersey, later engaging in the hardware business in New York City. Subsequently, on retirement from commercial activities, he became a director and the secretary of the Keyport Banking Company, at Keyport, New Jersey. He resided in the old Manor House, in whose historic charm he delighted. A man of the highest character, he was esteemed by his neighbors and greatly loved by his family and friends. Mr. Crawford never married. He died in April, 1908, and was buried in the old Holmdel Cemetery.

VII. Anna Lawrence Crawford, daughter of William Henry and Leah (Conover) Crawford, owns by inheritance the ancestral estate of Crawford-Bowne Manor, at Crawford's Corner, Holmdel township, Monmouth county, New Jersey. A few years ago the fine old Manor House was destroyed by fire, and with it perished many of the family treasures which it contained. Miss Crawford, however, still possesses a rare collection of ancestral portraits, furniture, silver, embroideries, and other objects of historic and artistic value. These, guarded with great care and arranged with an exquisite taste for artistic grouping and delicate color effects, fill her home with an atmosphere of charm, as of gathered fragrances from many generations of pleasant and cultured living.

(The Bowne Line).

Arms—Ermine, a lion rampant or, on a canton of the second a mullet sable.

Crest—A demi-lion rampant sable, holding in its dexter paw a sprig of laurel leaves proper.

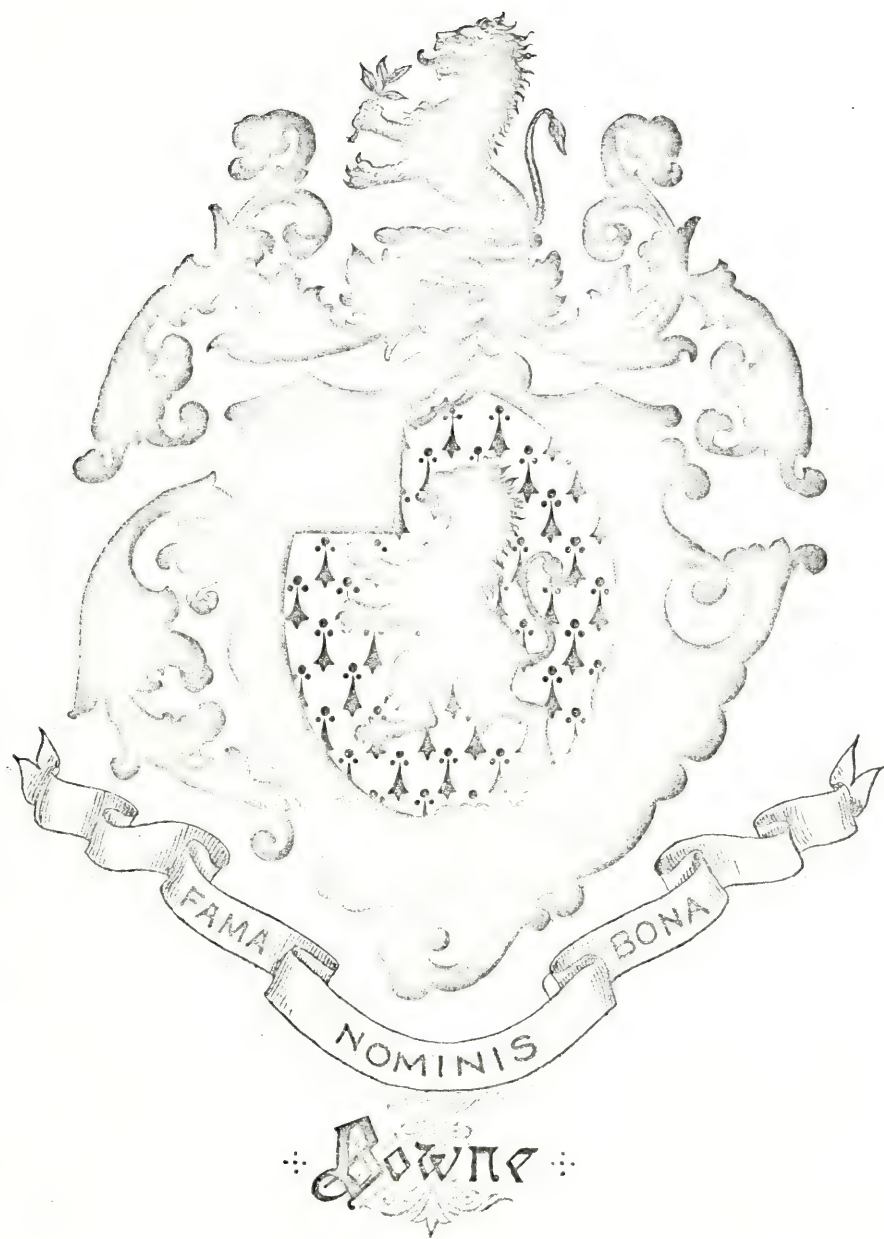
Motto—*Fama nominis bona.*

From a study of English patronymics it appears that the name of Bowne is derived from Bohun. This was one of the great historic families of England, founded by Humphrey de Bohun, called "the Bearded," a companion of William the Conqueror.

I. William Bowne came to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1631, with his wife Anne, and their son John. He was granted land there May 17, 1637, but a few years later removed to Gravesend, Long Island, William Bowne being one of the seven patentees of the new settlement at that place. The "Monmouth Patent" for a colony in Monmouth county, New Jersey, was granted April 8, 1665, and two of the twelve grantees, John Bowne and Obadiah Holmes, were ancestors of Anna Lawrence Crawford. They were also ancestors of Abraham Lincoln. William Bowne, the father, was not one of the original grantees, but he received land two years later at Portland Point, and also had property at Middletown. In 1669 he was a deputy to the General Assembly of New Jersey. He died at Portland Point, Monmouth county, 1677.



Chas. V. Crawford



II. Captain John Bowne, eldest son of William and Anne Bowne, was born in England. In 1647 he received land at Gravesend, in the records of which place his name frequently appears. On February 28, 1665, he was a delegate to the convention held at Hempstead, Long Island, at which the famous judicial code known as the Duke's Laws was adopted, and he was one of the twelve patentees of the Monmouth Patent," where he settled in 1667, and where he was one of the most prominent members of the community. He was deputy to the General Assembly of New Jersey, 1675 to 1683, and for four years was speaker of the House. In 1683 he was justice of the peace for Monmouth county, and in December 1683, received his commission as major of the First Battalion of the Monmouth County Militia. The land on which was built the first Baptist church in New Jersey, together with land for a cemetery, was at Middletown, and the gift of Major Bowne. Although never regularly ordained, he served in a ministerial capacity before the first regular minister was appointed. His devout character and noble views of life are shown in the following record, preserved by a descendant:

Words of advice spoken by Capt. John Bowne to his children as he lay on his death bed, January 3, 1684: "There is no way in the world for a man to obtain felicity in this world, or in the world to come, but to take heed to the ways of the Lord, and to put his trust in Him, who deals faithfully and truly with all men, for He knocks at the doors of your heart and calls you to come and buy, without money and without price. My desire is that in all actions of "*meum et tuum*" you deal not deceitfully, but plain hearted with all men, and remember that your dying father left it with you for your instruction that when trust is with your honor, to preserve it. And in all contracts and bargains that you make, violate not your promise, and you will have praise. Let your mother be your counsellor in all matters of difference, and go not to lawyers, but ask her counsel first. If at any time you have an advantage of a poor man at law, O! pursue it not, but rather forgive him if he hath done you wrong, and if you do so you will help the law of God and of His people. Give not away to youthful jollities and sports, but improve your leisure time in the service of God. Let no good man be dealt churlishly by you, but entertain when they come to your house. But if a vicious, wicked man come, give him meat and drink to refresh him and let him pass by your door. It has been many times in my thoughts that for a man to marry a wife and have children and never take care to instruct them, but leave them worse than the beasts of the field, so that as a man asks concerning the things of God, O! this is a very sad thing, but if we can season our hearts so as to desire the Lord to assist us, He will help us, and not fly from us."

Captain Bowne, as he is generally called, though bearing the rank of major, as stated, owned an estate of broad acres in Monmouth county, called Westfield, at the present Crawford's Corner, near Holmdel (then Middletown). He built the east wing of the original Crawford-Bowne Manor House, in which resided for many generations his descendants in the Bowne and Crawford families. He died there January 4, 1684, and was buried at Middletown, where his is the oldest stone in the cemetery. The first wife of Captain Bowne was Lydia, daughter of the Rev. Obadiah and Katherine (Hyde)

Holmes, whose family will be treated subsequently in the present study. His second wife was Mary Haverlads Felt.

III. Obadiah Bowne, second son of Captain John and Lydia (Holmes) Bowne, was born at Gravesend, Long Island, July 18, 1666. He was a member of the Assembly, 1703, 1704, 1707. Inheriting from his father the homestead built by the latter, in 1701 he added the western part of the house and a great hall and stairway. This old mansion, unfortunately destroyed by fire, June 17, 1895, was a splendid example of the fine old homes of the New Jersey gentry. The spacious parlor had a great open fireplace, with tiles picturing Bible history, and on the door of this room Biblical subjects were painted, with the Bowne coat-of-arms. Obadiah Bowne died at the Manor, April 19, 1726. His first wife was his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Governor Andrew Bowne, son of William Bowne, the first of the family in America. He married (second) Elizabeth, daughter of Cornelius Longfield.

IV. Captain John (2) Bowne, the eldest child of Obadiah and Elizabeth (Bowne) Bowne, was born May 21, 1701. With his sisters, Anne and Lydia, he inherited from their grandfather, Governor Bowne, the latter's estate at Matawan, New Jersey. His half-brothers Cornelius, Obadiah and Thomas, conveyed to him their shares in the Manor House and lands, and also property at Chingaroras, now Keyport, New Jersey. Captain Bowne was a judge in Monmouth county, where he died in 1774. His wife was Anne, daughter of Moses and Sarah (Throckmorton) Lippitt, of Middletown, New Jersey, and was born November 29, 1702. Through the Throckmorton ancestry, thus brought into the lineage of Anne Lawrence Crawford, the latter descends from an ancient family of great historic interest, for centuries seated at Coughton, in Warwickshire, but originally in Worcestershire.

V. Catherine Bowne, the youngest child of Captain John (2) and Anne (Lippitt) Bowne, was born March 12, 1736. The license for her marriage to William Crawford was dated December 27, 1756, and from this marriage sprang the line which has been brought down to Anna Lawrence Crawford, the great-granddaughter of the foregoing.

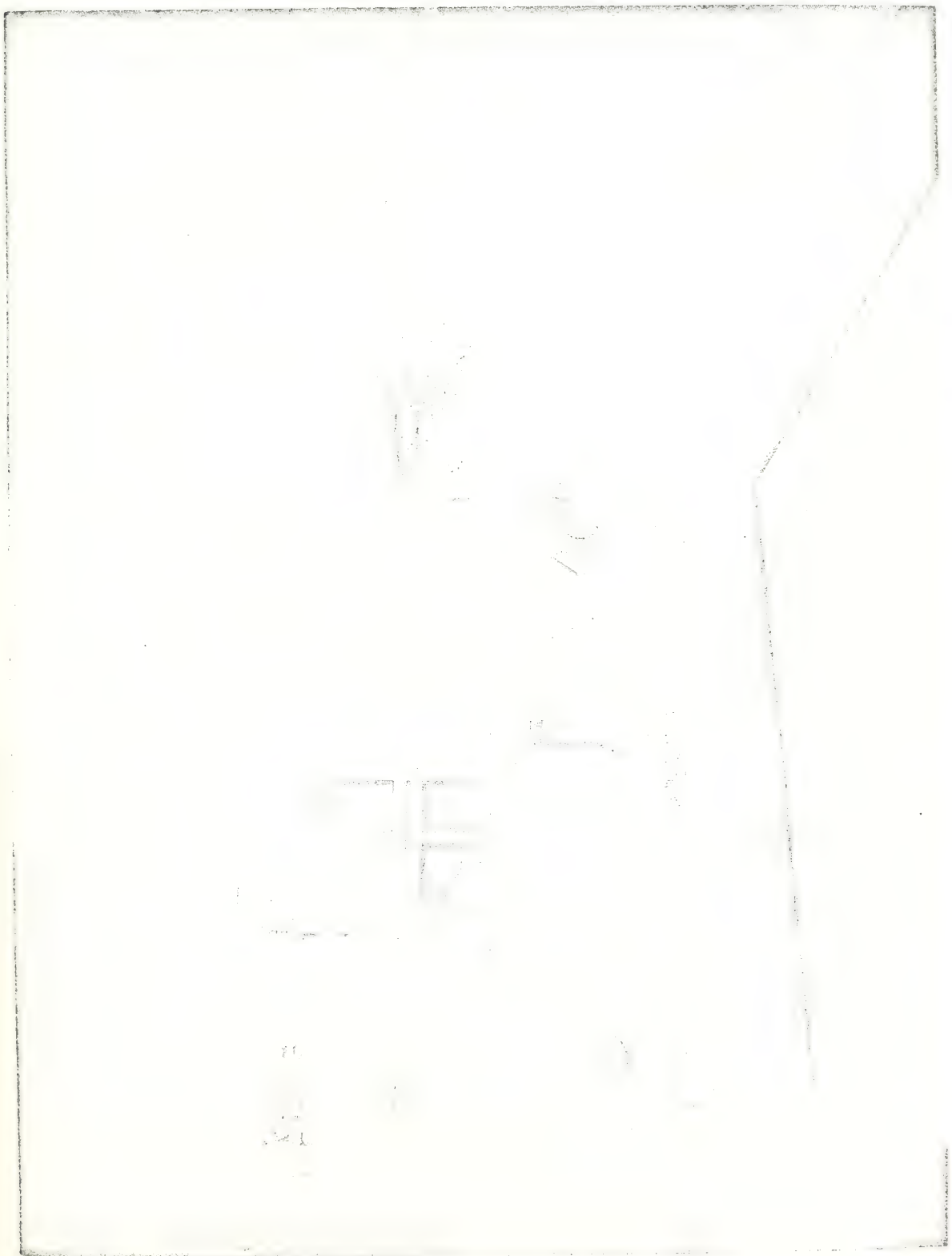
(The Van Kouwenhoven Line).

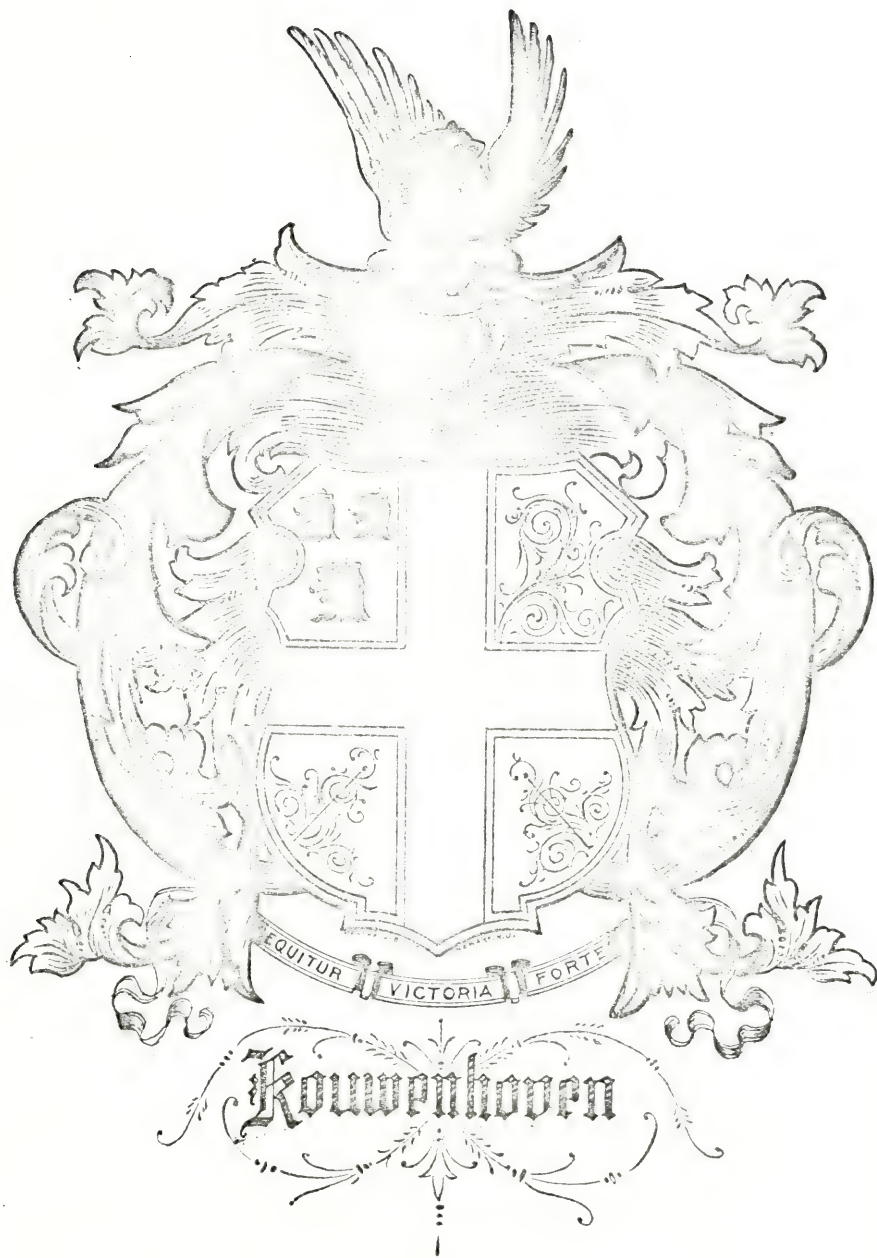
Arms—Argent, a cross azure, on a canton three leopards' heads erased, gules.

Crest—A leopard's head of the shield, between two wings addorsed, the dexter argent, the sinister azure.

Motto—*Sequitur victoria fortes* (Victory follows the brave).

I. Wolfert Gerritsen Van Kouwenhoven arrived in New Netherland from Amersfoort, Utrecht, Holland, March 21, 1630, on the ship "Eendracht." On his arrival in America he became the sup-





erintendent of farms for the Patroon Van Rensselaer, near what is now Albany, New York. Later he resided in New Amsterdam, occupying a farm known as Bouwery, Number 6. In 1637 land was patented to him on Long Island, at Flatlands and Flatbush, to which property he added by further purchase. He was sent in 1653 as a commissioner from the Colony to Holland. He died in New Amsterdam, June, 1660.

II. Gerrit Wolfertse Van Kouwenhoven, son of Wolfert Gerritsen Van Kouwenhoven and the latter's wife Neeltje, whose maiden surname is unknown, was born in Holland in 1610, and accompanied his parents to America. He resided at Flatlands, on Long Island, where he purchased land in 1638. His wife was Aeltie Lambertse Cool.

III. Judge Willem Gerritsen Van Kouwenhoven, son of Gerrit Wolfertse and Aeltie Lambertse (Cool) Van Kouwenhoven, was born at Flatlands in 1636. He lived for some years in Brooklyn, where he was a magistrate and a deacon of the Reformed Dutch church, his later residence being Flatlands. It is believed that he removed after 1709 to Monmouth county, New Jersey, where he died in 1727. In 1660 he married (first) Eltje, daughter of Joris Dircksen Brinckerhoff, and widow of ——— Matthews. His second wife, whom he married February 12, 1665, was Jannetje, daughter of Peter and Sarah (De Plancken) Montfoort.

IV. Cornelius Willense Van Kouwenhoven, son of Judge Willem Gerritsen and Jannetje (Montfoort) Van Kouwenhoven, was born November 29, 1672, and died May 16, 1736. In 1700 he removed to Monmouth county, New Jersey. On September 8, 1700, he married Margareta, daughter of Roelof M. and Anetje Pieterse (Wycokoff) Schenck. She was descended from Martin Schenck, born August 7, 1584, who came to New Netherland and settled in Flatlands. His lineage has been traced in a continuous line back to Heinrich Van Nydeck, recorded in 1346 as a grandson of Wilhelmus Schenck, this Heinrich being Lord of Afferden.

V. Roelof Cornelisen Conover, as the name Van Kouwenhoven was later spelled, son of Cornelius Willense and Margareta (Schenck) Conover or Van Kouwenhoven, was born April 12, 1710, and died December 12, 1789. His wife was Sarah Bloom, a widow, daughter of Cornelius Van Voorhees.

VI. Cornelius Rulof (or Roelofsen) Conover, son of Roelof Cornelisen and Sarah (Bloom-Van Voorhees) Conover, was born July 29, 1740, and was a soldier of the Revolution, serving in Captain Carhart's company, First Regiment, Monmouth county, New Jersey. He died July 12, 1796. In 1758 he married Jane Denise.

VII. Cornelius Rulof (2) *Conover*, son of Cornelius Rulof (1) and Jane (Denise) Conover, was born May 3, 1783, and died April 11, 1817. He married, March 9, 1807, Mary, daughter of Captain John and Catherine (Holmes) Stoutenborough, and their daughter, Leah Conover, became the wife of William Henry Crawford, and the mother of Anna Lawrence Crawford. (See Crawford VI.)

(The Stoutenborough Line).

Arms—Gules, six fleurs-de-lis argent.

Crest—Two heads and necks of cranes affrontee, argent, armed gules.

The Stoutenburgh family lived near Amersfoort, in the Province of Utrecht, Holland, where the ancient Castle of Stoutenburgh still stands. Pieter Van Stoutenburgh was born about 1613, and came to New Amsterdam prior to July 25, 1649, when he was married there to Aefgy Van Tienhoven. He resided on Broadway, above Wall street, and there are many records concerning him, for he was an eminent man and has been described as "the rich treasurer of the colony and one of the prominent burgesses of New Amsterdam." On August 16, 1673, he was nominated for schepen or magistrate, and before November 10, 1676, he had become treasurer of New Amsterdam. By 1686 his residence was removed to the "Heeren Gracht (oost zyde),"—Broad Street, east side. Pieter Van Stoutenburgh, or Peter Stoutenburgh (the surname subsequently becoming Stoutenborough), was an elder of the Dutch church in 1698-99, in which year, on March 9, he died, aged eighty-six years.

II. Tobias Stoutenburgh, son of Pieter and Aefgy (Van Tienhoven) Van Stoutenburgh, was baptized in New Amsterdam, January 18, 1660. On March 5, 1681, he was received as a member of the Dutch church. In 1686 he resided on the "Breede Weg," Broadway. He was appointed one of the five "brand meesters" (fire wardens) of the town on January 4, 1690. He died between May 2, 1715, and December 29, 1716, the dates respectively of the making and proving of his will, in which he referred to "the Great House I now live in." The "Great House" of Tobias Stoutenburgh was located on Broadway, and the present Liberty street passes through his land. He married, July 2, 1684, Anneken Van Rollegom, baptized July 15, 1665, the daughter of Jan Joosten Van Rollegom from Haerlem in Holland.

III. Lucas Stoutenburgh, son of Tobias and Anneken (Van Rollegom) Stoutenburgh, was baptized in New York City, September 20, 1691. He married (first) Sarah Beating; he married (second) Helena (or Magdalena), daughter of Anthony and Helena (also called Magdalena) (Joosten) Van Pelt. The placing of Anthony Stoutenborough (as the name now began to be spelled) as the son of Lucas



(also called Teunis, or Anthony) and Helena, was determined by a process of elimination, together with the weight of evidence added by the knowledge among descendants of Anthony Stoutenborough that they were also descendants of the Van Pelt family through their Stoutenborough ancestry. The mother of Anthony Stoutenborough, Helena (Magdalena) (Van Pelt) Stoutenburgh, baptized in Brooklyn, May 29, 1695, was the granddaughter of Teunis (Anthony) Van Pelt and the latter's wife, Grietje (Jans) Van Pelt, this couple coming to New Netherland in 1663 from Liege, Flanders, the present Belgium. Teunis was the son of Jan Van Pelt, and wrote his name, "Teunis Jansen Lanen Van Pelt."

IV. Anthony Stoutenborough, son of Lucas and Helena (Van Pelt) Stoutenburgh, was born probably about 1720, and died between February 8, 1783, when he made his will, and June 9 of that year, when it was probated. The license for his marriage to Mary Seguin, of a French family of Huguenot antecedents, was dated July 26, 1745. Anthony and his wife lived on Staten Island, and attended St. Andrew's Church. In old Staten Island records he is called "Mr.," then a title of especial respect.

V. Captain John Stoutenborough, the eldest son of Anthony and Mary (Seguin) Stoutenborough, was baptized in St. Andrew's Church, Richmond, Staten Island, September 1, 1754. He made his residence at Shrewsbury, Monmouth county, New Jersey, and died May 6, 1839. His grave is in the Baptist churchyard at Holmdel, New Jersey. Captain Stoutenborough married Catherine Holmes, an account of whose ancestry follows. Their daughter, Mary, born April 5, 1787, died April 29, 1861, married, March 9, 1807, Cornelius Rulof (2) Conover, and their daughter, Leah Conover, as stated above, became the wife of William Henry Crawford, and the mother of Anna Lawrence Crawford.

(The Holmes Line).

Arms—Barry of eight, or and azure, on a canton argent, a chaplet gules.

The Holmes ancestry of Miss Crawford comes to her doubly through the marriages, mentioned above, of Lydia Holmes to Captain John Bowne, and of Catherine Holmes to Captain John Stoutenborough.

The American progenitor of the family was the Rev. Obadiah Holmes, who came from Lancashire, England. There the records of the name, more often spelled Hulme, are ancient and bear testimony to a distinguished ancestry. It is said that an augmentation of the coat-armor, a chaplet gules on a canton argent, was granted by Edward the Black Prince to Sir William de Hulme, of Lancashire, for his gallant service in France. Many branches of the fam-

ily bear this augmentation on arms identical with, or closely similar to, the ancient coat of the Lancashire house.

The earliest traced ancestor of Obadiah Holmes was Robert Hulme, of Reddish, in Manchester parish, Lancashire, where William Hulme held land in 1202, and which was the home of the family down through the centuries. Close by are other places long connected with Hulme (Holmes) history, as Heaton Norris, Withington, and Denton, together with those directly linked with Obadiah Holmes and his immediate family—Didsbury Stockport, Gorton, and Manchester itself. The last, and especially its ancient church, now Manchester Cathedral, which contained two chapels founded by the Hulme family, is often mentioned in ancestral chronicles, and in the city of Manchester to-day lies much of the now exceedingly valuable property of the famous Hulme Exhibitions. The latter is the name of a fund bequeathed to Brasenose College, Oxford University, for free post-graduate scholarships, by William Hulme, who died in 1691, and was probably a near relative of Obadiah Holmes, since he came of the branch family seated at Hulme Hall in Reddish, Hulme Hall, now more often known as Broadstone Hall, and at present a farmhouse, should not be confused with another Hulme Hall, in Hulme Manor, also close to Manchester. This last-named mansion was demolished about 1840. Its gardens were long celebrated for their beauty and their archaeological interest, many Roman remains having been there unearthed. Reddish Hall, in Reddish, a beautiful old timbered house, stood until about 1780. There was relationship by marriage in very early times between the families of Hulme and Reddish, and it is possible that the name of Reddish was once borne by the Hulme ancestors.

I. Robert Hulme, of Reddish, was born early in the sixteenth century, and died in January, 1605, being buried on the 14th of that month at Stockport, close by Reddish. In the record of his burial he was described as "Ould Robert Holme of Redich." His wife Alice, whose maiden surname is unknown, was buried in the present Manchester Cathedral, September 7, 1610, as "Alyce wydow of Robte Hulme of Reddiche."

II. Robert (2) Hulme, son of Robert (1) and Alice Hulme, inherited his father's lands. In his will, made August 20, 1640, and proved November 24, 1649, he bequeathed to his son Robert "the messuage in which I now dwell and which has been held—by my progenitors tyme out of mind." He was buried at Stockport, November 12, 1640. The wife of this Robert Hulme was named Katherine, and it is thought her maiden surname was Johnson. They were married at Stockport, October 8, 1605, and she was there buried September 8, 1630.

III. Rev. Obadiah Holmes, son of Robert (2) and Katherine (Johnson?) Hulme or Holmes, was born probably at Reddish, in 1606 or 1607. He was baptized in Didsbury Chapel, November 18, 1609-10. Didsbury lies close to Reddish, and it is quite probable that Obadiah attended there the ancient school before his matriculation at Brasenose College, Oxford. In a document still extant, Obadiah Holmes stated that his father provided three of his sons with an Oxford education, and the records of matriculation at Brasenose of two of these sons, John and Samuel, have been found, while he himself was so evidently a man of scholarship and learning as well as of brilliant intellect, that it is generally assumed he was the third of Robert Hulme's sons to attend the University.

On November 20, 1630, he married, in the present Manchester Cathedral, Katherine Hyde, and in 1638 he, with his wife and their son Jonathan, sailed from Preston in Lancashire for America. They landed at Boston, but soon settled in Salem. By 1646 he had removed to Rehoboth, Massachusetts, where he became involved in difficulties with the authorities through his independent views in ecclesiastical affairs, and in 1650 he became an avowed Baptist, and with several of his friends left Rehoboth and took up residence in Newport, Rhode Island. The following year Obadiah Holmes, with Dr. John Clarke and John Crandall, was arrested at Swampscott, near Lynn, where they had held a Baptist meeting in the home of William Witter, an aged and blind associate. They were lodged in Boston jail, and their trial resulted in a severe sentence of fines or whippings. The fines of Clarke and Crandall were paid by friends, but to Obadiah Holmes it appeared a matter of principle to refuse by payment to recognize the authority of the civil power to discipline him for what, if an offense, was an offense against the spiritual power. Therefore, on September 5, 1651, he was taken forth to what is now the square about the old State House in Boston, and given thirty lashes.

On his release he returned to Newport, and succeeded Dr. Clarke in 1652 as minister of the Baptist church at Newport. Several times he was sent as deputy from Newport to the General Assembly. After an earlier preaching expedition on Long Island, in 1665, he was there with Lady Deborah Moody's colony at Gravesend. He became a patentee of the new settlement in Monmouth county, New Jersey, in 1665, but did not make himself a new home there, although his family did so. He returned to Newport, where he died, October 15, 1682. It was his daughter Lydia who, as above stated, became the wife of Captain John Bowne, and thus the ancestress of Anna Lawrence Crawford. The latter has a second Holmes lineage through Captain Jonathan Holmes, eldest son of the Rev. Obadiah Holmes. He married Sarah Borden, and their son, Obadiah Holmes, married Alice, daughter of James and Deliverance (Throckmorton) Ashton.

The son of the said Obadiah and his wife was Jonathan Holmes, of Freehold township, New Jersey, who died in 1768. He married Teuntje, daughter of Captain Daniel Hendrickson, and had a son, Daniel Holmes. The latter, born in 1721, who died March 15, 1813, married Leah, daughter of James and Margaret (Newbold) Bowne, this marriage, which took place in 1752, bringing another strain of the Bowne ancestry into Miss Crawford's heritage. Catherine Holmes, daughter of Daniel and Leah (Bowne) Holmes, as stated above, married Captain John Stoutenborough, and became the great-grandmother of Anna Lawrence Crawford.

The latter can look back to a wide-spreading family tree of branches outlined against a background of history—Scottish and English, Dutch and Flemish and French of the Huguenots. That her ancestors achieved distinction of leadership or military prowess many centuries ago, is evidenced by their bearing of coat-armor, as did the Crawfords, the Bownes, the Van Kouwenhovens, the Stoutenboroughs, and the Holmes, with many other families whose life-blood became part of the Crawford heritage. It would be difficult to make selection from such an ancestry, but perhaps no legacy which has come to their descendants is greater than that of Obadiah Holmes—a legacy of staunch loyalty to principle, of willingness to endure even to the shedding of his blood for that which he believed to be the will of God!

(The Van Voorhees Line).

Arms—Quarterly, first and fourth gules a tower d'or, opened of the field; second and third argent a tree eradicated vert.

Crest—A tower d'or.

Motto—*Virtus castellum meum.*

The earliest member of the family of whom there is definite information is Coert Alberts of Voorhees, father of the emigrant ancestor, Steven Coerte Van Voorhees, and from the fact of his second name being Albert with the terminal letter "s," meaning "son of," we know his father's name was Albert, who had eight other children, most of them coming to America. The meaning of the Dutch name Van Voorhees is "from before Hees," "Van" meaning from, "Voor" meaning before, or in front of, and "Hees," a small village about a quarter of a mile south of the town of Ruinen in the Province of Drenthe, Holland, which contained in 1660 nine houses and about fifty inhabitants. The original name Van Voorhees has been subjected to many curious changes, and has been written Van Voorheesen, Van Voorheeze, Van Voorhuysen, Van Voorheese, Van Voorhase, Van Voorhaise, Van Voorhouse, Van Voorhois, and in the present day different branches of the family write it Voorhis, Voorheis, Vorhis, Vorus, Voorhees, Voorhies, Voorhes, and Vores. From their simplicity the armorial bearings of the family, as before given, indicate considerable antiquity.

I. Steven Coerte Van Voorhees, son of Coert Alberts of Voorhees, was born in 1600, at Hees, Holland. He emigrated from his home near the village of Hees, in the Province of Drenthe, Holland, in April, 1660, in the ship "Bontekoe" (Spotted Cow), Captain Pieter Lucassen, with his wife and all his children except his two daughters, Hendrickien and Merghin. On November 29, 1660, he purchased from Cornelis Direksen Hoogland, "9 morgens of cornland, 7 morgens of woodland, 10 morgens of plainland, and 5 morgens of salt meadow," in the Flatlands of Long Island, for three thousand guilders. Also the house and house plot lying in the village of "Amesfoort in Bergen" (Flatlands), with the brewery and all the brewing apparatus, kettle house and casks, with the appurtenances, as per page 37 of Liber B of Flatbush records. He was a magistrate in 1664. The name of his first wife, whom he married in Holland, is unknown. She was the mother of all his children. He married (second) on Long Island, prior to 1677, Willempie Roelofse Seubering, born 1619, died 1690. Both Steven C. Van Voorhees and his second wife were members of the Dutch church of Flatlands in 1677. His will is dated August 25, 1677. Issue: 1. Hendrickjen Stevense, married Jan Kiers. 2. Merghin Stevense, married Remmelt Willemse, and died 1702. 3. Coert Stevense, of whom further. 4. Lucas Stevense, born 1650, died 1713; married (first) Catherine Hansen Van Noorstrand; (second) 1689, Jannetje Minnes. 5. Jan Stevense, born 1652, died 1735; married (first) Cornelia Reincers Wizzel-penning; (second) Femmetje Aukes Van Nuyse. 6. Albert Stevense, married (first) Barentje Willemse, (second) 1681, Tilletje Reinniers Wizzel-penning, (third) Helena Van Der Schure. 7. Altje Stevense, born 1656; married, 1673, Barrent Jurianz Ryder. 8. Jannetje Stevense, married (first) Jan Martense Schenck, (second), 1689, Alexander Sympton. 9. Hendrickje Stevense, married (first) Jan Riverstead, (second) Albert Albertse Terhune. 10. Abraham Stevense, married Altje Strycker.

II. Coert Stevense Van Voorhees, son of Steven Coerte Van Voorhees, was born in 1637, and died after 1702. His name appears on the assessment rolls of Flatlands, Long Island, of 1675 and 1683. He was a member of the Dutch church of Flatlands and a deacon in 1677; a magistrate in 1664 and 1673; captain of militia in 1689. He was a representative from Flatlands in the General Assembly held in New Amsterdam, April 10, 1664, was a delegate to the convention held at New Orange in 1674, to confer with Governor Colve, and took the oath of allegiance in Flatlands, September, 1687. He owned much land and appears in many transfers of property. He married prior to 1664, Marretje Gerritse Van Kouwenhoven, baptized April 10, 1644, died between 1702 and 1709, daughter of Gerrit Wolfertse and Aeltie Lambertse (Cool) Van Kouwenhoven. Issue: 1. Steven Coerte, married (first) Agatha Janse, married (second) Eva ———,

and died in 1723. 2. Marretje Coerte, married 1681, Jacob Remsen. 3. Albert Coerte, married (first) Sara Willemse Cornell, (second), 1743, Willentje Suydam, (third), 1744, Ida Vanderbilt. 4. Gerrit Coerte, died 1703; married (first) Mensie Janse, (second), August 26, 1685, Willemetje Pieters. 5. Altje Coerte, married (first) Johannes Willemse, (second) Joost Rutgertse Van Brunt, and died in 1746. 6. Neeltje Coerte, born June 30, 1676, died 1750; married Garret R. Schenck. 7. Cornelis Coerte, of whom further. 8. Annatje Coertie, baptized December 3, 1680; married Jan Rapalje. 9. Johannes Coerte, born April 20, 1683, died 1757; married (first), 1703, Barbara Van Dyck, (second), 1744, Sarah Van Vleit.

III. Cornelis Coerte Van Voorhees, son of Coert Stevense and Marretje Gerritse (Van Kouwenhoven) Van Voorhees, was born in Flatlands, Long Island, and baptized January 23, 1678. He was an ensign of militia in Flatlands, Long Island, in 1700. He married Antie Remsen, born 1681. Issue: 1. Coert, born about 1698, died 1775; married Peterelletje ———. 2. Abraham, born about 1699, died 1754; married Sarah ———. 3. Daniel, born December 17, 1701; married November 27, 1724, Femetje Bennet. 4. Cornelius, of whom further. 5. Heiltje, married Wilhelmus Stoothoff,

IV. Cornelius Van Voorhees, son of Cornelis Coerte and Antie (Remsen) Van Voorhees, married Marretje, daughter of Dowe Ditmars, and his will was proved February 13, 1769. Issue: 1. Sarah, of whom further. 2. Catryna, baptized September 26, 1712. 3. Cornelius, died 1784; married Sarah ———.

V. Sarah Van Voorhees, daughter of Cornelius and Marretje (Ditmars) Van Voorhees, was born December 20, 1710. She married (first), October 19, 1727, John Bloom, of Flatbush; he died 1732. She married (second), June 23, 1733, Roelof Cornelisen Van Kouwenhoven (see Van Kouwenhoven line).

Reference: Van Voorhees Genealogy, by E. W. Van Voorhis.

(The Schenck Line).

Arms—Sable, a lion rampant or, langued *et armé*, gules and azure.

Crest—Out of a coronet or, a demi-lion rampant or, langued *et armé*, gules and azure. (Seipmacher).

The name Schenck belongs to the class of official surnames signifying cup-bearer, and is derived from the same root as the German verb “schenkens,” meaning “to pour out.” The oldest term designating the office of cup-bearer is “skenker,” of Sanskrit origin. A more recent origin is possible, however, as it may be connected with either the Anglo-Saxon words “scaene,” a cup, or “scanca,” a shank. Whatever the origin, it is common in several European languages. In Icelandic—skenka; Danish—skencke; Dutch and German—schenk; and French—eschanson. The Holland Schenck ancestry

may be traced in an unbroken line to the year 1346. At this time the head of the family was Knight Heinrich Schenck Van Nydeck, Lord of Afferden and Walbeck. There are breaks in the genealogy prior to 1346, but there is considerable data concerning the family as early as 878. The first record concerns Colve de Witte, Baron van Toutenburg, who was killed in the battle of Clodius against the Dane, 878. Following Colve de Witte there is a record of Hermanus Schenck, Baron van Toutenburg, William, who perished at the first tournament held in Germany, at Magdeburg, 939; Hermanus II; William, recorded as taking part in the seventh tournament at Halle, 1042; Reynier Schenck, Baron of Toutenburg, who had three sons, Theodorus, Christianus, and Albertus.

The name of Christianus Schenck, second son, is found as a witness to various documents of Julich between 1225 and 1246. He was cup-bearer to Count van Julich, whose residence was the famous castle of Nydeggen. He had one son, Wilhelmus, who had seven children, four of whom were living in 1301. The record of an annual revenue presented to the Convent of Graevendaal, near Goch, in memory of his wife (she died 1271) is in the archives at Hague.

There are no further records of the family until 1346, when Heinrich Schenck van Nydeck is mentioned. He was a grandson of Wilhelmus. In 1359 the lords, knights and yeomen of the counties of Geldern and Cleve concluded a treaty in which Heinrich was assessed four men and horses completely equipped. On January 13, 1379, he offered to the Duke of Cleve the privileges of his castle of Afferden. Heinrich Schenck van Nydeck was Lord of Afferden, a small village in the province of Geldern, and was also feoffee of Wachtendonk. He married Aleid van Rayde, who inherited the castle of Walbeck, thus bringing that estate into the Schenck family. Heinrich had two sons, Wynand and Heinrich, and one daughter, Lisbeth. Wynand married and had one son, who died young, so that the property and title went to Heinrich. Heinrich died December 8, 1452, and his estate went to the eldest of Heinrich's children, Diederich.

Diederich Schenck van Nydeck died August 7, 1487, and his estate was divided, Derick, the fourth son, receiving some of the less important property.

Derick Schenck van Nydeck, after the death of his brothers, became Lord of Afferden and Blyenbeck. He had two morganatic wives, Catherine Rutgen and Gertgen Brugers, and he later married Alheit Custers, of Arssen. For the next seventy years there waged a contest for the estate of Derick. The dispute was carried to the Pope at Rome, and was before the courts of the Netherlands for many years. Rome rendered its final decision in 1546 against the children of Derick, in favor of descendants of Winand, a brother of Derick. The civil courts issued decrees in favor of the children of Derick.

The matter was taken to Emperor Charles V., who ordered the children of Derick to comply with the sentence passed at Rome.

Derick Schenck van Nydeck, son of Derick and Alheit (Custers) Schenck van Nydeck, born about 1485, married Maria van Galen.

Dederick Schenck van Nydeck, son of Derick and Maria (van Galen) Schenck van Nydeck, was born about 1507, and married Anna van Berlaer.

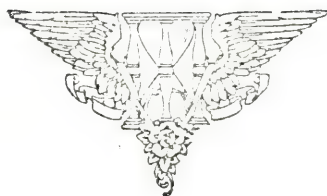
Peter Schenck van Nydeck son of Dederick and Anna (van Berlaer) Schenck van Nydeck, was born in Goch in 1547, served with distinction in wars of his time, with the rank of general, and married, at Doesburg, May 17, 1580, Johanna van Scherpenzeel.

Martin Schenck van Nydeck, son of Peter and Johanna (van Scherpenzeel) Schenck van Nydeck, was born in Doesburg, August 7, 1584. Children: 1. Roelof Martense, American ancestor, of whom further. 2. Jan, born in Amersfoort, came to America with his brother. 3. Anetje, came to America with her brothers, married, July 29, 1659, Adrian Reyersz.

I. Roelof Martense Schenck, son of Martin Schenck van Nydeck, was born at Amersfoort, Holland, in 1619. He came to America in 1650 with his brother Jan and sister Anetje, probably in the ship "de Valekner." He resided for a few years at Brooklyn, later (after 1660) settling at Flatlands, Long Island, where he lived until his death in 1704. His name first appears in New Netherlands in connection with a grant of land at Amersfoort (or flatlands) in 1661. He was one of the schepens of Flatlands, August 18, 1673, and October 25 of the same year was chosen lieutenant of militia; deputy to the Council, March 26, 1674. He was the second wealthiest man in Flatlands, took the oath of allegiance in 1697, was justice of Kings county in 1689, and captain of horse in 1690. He married (first), in 1660, Neeltje Geretsen van Kouwenhoven, daughter of Garret Wolphertson van Kouwenhoven. She was born in Flatlands, baptized September 20, 1641, died 1673. He married (second) Anetje Pieterse Wyckoff, who died before 1688. He married (third), November 9, 1688, Catrina Crigers, widow of Christopher Hoogland. Issue by first wife: 1. Martin, born June 23, 1661; married Susanna Brinkerhoff. 2. Anetje, born about 1663; married Jan Alberte Terhune. 3. Jonica, born about 1665; married Peter Neefus. 4. Marike, born February 14, 1667; married Isaac Hegeman. 5. Jan, born March 1, 1670; married Sara Willemse van Kouwenhoven. 6. Gerret Roelfse, born October 27, 1671; married Neeltje van Voorhees. Issue by second wife: 7. Margaretta, of whom further. 8. Neeltje, born January 3, 1681; married Albert van Kouwenhoven. 9. Mayke, born January 27, 1684; married Jan Lucase van Voorhees. 10. Sarah, baptized December 18, 1685; married Jacob van Kouwenhoven.

II. Margaretta Schenck, daughter of Roelof Martense and Anetje Pieterse (Wyckoff) Schenck, was born January 16, 1678, and died in Middletown, New Jersey, December 16, 1751. She married, September 8, 1700, Cornelius Willense van Kouwenhoven (see van Kouwenhoven line).

Reference: "Schenck Genealogy," by Benjamin R. Schenck.



Editorial

A REGRETTABLE OMISSION

In the October number of this Magazine appeared an interesting article entitled "Nantucket—Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," by a most capable contributor, Miss Amelia Day Campbell, of New York City. Through an error, mention was not made that the accompanying attractive illustrations were from camera work by that author.

LITERARY NOTES.

"The Yale Review" under different names has had a nearly continuous history for more than a hundred years. Originally a general magazine devoted mainly to theology and education, it afterwards became, under the direction of Professor Henry Farnam and his associates, a leading periodical in history and economics. Throughout its long history there has never been any intention to make "The Yale Review" a commercial enterprise. It has always been conducted in the interest not of dollars but of ideas.

In 1911 it seemed best for various reasons to reorganize the magazine, in order to meet as far as possible the requirements of a new age. "The Yale Review" now aims to maintain a proper balance between all subjects of general interest in public affairs, the social and natural sciences, religion, history, art, and literature.

The foregoing publishers' announcement in its October number, modestly but accurately tells the story of what "The Yale Review" has been and now is. We know of none to take place beside it in a calm dispassionate presentation of topics of first importance, and its book reviews are of particular excellence.

In the January number, the leading article is "The Outlook for Civilization," by W. M. Flinders Petrie, a noted archaeologist, Professor of Egyptology in the University College, London, whom Bernard Shaw refers to as "the man who has counted nine attempts (*sic*) at civilization." Readable as it is, it is little more than a polit-

cal diagnosis which seems to be in the general thought of the day with thinking people. His remedy for existing ills contains no new suggestion; in effect it is what is also in many a mind—only a rephrasing of the question, from whence is deliverance to come. Viewing the conditions to which Mr. Petrie refers, may be instructively read in connection with his paper, "Thoughts on Modern Thought," by Hilaire Belloc, the foremost English Catholic historian, this and other of his recent writings being drawn out by recent utterances of H. G. Wells. Falling into the same category of thought, are "The Road of Evolution," and "The Ethics of Taste," the former by Albert P. Mathews, noted for his original investigations in the nature of nerve impulse and chemical biology; the latter by a most capable dramatic and musical critic. However, we turn away from these subjects with relief to Grace King's delightful story of "An Old French Teacher of New Orleans," an admirable portraiture of a sweet character of a bygone day, whose daily life was at once consolation and inspiration to all among whom her lot was cast.

"The Canadian Historical Review," (University of Toronto Press, quarterly), for December, 1921, fully maintains its exceedingly high place along critical lines. Its book critiques cover practically the entire field of literature pertaining to the Dominion of Canada, and are marked by dispassionate treatment and excellent literary style. Two papers in the present number are of particular interest—"Democracy in Canada," by Professor George M. Wrong, head of the Department of Modern History in the University of Toronto; and "Some Reflections on Anonymous Iconoclasm," by Professor R. Hodder Williams, of the same department in the same institution.

"The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," (Richmond), has in its closing number for the year just ended, a notable array of papers of the first historical importance. A well sustained "Notes and Queries" department is a veritable mine of information along lines which are generally neglected by annalists and historians.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published Quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for October 1st, 1921.

City and State of New York, }
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Vice-President and Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publisher of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The American Historical Society, Inc., Somerville, N. J., and 317 Broadway, New York City: Editor, Fenwick Y. Hedley, No. 317 Broadway, New York City; Managing Editor, Marion L. Lewis, No. 317 Broadway, New York City; Business Manager, Marion L. Lewis, No. 317 Broadway, New York City.

2. That the owners are: The American Historical Society, Inc.; Benjamin F. Lewis, Sr., No. 908 Central avenue, Wilmette, Ill.; Marion L. Lewis, No. 317 Broadway, N. Y.; Metcalf B. Hatch, Nutley, N. J.; Ed Lewis, No. 2121 Foster avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; F. M. Keller, 317 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Benjamin F. Lewis, Jr., No. 542 South Dearborn street, Chicago, Illinois.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

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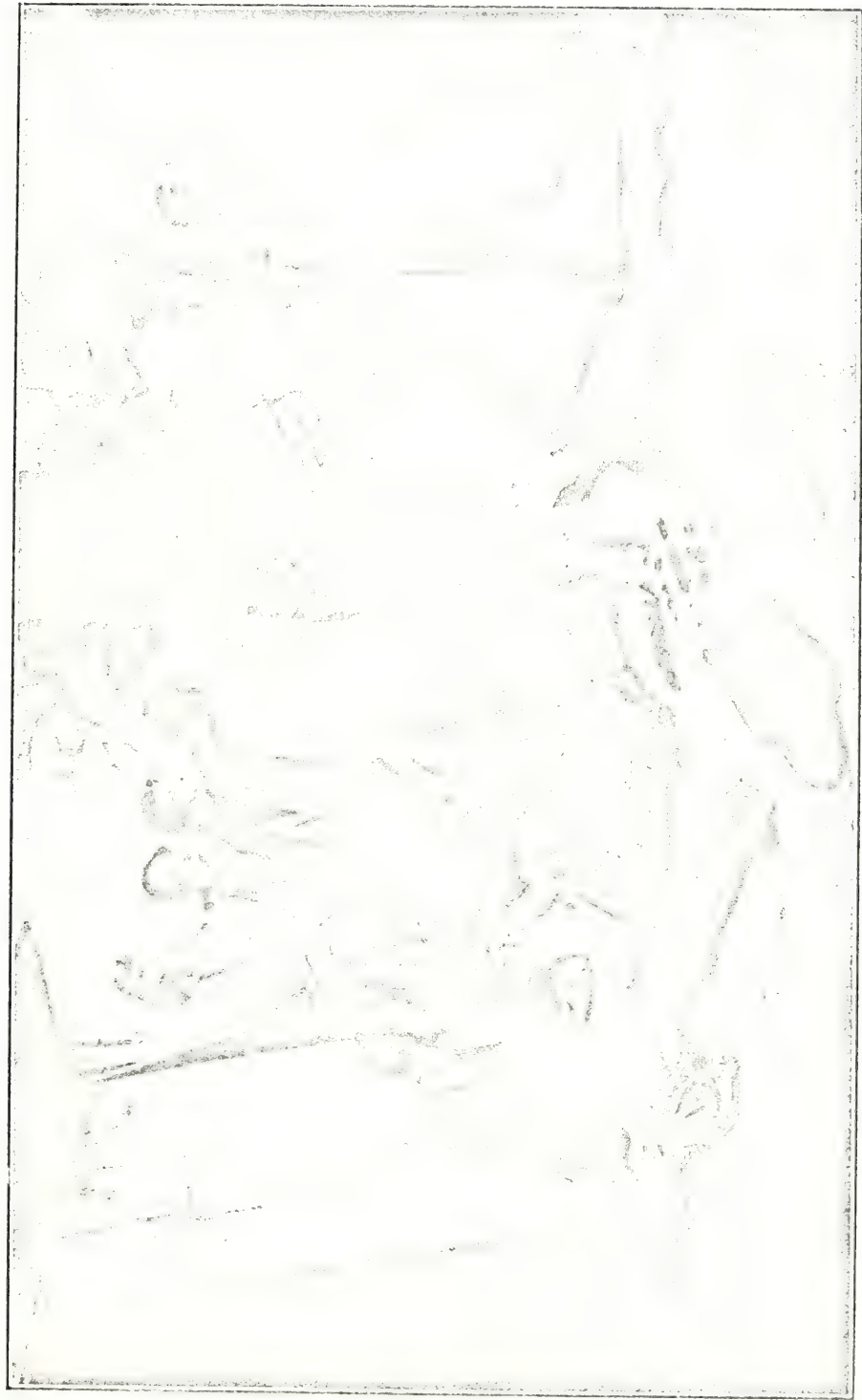
MARION L. LEWIS, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1921.

(Seal).

LEAH PANISH,

Notary Public of New York City.
Commission expires March 30, 1923.



GENERAL WASHINGTON AND HIS WIFE AT THE CAMP AT VALLEY FORGE

From the Picture by C. Schnesle

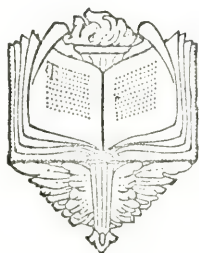
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Mary Warren

AMERICANA

APRIL, 1922

Women Patriots and Heroines of New York State in the Revolution

By AMELIA DAY CAMPBELL, NEW YORK CITY



CELEBRATED writer has well said: "The poet may say or sing, not as things are, but as they ought to have been; but the Historian must pen them, not as they ought to have been, but as they really are, without adding to or diminishing anything from the Truth. History is a sacred kind of writing because Truth is essential to it."

The value of historical research, and the assembling and preservation of historical data is voiced by President Warren G. Harding in his letter to the Roosevelt Memorial Association, when he commends the splendid exhibit of Roosevelt Memorabilia by saying: "Such an endeavor is a public service. As a Nation we have a tendency to give too little regard to historical matters, forgetting that our future depends on what we have learned from our past."

It is to be regretted that the eighteenth, nineteenth, and even twentieth century histories written by men up to the present time, contain little information regarding the part played by women in the War for Independence. It has remained for women historians to perform this loving tribute. While the Revolution was in progress, Mercy Warren of Massachusetts wrote its history, but said very little of what women as individuals were accomplishing in their limited home sphere; although she voiced the spirit of the times when she wrote, "Be it known unto Britain, even American daughters are politicians and patriots, and will aid the good work with their feeble efforts."

NOTE—This article was the basis of a Paper prepared for and read before the New York State Historical Association.

WOMEN PATRIOTS AND HEROINES OF NEW YORK STATE

Nearly seventy-five years elapsed before the remarkable assembling of facts and anecdotes by Elizabeth F. Ellet, in her history of the "Women of the Revolution," was presented to an appreciative public. Fortunately, the events were not so far in the distant past but that material could be gathered from at least the second generation of relatives and friends whose narratives were deemed authentic; also from the few letters that were in existence. It must be remembered that in those days postal facilities were very meager, and the art of writing was known only to the better educated women. News was carried by stage coach, messenger, and the favorite and popular method—the spoken word. During the past seventy and more years many other women have written valuable histories of those women, one of especial interest being by the Greens.

To the Daughters of the American Revolution we owe a debt of gratitude for their noble work in bringing to light much data concerning the lives and deeds of those unrecorded women, by giving their names to their various Chapters, memorializing them on tablets and stones, and have thus written their names *permanently* on history's page. Their work is being continued in constant research to obtain data regarding the unrecorded Pioneer, Colonial and Revolutionary women, in all three periods where possible, and in one or more when the newly settled States do not embrace those early histories.

Revolutionary women were *more* than "silent partners" of their hero husbands, sons and fathers, for in most households they were, as now, the "power behind the throne," and in their great desire for *freedom* they urged their men to espouse the cause of the Revolution, and the faith with which the men left their large families to the already over-burdened care of wives and mothers was a tribute to the efficiency of those women and their unfailing courage.

It must not be forgotten that New York had been in the possession of the British since 1674, therefore for one hundred years its people had been British subjects, and in taking sides with the Revolutionary cause they became rebels against their King. The women, as well as the men, were divided in their allegiance to the two causes, and it sometimes happened that they were against the men of their own household who were *not* on the side of *Liberty*.

New York State women were not as actively identified with hazardous war work as were the women of States and Colonies not



MAJOR GEORGE WASHINGTON AT
AGE OF TWENTY-THREE



WOMEN PATRIOTS AND HEROINES OF NEW YORK STATE

under British dominion, but their faith was strong in the righteousness of the cause, and they believed it *must* succeed. They encouraged and expected their men to enlist, and were inspired by the knowledge that if their loved ones fell, as many must, it would be for a sacred cause—their *country's freedom*.

American women have recently known the sorrows and despairs attendant upon parting with their loved ones who went overseas to fight for World freedom, but, unlike those Revolutionary mothers, we did not know the terrors of invasion, which are therefore beyond our most vivid imaginations. In that Revolutionary struggle, “the Hessians—a hired army—instituted a reign of terror, debauchery and cruelty,” and in the light of recent war tragedies we can pretty accurately judge just what that means.

The four wars that preceded the Revolution—King William's, Queen Anne's, King George's, and the nine-year French and Indian War with its bloody battlefields of Ticonderoga, Fort George, Fort Edward and Fort Champlain, had bred in the breasts of the colonists the necessity of fighting for protection and self-preservation, and had raised up leaders in such men as George Washington, Philip Schuyler and others, and when the Stamp Act was declared by the British to help pay for this last war and the upkeep of their soldiers on our soil, and a tax was put on tea, the colonists rebelled and determined to fight for *their own rights*. The women were the first to assert themselves, by refusing to drink tea or admit any article of British importation into their homes. Mrs. John Adams voiced their sentiment when she wrote to Mrs. Warren, “The Tea, that baneful weed, is arrived; great, and I hope effectual, opposition has been made to the landing.” This opposition was indeed effectual when the tea was dumped into Boston Harbor and the colonists were committed to *war*.

If the British had been more zealous in carrying on their warfare, the outcome might have been far different. The Battle of Long Island, in which they were victorious, might have been the turning point of the war in their favor had they prevented General Washington's successful retreat across the river in the night. But these hired soldiers under a German-British King were not fighting for liberty of country, freedom of speech, and sanctity of their homes, as were the colonists; and had not their determination of purpose, as was shown in John Hancock's letter to his wife, in which

he voiced also true appreciation of American womanhood, when he said, "I do not believe the Howes have very great wives; if they had we should have suffered more from their exertions than we do. A smart wife would have put Howe in possession of Philadelphia long ago."

One of the humane heritages to mankind from that war is the Red Cross organization of today. Its work was unwittingly begun by Martha Washington when she arrived at her husband's camp after each campaign, and proceeded to aid the sick and wounded. Her proud boast was that she had "heard the first cannon at the beginning, and the last at the ending of every campaign during the Revolution." Mercy Warren correctly described her when she wrote: "The complacency of her manners speaks at once the benevolence of her heart; and her affability, candor and gentleness qualify her to soften the hours of private life, or to sweeten the cares of the hero, and smooth the rugged paths of war,"—for this Martha Washington did at Newburgh, Peekskill and New York. During the terrible winter at Valley Forge, when the army was freezing, starving, and clothed in tatters, in desperation she enlisted the wives of Washington's generals—Lucy Knox, Catherine Greene and Sarah Livingston Sterling—and they gave from their own private funds unsparingly, and appealed to the women of the State, who generously responded. From this fund they made with their own hands thousands of shirts for the soldiers, many of whom owed much bodily comfort and even life itself to their untiring devotions. This was the beginning of war relief which was carried to the very battlefields during the Civil War by Clara Barton, and is now the world-wide Red Cross.

In direct contrast to Martha Washington and her helpfulness, is the story of Mary Philipse, who had been the object of Washington's admiration and court before he met Martha Custis; but Miss Philipse married Roger Morris, a royalist who fought with the British, and eventually she and her husband became outlaws. She was heiress to her father's magnificent estate on the Hudson, and it was there that she and her husband entertained the traitor Benedict Arnold, and assisted him to escape after betraying his country. This estate and also the home that Roger Morris built for her on Haarlem Heights, afterwards Washington Heights and used by Washington as headquarters, were eventually confiscated. This



MARY PHILIPSE MORRIS



C. Beckman

historic house became the Jumel mansion when purchased by Stephen Jumel, a French wine merchant, and presented to his wife. Madam Jumel had a brilliant career both at home and in Europe. She was present at the first session of Congress in 1774, and at Washington's inauguration. Because of her wit and charm she numbered among her friends and admirers such well known historic personages as Benjamin Franklin, General Knox, Lafayette, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson. At a dinner party in this famous mansion during her widowhood, Aaron Burr, who was one of the guests, said in taking her in to dinner: "I give you my hand, madam. My heart has long been yours." They were married after his persistent wooing, but separated after a few months of unhappiness. This Jumel mansion, in which she died at the age of ninety-six, now belongs to New York City, but is cared for by the Daughters of the American Revolution, and contains interesting relics of the Revolutionary period.

All are familiar with the early history of New York and its settlement by the Dutch—those industrious, substantial people who came from Holland and established two colonies soon after Hudson came in 1609. They bought large tracts of land from New York to Albany and brought over their countrymen to colonize them, over whom they had entire jurisdiction. These feudal lords, or "Patroons," became very wealthy and powerful, and their names are interwoven with the very character itself of our State. Counties, towns and streets bear their names of Van Rensselaer, Van Cortlandt, Stuyvesant, Ten Broeck, and many others. Their descendants have ever been loyal to our country, foremost in civic affairs, charitable in deeds, and patriotic in all wars. As officers and patriots they fought in the Revolution, and the women as well were patriots and heroines.

A descendant of one of the "Patroons" was Cornelia Van Cortlandt, who after her marriage to Gerard Beekman resided on the street now bearing their name in New York City. The country place of her father, Pierre Van Cortlandt, was near Peekskill, where they returned during the war, and many interesting stories are told of Mrs. Beekman's bravery when threatened by the enemy, and her courage usually shamed them into leaving her home and possessions unmolested. Her hospitality was boundless, for their wealth was great, and General Washington and his officers were frequently en-

tertained by them when his troops were encamped near Peekskill. To Mrs. Beekman was due the credit of thwarting Major André's attempt to escape through the American lines, by refusing to give up a valise which had been left for safe-keeping by one of Washington's aides, and which contained an American uniform and considerable gold. Several weeks elapsed when a neighbor, suspected of being a royalist sympathizer, rode up and asked for the valise. Mrs. Beekman demanded his written order, as she had been requested not to give it up without one. Of course he had none, and much to his anger she refused to let him have the valise. André was at the time in the neighbor's home waiting for means to escape, and in an American uniform would undoubtedly have succeeded.

Probably no incident of the war showed greater patriotism and determination than the setting fire to her husband's broad acres of grain on their estate near Saratoga by Catherine Van Rensselaer Schuyler (descended from the Patroon of Greenbush), for food was scarce, supplies hard to get, and Continental money was not desired by those who had supplies to sell. She was the wife of General Philip Schuyler, who commanded the Northern army. It was expected that the British army under Burgoyne was about to take Saratoga, and rather than permit his army to be fed with their grain, Mrs. Schuyler set fire to it with her own hands. Their winter home was in Albany, and the mansion had been built by her when her husband was in Europe on diplomatic business, in order to give employment to the men of the town who needed it. It was here that the Schuylers entertained Burgoyne and his staff on their march south after the enemy's *defeat* at Saratoga, when as prisoners of war they stopped over night. This and other equally generous treatment of their enemies "proved that at sight of the misfortunes of others, they quickly forgot their own."

On General Burgoyne's staff was Baron de Riedesel, who commanded the Brunswick forces. His young wife, daughter of the Prussian Prime Minister of State, with her three children, had embraced the fortunes and misfortunes of war when she followed her husband to be with him in his campaigns. She was in camp with him at Fort Edward, and when he was made prisoner at the Battle of Saratoga he sent for her to join him. Of that experience she related in letters to her family across the water: "As we passed through the American camp nobody treated us with disrespect, but



CATHARINE VAN RENSSELAER SCHUYLER

on the contrary seemed touched at the sight of a captive mother with three children." It was on this occasion that she was befriended by General Schuyler, who invited her and her children to visit his family in Albany, which then was two days journey from Saratoga, and Mrs. Schuyler's hospitality was given unstintingly to this German baroness and her husband, as they remained in luxury until their march was resumed.

Perhaps at this distant day we should be as lenient in our judgment of Margaret Moncrieffe, the spy, as were the officers of the American forces that she sought to betray. Their attitude may have been due to her youth, or her beauty, or because she would be expected to espouse the cause of her parent, who was a prominent officer with the British forces. At any rate, this latter consideration was not thought of when she was visiting in the home of an American officer near Peekskill, where she met other officers constantly, not only because of the prominence of her host and hostess, but because she attracted the court and homage of these young men, who supposing her as patriotic to the Revolutionary cause as themselves, discussed important army affairs, which should have been kept secret, with her and in her presence. No doubt they blamed themselves for their indiscretion when sitting in judgment on her case later on. On her daily horseback rides, which she always preferred to take alone, she was in the habit of dropping a note at a secluded place, which was immediately picked up by a British soldier secreted beside the road for that purpose, and conveyed to British headquarters. This went on for some time, till one day Miss Moncrieffe was thrown from her horse and picked up insensible. When she regained consciousness at the house of a neighbor and found the vest of her riding habit had been opened to give her air, she became alarmed on discovering that her letter was no longer in its hiding place, and impulsively exclaimed "all is lost." The neighbor became suspicious, opened the letter, which was lying on the table, and found it contained information regarding the plans of the Continental troops. She was arrested, but only imprisoned by being kept closely guarded by friendly people with whom she resided. The British interceded for her, and finally General Putnam aided in securing permission for her to join her father on Staten Island. Her admirers and suitors were many, but she accepted none, until persuaded by her brother and coerced by her father into marrying an Irishman, John Cogh-

lan, and eventually returned to his country with him. An unloving wife is seldom a loved wife, and after years of unhappiness with a cruel husband she left him. She sank to the lowest level of degradation through destitution and despair, and died at an advanced age, neglected and forgotten.

When Hendrick Hudson sailed up the Shatemuc river, which today bears his famous name, he found four Indian tribes in New Jersey and New York along the Hudson. Although they were peacefully occupied in hunting and fishing, he called these bronze people "wild men." The Indians thought the white men were gods, and willingly showed them the channels in the rivers, the places where fish and game were plentiful, and it is a deplorable fact that these trusting people were easily persuaded to barter their furs, skins and corn for trifling trinkets. In course of time they were deprived of their land through the cupidity of the early settlers, and they became suspicious of the white men, distrustful of their intentions toward them, and finally these uneducated, unthinking, uncontrolled children of the wilderness frequently revenged their wrongs by horrible massacres. Their doom was sealed through the influence of rum which they received in barter, bribe and trade, for when they once got a taste for it they would go to any lengths to get it, and they rapidly deteriorated. This was true of all the Indians, six nations of whom occupied the Mohawk Valley and adjacent territories. The British during their frequent wars took advantage of this weakness, and with rum purchased their help, and gave it as a bounty for scalps, which in some cases acted as a boomerang on themselves. The worse sufferers were, of course, the unprotected women and children. In the Battle of Oriskany, great numbers of Indians lost their lives, and in revenge, and also for the scalp bounty, they massacred the settlers of Wyoming, Cherry Valley, German Flatts, Cobleskill and Schoharie, and the Mohawk Valley became a shambles.

During the destruction of the Cherry Valley settlement, Jane Campbell, wife of Colonel Samuel Campbell, and her children, were carried away as prisoners, together with about forty others. All were released a few days later except Mrs. Campbell and her children, but on account of her husband's prominence and activity in the American army, and her own influence as well, she was sent to the land of the Senecas, near the present city of Geneva. Her

children, one an infant eighteen months old, were all taken from her and given to different Indian tribes. She lived with an Indian family, and worked for many other Indians for a year, when she was exchanged by the British, sent to Fort Niagara, and kept prisoner there for another year, and here her children were gradually restored to her. Finally, after two years of captivity and suffering, she was reunited with her husband.

Another brave woman of that period was Nancy Van Alstyne of Canajoharie, daughter of old Peter Quackenbush, the Indian trader, whom the Indians feared and respected, believing him to be "under the special protection of the Great Spirit." Mrs. Van Alstyne, learning of the approach of the Indians, succeeded in getting her fifteen children and seven neighboring families to an island, from which they watched the destruction of their homes. But the Van Alstyne house was left untouched, for they agreed to "let the old wolf keep his den," and Mrs. Van Alstyne sheltered the entire seven families until they could rebuild their houses. She was not so fortunate when a few months later the Indians appeared again without warning, and in every household left killed and wounded, carrying others away captive. The Van Alstyne house was again left standing, but its contents were destroyed or carried away. Mrs. Van Alstyne fearlessly followed them, and, during their absence hunting, succeeded in reclaiming several horses belonging to her husband, much clothing, and many of her kitchen utensils. The Indians came in pursuit of the horses and threatened to kill her as she stood with her back to the stable door and dared them to shoot. Her bravery saved her, and they departed.

There is a settlement called Shell's Bush, between Herkimer and Little Falls, which takes its name from John Christian Shell and his wife, Elizabeth Petrie Shell, who defended their fort-like house against an Indian and Tory attack. Mrs. Shell loaded the old flint-lock guns for her husband and sons, and when the enemy thrust their gun barrels through loopholes in the building she smashed them with an axe. The enemy was repulsed and strategy saved them, but her twin boys were carried away captive.

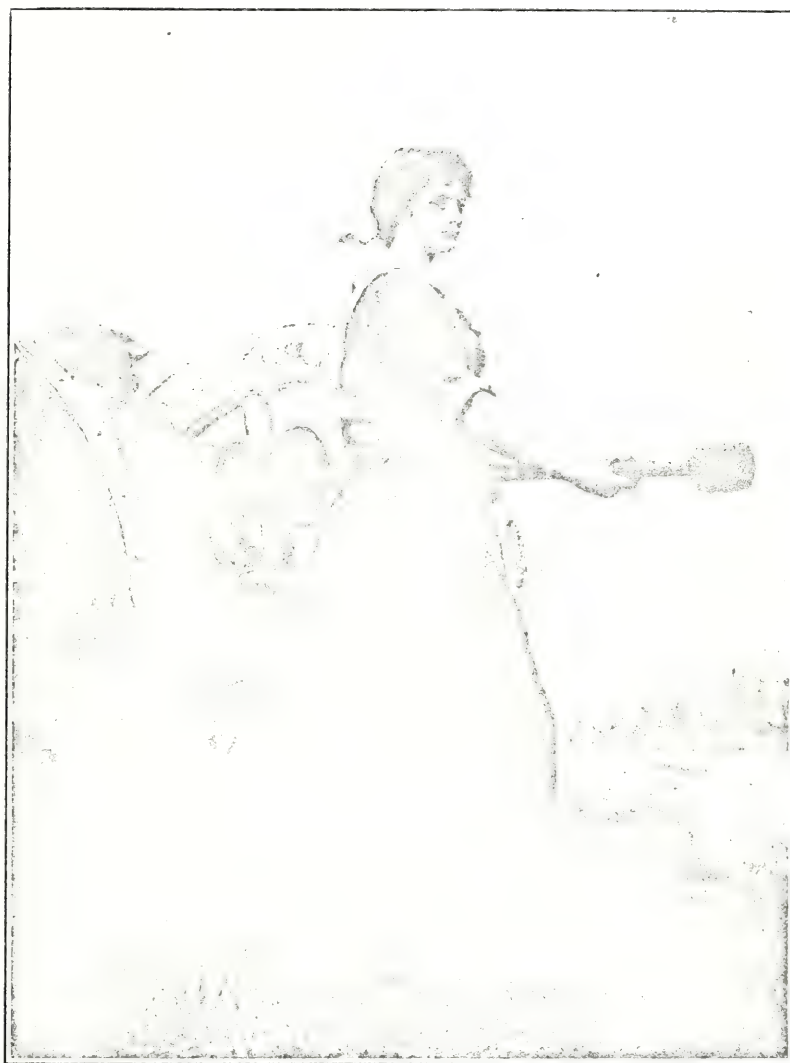
The history of the beautiful, nineteen year old Jane McCrea, is interwoven with sympathy and romance, and her grave has become a place of historical pilgrimage. She was betrothed to a British soldier who, in order to secure her safety, sent a band of Indians

to escort her to the British camp. But they met another Indian tribe, a quarrel took place, one of the chiefs fired and killed Miss McCrea. Her body, disfigured with tomahawk wounds, was left behind, but her Indian escort carried her scalp to her lover. She was buried about three miles from Fort Edward, near the spot where she was killed, but several years ago Fort Edward people had the remains removed to their burying ground.

The fate of Mary Jamison was quite different, but likewise horrible. When she was about twelve years old, her parents were killed by the Indians, and she was carried away and given to two Seneca squaws, who adopted and brought her up as a sister. She was married twice to Indians, both of whom treated her kindly. At the close of the French and Indian war, when the British tried to redeem all white people held captive by the Indians, she was offered her freedom, but refused it. At the close of the Revolution she was again offered freedom, but again refused, her reason being that she had a large family of half-breed children, that she felt at home with the Indians, but would be despised for her ignorance by her own people. She died near Geneseo, where she had lived many years, and was known as "the white woman of the Genesee." In her own narrative of her life she has explained the reason and the result of the Indian participation with the British in the Revolutionary struggle, from the Indians' point of view. A bronze statue has been placed to her memory in Letchworth Park, New York.

Only a few years ago a favorite argument against women obtaining the franchise was that they could not perform military duty. Our recent war has shown what women can do in times of war; and while women of the allied countries did not "shoulder the musket" (a favorite pre-suffrage expression) yet as nurses they invaded the battlefields and brought comfort and cheer to wounded and dying men. They worked in ammunition factories to provide the means of carrying on warfare to its successful conclusion, and in every branch of industry released men for service.

However, to go back to the Revolution of nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, women actually *did fight* for us. We have the records of Molly Pitcher, Margaret Corbin and Deborah Sampson, to bear witness to that fact, and, while they were not New York women, yet two of them were in New York battles, and no chronicle of the women of those times is complete without mention of them.



MOLLY PITCHER AT THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH
From the Oil Painting by C. Y. Turner

WOMEN PATRIOTS AND HEROINES OF NEW YORK STATE

“Moll o’ the Pitcher,” affectionately so called by the soldiers because of the broken pitcher in which she carried water to them on the battlefield, but whose real name was Mary Hays, had for two years been on march, in camp and on the battlefields, with her husband. At the battle of Monmouth he was wounded while in charge of a gun. She begged the commanding officer to let her take charge of it, and for almost an entire day she loaded and fired the cannon. The battle was won, and Molly was thanked personally by General Washington for her service and bravery. Congress voted her a sergeant’s commission and half-pay for life.

Margaret Corbin was a direct contrast to Molly, being small, sensitive, and retiring, whereas Moll was big and strong and helpful. They were alike, however, in bravery and war experience, and, strangely enough, Pennsylvania was the home State of both. At the Battle of Fort Mifflin, Mrs. Corbin’s husband was killed. She begged the officer to let her fire the gun, saying “Jack” had taught her. She was given permission and was severely wounded while at her self-imposed heroic task. This battle was lost and the fort taken, but the enemy admired her courage and permitted her to leave the fort as a non-combatant and not as a prisoner of war. Congress voted that “she receive during her natural life or continuance of disability, one-half pay of a soldier in service.” Her State also rewarded her, and a tablet has been placed to her memory on the site of the battle in New York City.

A girl who actually fought as a soldier was Deborah Sampson, of Massachusetts, who enlisted for three years under the name of Robert Shurtliff. She was with Washington’s army at West Point, and was twice wounded at the Battle of Red Bank. She saw active service for a year before it was known that she was a woman. She was then honorably discharged from the army and received a pension.

Unfortunately, disease always follows an army, and an epidemic of smallpox broke out in several camps. Two women became as great heroines in fighting it as though facing the fire of battle, for they took these contagious cases to their homes and nursed them. Catherine Greene, wife of General Nathanael Greene, of Rhode Island, was one, and Molly Stark, of New Hampshire, the other. When smallpox broke out in General Stark’s camp at Fort Ticonderoga, Mrs. Stark nursed the sick back to health in her home,

WOMEN PATRIOTS AND HEROINES OF NEW YORK STATE

among them her own children, and she herself was disfigured for life from its ravages.

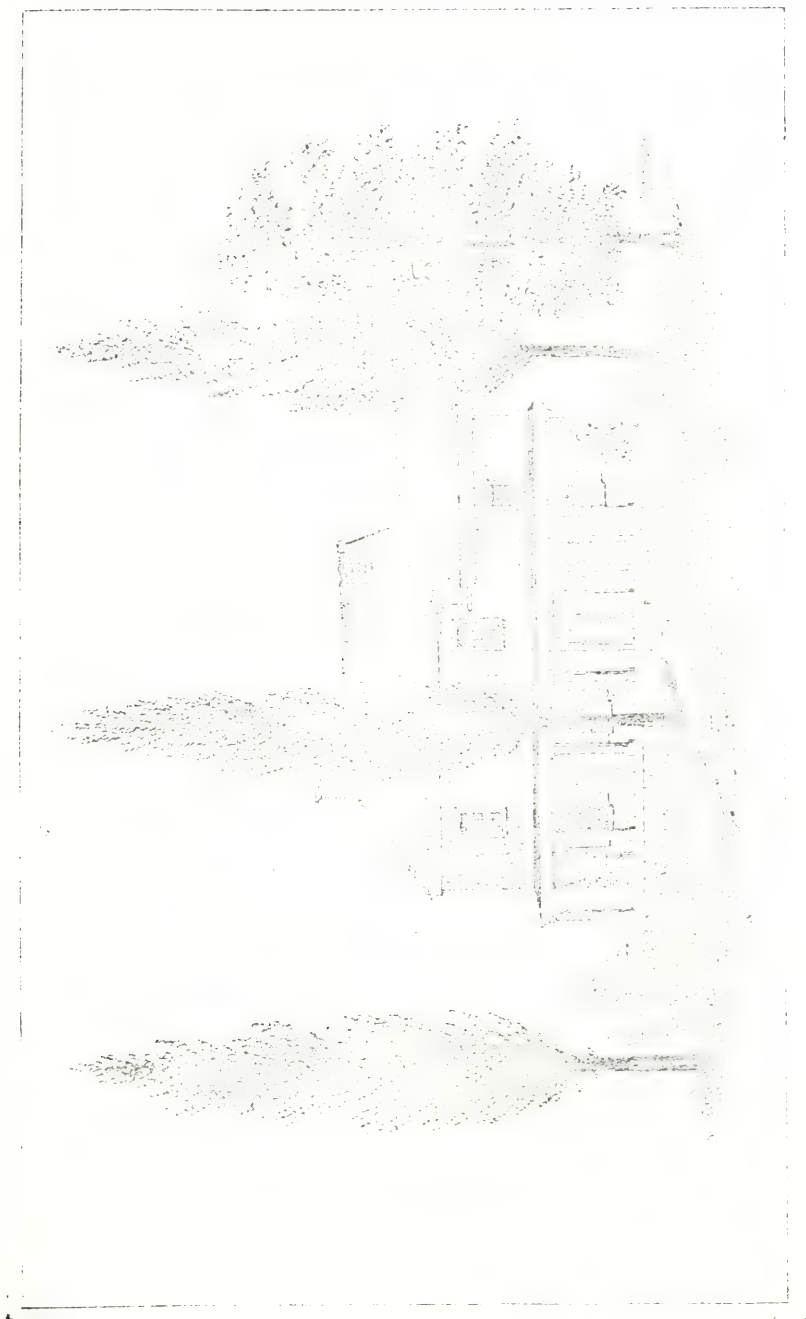
A woman who undoubtedly saved a complete division of troops was Mary Lindley Murray, whose heart was secretly with the Revolutionary cause, though her husband, Robert Murray, was an avowed royalist. General Putnam was hastening his retreat from New York along the river road which branched off, to join the main army. General Tryon, with his British and Hessian forces twice as large as Putnam's, would have met him before he reached the fork, but they halted in front of "The Grange" on Murray Hill. Mrs. Murray went out and invited General Tryon and his officers to breakfast, and entertained them with her brilliant conversation for a couple of hours; and Putnam, who needed only a half hour's start, reached the main army and reinforcements.

Janet Livingston Montgomery, daughter of Robert Livingston, who was for many years judge of the Supreme Court and owner of much property along the Hudson, is remembered in history as the widow of the patriot Richard Montgomery, who rose to the rank of general and was killed at the siege of Quebec. After his death she went to Dublin to visit his family, from which place she wrote to a friend at home: "I hope when I return to find my dear country, for which I have bled, the envy of her enemies and the glory of her patriots." She never ceased to mourn her husband's death, though she survived him fifty-two years.

Many women unhesitatingly accepted martyrdom as their fate if the war was lost, for all the wives of the brave Signers of the Declaration of Independence thought no more of self than did their husbands, both being willing to share the persecution and imprisonment by the British then in power, and knowing well their deaths would follow if the enemy won. Some of these women *were* martyrs.

Elizabeth Annsley Lewis, wife of the Signer Francis Lewis, was seized after the battle of Long Island (which was the first battle after the signing), and thrown into prison in New York, where she was detained three months. Her health was so broken when released that she died soon after.

Hannah Jones Floyd, wife of William Floyd, a Signer, was obliged to escape to Connecticut from her Long Island home with her children, and remained there seven years, for their property was so



Drawn by C.P. Tholey HEADQUARTERS OF GEN. WASHINGTON AT THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE. Bowen & Co Ltd., Philadelphia

destroyed by the British when they took Long Island that the family never returned there, and Mrs. Floyd died in her exile home.

Mary Walton Morris, wife of Lewis Morris, Signer, escaped with her family after her property near New York was destroyed, during this same period.

Mrs. Christina Ten Broeck Livingston, wife of Philip Livingston, Signer, lived on Brooklyn Heights, and Washington's successful retreat from Long Island was planned at a conference in her home.

Mary Gates, the wife of General Horatio Gates, was English by birth but a New Yorker by adoption, and lived on their estate near New York during the war, and here she nursed many sick and wounded, among them the Polish patriot, Kosciusko, who was restored to health after her six months' care of him.

Several New York women have been memorialized as Patron Saints by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Lucy Dougherty Tucker, who providentially escaped death at the hands of the Indians during their uprising in the Mohawk Valley, was a pioneer in clearing the forest and establishing her home in the wilderness, and although the mother of eighteen children, she found time to nurse her sick neighbors, and her ministrations many times made a doctor's visits unnecessary, for a doctor was hard to get in the primitive settlement, and equally hard to pay. Her granddaughter, who lived in Utica, became a New York State Regent.

Charity Mersereau, wife of Colonel Jacob Mersereau, both of whom were patriotic residents of Staten Island, even though the Island had the reputation of being "a nest of Tories," has been made a Patron Saint of the Charity Mersereau Chapter, the charter members of which are all Mersereau descendants.

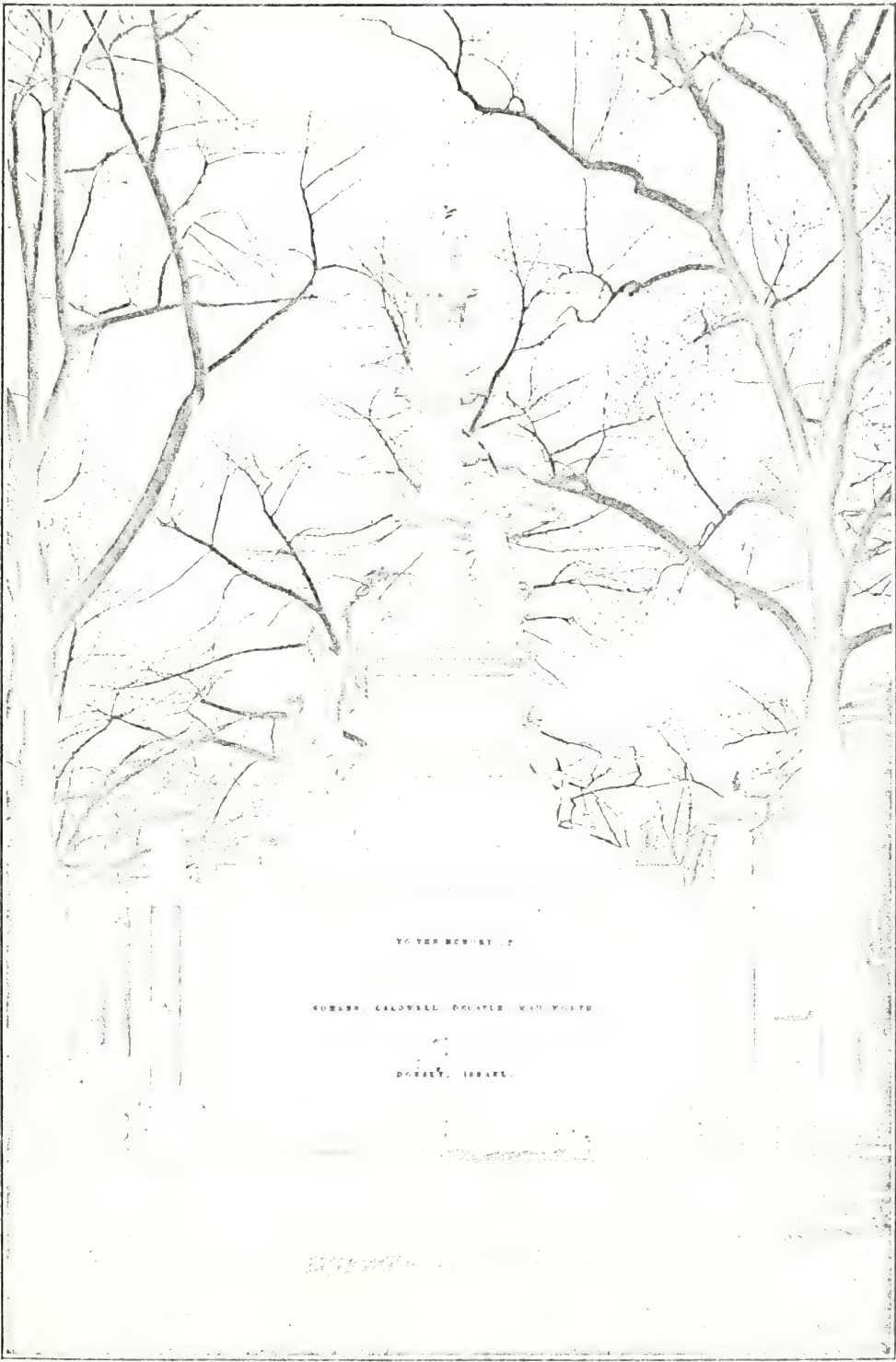
Margaret Todd Whetton was the wife of a New York merchant, who on account of ill health was a non-combatant, but secretly an American sympathizer. Their home at New Rochelle was right in the path of the army, and was frequently visited by the American, British and Hessian officers. After her husband's death, Mrs. Whetton and her children returned to New York, but in very straightened circumstances, for she had converted her property into Continental currency, which depreciated. Against all advice, Mrs. Whetton would not exchange it, saying, "I will never undervalue the currency established by Congress." She daily took food to American prisoners in camp and on the prison ships. She had

the honor of being the first one told of the news of Peace, and by General Washington himself, when he asked to take breakfast with her that morning, and thanked her for all she had done for the army. A Washington D. C. Chapter is named for Mrs. Whetton.

There was no class distinction in patriotism. It sprang up, flourished and reached inspiring, heroic and sacrificial heights in every locality and in all walks of life, for every State had her heroine of the home and the battlefield, and one could go on and on recounting their deeds, for these I have mentioned are but a few of the noble women of that emancipation period, to whom a British officer correctly referred when he told Cornwallis: "We may destroy all the men in America, and we shall still have all we can do to defeat the women." It has been truly said that "always in history, woman has been at her best when felt to be most necessary."

These Revolutionary women were descendants of those loyal mothers from European countries who in the beginning of our history followed their husbands, fathers and sweethearts across the perilous ocean; who uncomplainingly bore the privations of pioneering and braved its dangers—not for wealth or position or honor, but for love of their men—that they might establish their homes with their loved ones in a new land and there rear their families. Those staunch women, without whom the men would indeed have been helpless, were pioneers in *founding* our country, and the women of the Revolution were pioneers in *preserving* that land and those homes, that they and their posterity might richly enjoy the blessings of *Liberty Triumphant*.

NOTE—The following authorities have been freely consulted for information: "The Goode Vrouw of Mana-ha-ta," by Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer; "Women of the Revolution," by Elizabeth F. Ellet; "Pioneer Mothers of America," by Harry Clinton Green and Mary Wolcott Green; "The Life of Mary Jamison," by Dr. James Everett Seaver.



TO THE MEMORY OF

ROBERT CALDWELL DODGE, U.S. NAVY

DODGE, 1884.

NAVAL MONUMENT

At U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland

Somers Point

By CARMITA DE SOLMS JONES, PHILADELPHIA, PENN.



It is seldom that the responsibility of sponsoring two widely separated towns rests upon one man, yet the founder of Somerton, Pennsylvania, was also the godfather of Somers Point, that town in South Jersey which so closely hugs the waters of the Great Egg Harbor Bay.

Leaving their birthplace in Worcester, England, in 1681, John Somers and his wife set out upon their great adventure. With eyes turned westward they embarked upon the turbulent waters of the Atlantic Ocean, but before the far shore was sighted, death reached down and touched the wife. One still night a narrow plank was laid across the deck rail, a few solemn words were spoken, and then in the silence a heavily weighted form slid down into the sea.

The days passed as before, and the ship sailed on, wafted by "the keel compelling gale." On the horizon a thin, faint line appeared which grew clearer and more distinct as the anxious eyes of the watchers dwelt upon it. But, alone, with his mantle of sorrow round him, John Somers waited for the hour of landing. He had set out upon this journey with high hopes, supported by sympathy and understanding. He had come to his journey's end a lonely saddened man.

Leaving the landing place, Somers went directly to what is now Somerton, Pennsylvania, where he bought some land. But a restlessness possessed him, and perhaps a craving for the nearness of the sea that held what had been dear to him. From Pennsylvania he went to the shore of the Great Egg Harbor Bay, where, from the hillside, memory could follow his gaze out to that unmarked grave. Time and the need for companionship laid hands upon his heart. The love of home inspired him, and his wide acres cried out for a mistress and the playing feet of children. So he brought Hannah Hodgkins, a playmate of childhood, as a bride to this "paradise of South Jersey," and in the salt tinged air, with his fertile fields around him, he found content. It may have been, too, that

the goddess of prophecy murmured in his ear of the glory of the future. Perhaps she whispered of that boy of his own blood whose heroic deed was to immortalize the name of Somers, and to inspire future Americans with the courage and the spirit of self-sacrifice which have been their glory.

Until 1634 the land lying within the confines of the Delaware Bay had belonged exclusively to the Indians. No white man had ever dwelt upon it. A few adventurous spirits seeking new outlets for their energies had come from time to time and gone away. But on March 25, 1664, King Charles II. of England, by Royal Charter, gave to his brother James Duke of York, and afterwards the king, a large tract which extended north from Cape May and included the whole of New Jersey. On the twenty-third of June of the same year, the duke, being of a provident turn of mind, sold part of this grant to a company, the principals of which were Sir James Berkley and Sir George Carteret. A stock company was formed, shares in which were sold publicly. To each shareholder was apportioned a certain number of acres, and from one of them, Thomas Budd, a merchant, of Philadelphia, John Somers purchased three thousand acres for two hundred and ninety-five pounds. The deed is on record at the county seat and the following is an abstract:

Gloucester deed. No. 3, Lieber G.

1695 . . . November 30. Deed.

Thomas Budd of Philadelphia, merchant to John Somers of New Jersey, husbandman, for 1,500 acres on the Sound, N.E. of Great Egge Harbour, N.E. James Steelman; N.W. Patconck Creek; S.W. the Bay; S.E. the Sound; also 800 acres between Patconck Cr. and Bass River, N. a branch of Patconck Cr.; S. the Bay; and 700 a. on the Sound side of Great Egge Harbour between Peter Cowonover and Patconck Cr.

On March 23, 1695-6, John Somers sold to his neighbor, James Steelman, one hundred acres of his three thousand acre tract. In many of the deeds made by Thomas Budd occur the following words: "With the privilege of cutting cedar and commonidge for cattell, etc., on ye swamps and beaches laid out by ye said Thomas Budd for commons."

Pine forests extended at that time from the Atlantic Ocean all the way to the Delaware river, and Cape May county was virtually cut off from the northern part of the State by broad cedar swamps.

SOMERS POINT

No communication with the town of Burlington was possible except by boat or horse-back until as late as 1707, when the road was finished which Congress had authorized ten years before. In 1692 a ferry over Great Egg Harbor river at Beesley's Point was ordered by the Legislature. Later the Indian trails were straightened and widened into wagon roads.

On his newly-acquired property, John Somers made his home and raised his numerous family. He was appointed surpervisor of roads by the first court held at Portsmouth, Cape May county, March 20, 1693, and in 1708 was appointed assessor for Egg Harbor. Amongst the names of the judges and justices of Gloucester county prior to 1776 appears "1695, John Somers," and he again held office in 1701 and in 1714. At a town meeting held at Great Egg Harbor, November 11, 1777, John Somers, Sr., son of the original Somers, was elected an inspector, and John Somers, Jr., a freeholder. John Somers, Sr., was a judge of the Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions in 1779, and whenever there was a movement of civic or national importance, a Somers was actively interested in it.

The list of Gloucester county wills contains an abstract of the will of John Somers, the settler. It is dated January 8, 1720-21. The following is an abstract:

1720-21, January 8. Lieber 4, p. 216. Will of John Somers. Wife Hannah, Sons, Richard Executor and to have the home land except 400 acres on the east side of the same on condition that he pays £10. per annum to his mother during her life. James, 300 acres on the north side of Mulberry Point, where he now lives; Samuel and Job, equally 800 acres on the northwest side of Patcons Creek, 400 acres at Gilbert's Pond over to the head of the mill creek; Edmund, 359 acres on the southwest side of James. Sons Samuel, Job, Isaac and Edmund to pay 10 shillings per annum to their sister Bridget after the decease of their mother. What remains to be equally divided between my three daughters.

Affirmed January 14, 1739 (?)

Evidently Hannah Somers did not survive her husband, as her will was probated October 12, 1737. Her son Richard was named executor, and to him was bequeathed the family Bible. Disputes were improbable, as the authority of the law was rigidly upheld, judging by the following sentence:

SOMERS POINT

December 1, 1702.

Jeremiah Bate, for Severall Contemptuose and Reflecting abusive Expressions used towards ye Bench, he is fined for ye same of thirty shillings, and that a warrt be given forth to levy ye same Dystresse in case he shall not make payment. But upon his humble submission to ye Bench and desire of forgetfulness, ye same is remitted and forgotten.

Richard, the eldest son of John and Hannah Somers, married Judith, daughter of Sir James Letart of Acadia, the birthplace of Longfellow's Evangeline, which has been called "the most beautiful place in the world," "the land of dreams." Judith, who died in 1763, was the mother of ten children, small families being the exception among the Somers. They were not unfamiliar with the courtly manners and customs of old England, for a Somers had been treasurer to the King, and it may have been an inherited instinct or the desire to give his bride a home such as she had left in Acadie for his sake that prompted Richard Somers to build the stately mansion that crowns the hill above the bay. Some say that the bricks were brought from the mother country, others that Dutch hands had moulded them in Leyden and that a square rigged ship had sailed with them up the stream known for that reason as Brick Landing creek.

The house is said to be the first built in Atlantic county, leaving us to suppose that John Somers and his wife lived as did their red-skinned neighbors, behind skins instead of bricks. Through the thick wall a doorway is cut, above which is a transom with the panes set flush in the style of long-ago. The door is not recessed as is the modern custom. The latch-string being out, we enter the large room, where a blazing log fire gave many a welcome in the past. Today the fire is out, the stones are swept, but the exposed oak beams and the yawning hearth indicate the hospitality the now empty room expresses. One end of the room is taken up by the fireplace and the unequally sized closets, of which two are on one side and one on the other side of the hearth. The original hardware is where a long dead Somers hand had placed it. Crossing the room, we enter a smaller one, a sort of large alcove, as the wide communicating door is its only outlet. Down three steps and at the end of the narrow hall is the dining room, which is small, with the end of the great chimney projecting into it. Cut in the face of this, where

the heat from the log fires would keep away the dampness, is the pipe hole, a small square recess where pipes and a store of tobacco were kept. The opposite door leads to another room, where, beside the open hearth, a spinning wheel stands silent now, but seeming to wait for a gentle hand to start its whirring. A quaint old corner cabinet is filled with treasures of china, wonderful old Chelsea sprigged ware and Chinese porcelains of ages past. These, with the marvel of red lacquer and gold, a Corean table, were probably brought over in a tea ship in the good old days when we had a Merchant Marine of our own engaged in the Eastern trade. The contents of the house belong to the present occupant, who is a stranger to the soil, but in her proper setting. She is a delicate little lady with beautiful eyes and a fine face, whom one instantly sees in lavender and old lace.

There is a tradition that an arched brick passageway led from the cellar to the bay, but a descendant of Richard Somers, whose memory still is good, denies this and insists that what might have been one of those pathways to romance was but an oven for the smoking of hams and the baking of the family's bread.

The bitter sweetness of the box that edges the paths approaching the house fills the air with a haunting odor. The warm sunshine draws it from the deep green leaves, while the moonlight paints the fair and gallant ghosts of other days. A huge willow reaches over and throws its arms caressingly around the corner of the house as if to shield it. Storms long past have beaten upon the house and tree, and, while the former has escaped their fury, the tree seems to have taken to itself the vengeance that the tempests wrecked. As if heartbroken by the desertion of those whom it sheltered in their infancy, the tree is split into four parts, sufficiently separated for a man's arm to pass between. But it still lives on, apparently unforgetful of the duty once imposed upon it.

Leaving the house, the sunny highway runs down the hill and towards the right. A bridge crosses the head of Brick Landing creek, and further on cuts the woods in two. Within the dim recesses a beam falls through the trees and touches a monument with filtered light. An iron fence surrounds the burial place of the family, which in its seclusion is as noble a spot as the scene of their activities. Sheltered from the storm and sun alike by the tall trees and shielded from too curious eyes by the lower growth of holly and

of myrtle, the Somers rest, nature herself guarding them. Rows of headstones with their inscriptions plainly legible attend upon the urn-crowned granite, which, like a patriarch, o'er-tops them all.

Included in the original purchase of three thousand acres was part of a reef, a wild and hilly stretch covered by dense vegetation, lying between the ocean and the thoroughfare, and known as Peck's Beach. Here Richard Somers pastured his large herds of cattle, sending them from the mainland in barges in the springtime, and sometimes keeping them there throughout the year.

Richard Somers, son of Richard, was colonel of the Third Battalion, Gloucester County Regiment, and a colonel of State troops as well. He was a member of the Assembly from the county in 1776 and in 1792, and in 1787 was a judge of the county court. His sympathies were strongly with the Whigs, and although there is no record of his ever having taken his seat, he was a member of the Provincial Assembly in 1775. Years after his death his private papers, which no doubt contain many items of interest in connection with the history of New Jersey, were given to a relative, Dr. Leaming, the father of the Vice-Chancellor. With his son Constant, Colonel Somers conducted a general store. The accounts show that the business was already established at Job's Point on Great Egg Harbor Bay, when the father and son formed a partnership beginning on November 6, 1787, and ending in December, 1789. Constant Somers continued to play storekeeper for the community until his death in 1797. His accounts are interesting, as they show the manner of conducting business at the time, the tastes and needs of the people. Coinage in the United States was not begun until 1792, consequently prices are given in pounds, shillings and pence, and in a species of currency called a half-joe. The rate of exchange was in favor of the Colonies, a dollar being worth seven shillings six pence. The financial condition of the country was considerably disturbed at the close of the Revolution, so much "trading" was done. Payments were delayed and notes and orders often transferred in making settlements. The local justices of the peace were called upon to pass judgment upon delinquents, and such records as "gone to Cane Tukey;" "Dead—nothing to be found;" "Ran away;" "Settled at Woodbury Court," and others equally curious, were often added to the details of a case. Against the name of William Lake, preacher, is the notation "Ran away to Carolina from his fam-

ily." Circumstances must at times have been too strong even for the cloth, for the preacher evaded at one bound his financial and his family obligations.

So little cash was in use that a ledger had more the appearance of a list of merchandise than anything else. Many articles, varying from lumber in all its forms, live stock, produce and even tailoring, were used as mediums of barter. Thus, Anne Stillwell was credited with seven shillings for making two pairs of trousers and one shirt, and an allowance was made for the difference between paper and "hard" money. The following list shows the prevailing prices at the time and permits a comparison between the aftermath of the Revolution and the World War: Steer, £17 10s.; cow and calf, £6 5s.; yearling heifer, £2 5s. The high cost of living did not then decimate housekeepers' purses and tax their ingenuity to provide a meal at once satisfying and nutritious for a reasonable sum. A plump turkey cost less than a dollar, and oysters for the sauce were fifteen shillings ten pence a bushel. Quotations for sugar and cranberries are missing at the moment, but perhaps that delectable jelly was not known. The culinary art has made advances. The Somers owned a boat called the *Despatch*, and occasionally trips were made in her to Philadelphia to bring back supplies for the store. On one of these trips Constant Somers had his watch cleaned at the cost of nine shillings two pence, and a new crystal for it cost fifteen shillings ten pence.

Native bar iron was purchased at the nearby furnaces at Batsto. During the year 1787 to 1788 purchases from Philadelphia merchants amounted to £1,838 7s 10½d., indicating a thriving trade for so sparsely settled a locality.

The history of Somers Point in its early days is the history of the Somers family. They cannot be separated. The historic fame of the town is due to Richard Somers, brother of Constant, and the second son of Colonel Somers. He was born at the mansion on September 15, 1778, and after completing his education at Burlington, New Jersey, he entered the United States Navy as a midshipman in 1802. The naval war with France had begun in 1793, and into this he plunged. Among his close associates on the frigate *United States*, John Barry, captain, were Stephen Decatur, Jr., Charles Stewart, the grandfather of the British statesman, Parnell; James Barron, James R. Caldwell, and William Montgomery Crane.

During this war the frigate captured the *Tartuffe* and *l'Amour de la Patrie*.

Following the French War came that with Tripoli, and Somers returned to Philadelphia to accept command of the *Nautilus*, an armed schooner of one hundred and sixty to one hundred and seventy tons. She carried eighteen twelve-pounder and two six-pounder carronades, and had a crew of ninety to one hundred men. Somers was in command of the first six gunboats in the engagement which took place before the Tripolitan Harbor on August 3rd, 1804. Five attacks were made, in each of which he won distinction, and in the midst of the attack on August 7th the *John Adams* came up bringing the news of Somers' promotion.

Some Americans had been taken prisoner by the pirates and a plan occurred to Somers whereby they might be rescued. Receiving the approbation of Commodore Preble, his superior officer, and that of the other commanders of the fleet, among them Decatur and Stewart, Somers made his preparations. One hundred barrels of gunpowder were emptied into the hold of a ketch, and her deck was loaded with balls and missiles of various kinds with fuses already prepared. Somers commanded, and in the crew were Henry Wadsworth, an uncle of the poet Longfellow; Joseph Israel, who had hidden aboard after being refused permission to go; and ten sailors, four from the *Nautilus* and six from the *Constitution*. At eight o'clock on the very dark night of September 4th, the *Intrepid* slipped silently away. Within a few minutes the entire range of batteries in the harbor were firing at her. The Americans were waiting in anguished expectancy when, about two hours later, Commanders Stewart and Carroll, watching from the deck of the *Siren*, saw a faint wavering light. Suddenly it vanished, and was immediately followed by the roar of a terrific explosion that damaged two of the enemy's ships and blew up a third filled with soldiers.

The fate of "Master Commander Somers" and that of his companions was never known. Nothing was ever heard of them. The darkness that swallowed them was as complete as that which followed the explosion they had caused. But the flash that preceded it lit a flame of patriotism at home, and Richard Somers' star still shines over the Point with an unquenchable brightness. In 1805 the commanders of the Mediterranean Squadron added their tribute to the music of the applause that rang around the world. Before

the Nation's Capitol at Washington, at the steps of the country's pinnacle of fame, they erected a monument to Somers and his men. An Italian marble shaft, forty feet high, is surmounted by an eagle whose outstretched wings seem ready to bear it further towards the blue, to pierce the illimitable sky. It emphasizes and is the symbol of the loftiness and purity of the action it commemorates. British invaders burned Washington in 1814 and somewhat defaced the monument, but later, by a special Act of Congress, it was restored and removed to the grounds of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland. In the schoolyard at Somers Point another monument stands, erected by the descendants of those whose hands had clasped that of Richard Somers in farewell. No doubt on quiet afternoons fathers tell their sons the story told by their sires, of the lad who "laid down his life" that his countrymen might live. The childish eyes gaze uncomprehendingly upon the marble, but stored in the young minds is the story of a brave deed that continues to bear fruit through all the years.

The following letter was written by Lieutenant Somers to his brother-in-law, the husband of his sister Sally, just before sailing on his last and so eventful voyage:

Nautilus,
Baltimore Roads,
2 A. M. June 23, 1803.

Dear Brother—I feel myself much fatigued sitting up until this time in the morning examining my accounts. Cannot omit telling you that I sail at daylight or sweep out of the harbor. I waited on the Secretary yesterday for my orders, which I received with the general instructions, . . . to capture, sink, burn, destroy all Tripolitans, and despatches to Captain Rogers which I cannot at present inform you of. You will in the course of two or three months know all, but you can tell the good Commodore there will be great alteration in the present command in the Mediterranean, beyond what I had expected.

The Secretary was extremely polite and spoke delicately of the situation I should be placed in should I fall in with Commodore Morris first . . . to be particular in writing him until meeting with whom directed to, after which the etiquette of the Service would not admit of writing while under the direction of the commanding officer of the Squadron.

He inquired if I should want any money as private stock, of which I should have any quantity I should want. He has visited the vessel and is much pleased with her. He said he expected I should do great, which I hope will be in my power to do.

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I shall do what you requested in your last, respecting cutting the swamp, which I hope will turn to advantage.

Doughty was to have three dollars delivered, the lumber at the landing; the sawing, extra pay at the customary price for sawing lumber.

I feel sleepy. Shall, when at Hampton Roads, where I expect to remain for two or three days with Captain Barron, write you a long letter of the performance of the Nautilus, etc. Until then I bid adieu.

Give my love to the Commodore, Mrs. Marcy, Sally and all pretty girls inquiring for your sincere friend and well-wisher.

RICHARD SOMERS.

N. B.—Enoch Edwards has entered on board as ordinary seaman at six (?) per month, of which I did not know, or I should not have taken him. He has behaved very well. I should be sorry if he should be guilty of a fault and obliged to punish him.

RICHARD SOMERS.

William Jonas Keen,
Merchant,
Philadelphia.

In these days of prohibition, when an officer in the service of the United States dare not even in the privacy of his own home indulge in the use of spirits in any form, what can we think of the bill rendered by the boarding house mistress, Anne Brown, which records the habits of those days? Richard Somers was considered an exemplary young man, greathearted and kindly, with unassuming manners and beloved by all. His name was never tainted by a scandalous breath, and criticism has never touched the memory of his glory. It is but a case of "other times, other manners."

Lieutenant Somers
To Anne Brown, Dr.

August 12-15
1861.

For board four days and $\frac{1}{2}$ at seven shillings per day.....	\$5.25
2 bottles claret	.75
2 ditto porter	.33
1 glass punch	.16
$\frac{1}{2}$ bottle claret	.33
Brandy	.25
1 bottle porter	.37

\$7.44

Received payment,

ANNE BROWN.

There were two James Somers, cousins, and the sons respectively of Colonel Richard Somers and his brother John. "Point Jimmie,"

the son of John Somers, lived to a ripe old age, reaching his ninetyeth year, having had three wives and eleven children. His large frame house at Hickory Point, about a mile from Somers Point, was destroyed by fire as recently as February 7th, 1900. "Bargaintown Jimmie," who lived "over the creek," as the old account books say, was the son of Colonel Richard Somers and the brother of the heroic Richard. He built the mill at Bargaintown and operated it in connection with his farm, which was about three miles from the Point. He employed a number of slaves, some of whom he freed. The Haddonfield Records contain an entry concerning the freeing of a slave woman who was probably the property of John, the father of "Point Jimmie:"

Tenth month, 26th, 1802, the clerk was ordered to transcribe the manumission of the black woman of John Somers in the Society's minute book, and file the original among the papers of the Society, which was done as follows:

I, John Sommers, of the township of Egg Harbor, County of Gloucester, and State of New Jersey, do hereby set free from bondage my negro woman named Jane when she shall arrive at the age of twenty-seven years old and do hereby release unto the said negro woman Jane all my right and claim to her person and to any estate which she may acquire hereby declaring the said negro woman Jane together with all issue she may have or shall have absolutely free against myself and all persons claiming under me. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty-third day of the eighth month of the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred ninety and nine, 1799.

JOHN SOMERS.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of (signed) Peter Andrews, Daniel Leeds.

Which of the two James Somers is alluded to on the first page of The Township Book of Great Egg Harbor, Gloucester County, is doubtful, although it is likely that it was Jimmie of Bargaintown. The first page of the book bears no date, but as on the succeeding ones appears that of 1777, the time is approximately fixed:

This Day the Town Committee met at the house of James Somers, Esq., in order to consult on some means to support the wives and families of William Finch or Harris (?) and Younges Mapes who are gone into the service of this State or of the United States. Whereas the Committee hath agreed that they shall be supported and supplied one peck of Rie or corne a week. Each of them. Also

SOMERS POINT

it ordered that Thomas Champen supply them with one shillings worth of meats or molasses a piece a week and that James Somers supply them with the Rie or corne.

So the Justices and assessors and freeholders Doe order thirty pounds to be raised for the needs of the poor.

JOHN SOMERS,
Chairman.

JAMES SOMERS,
SAMUEL RISLEY,
JOHN SOMERS,
FREDERICK STEELMAN,
THOMAS CHAMPEN.

Military records inform us that a James Somers upheld the traditions and honor of the family by serving as first lieutenant in Captain Price's company, Third Battalion, Gloucester County Regiment, September 18, 1777, and that later he became a captain in the Second Battalion of the same regiment.

The tract purchased by the first John Somers was so large that it was naturally sparsely settled, and the houses built on it belonged to the members of the family. Even the Braddock house, which has since been torn down, was built by the husband of a Somers. The home of "Aunt Jane Anderson," a Somers, too, is still standing, but is altered beyond recognition. While the changes were being made, an iron cannon ball and some grapeshot fired by the British men-of-war which entered the harbor during the War of 1812, were found embedded in the walls.

Mrs. Anderson, whose husband was George Anderson, of Barne-gat, was born Deborah Jane Somers, daughter of Richard Ludlam Somers, who married his cousin, Hannah Somers. She opened her eyes to the light of day on December 4, 1835, in the house where she now lives, which was part of the old Somers Point Hotel, on the corner of Main street and Bethel road. Her father owned a shipyard that extended from Harbor Lane to where is now the Fast Shore Line Bridge, and here were built two- and three-masted vessels which were launched at the foot of Harbor Lane, Bass Harbor. Mrs. Anderson tells of a boat launched during her extreme youth, and says that another product of the yard was the *Hannah L.* Her father's love for the sea expressed itself not in the sailing of ships but in the building of them, and in keeping an hotel where lounged the "old salts," the seafarers of the community. Here, too, came the wreckers from Peck's Beach, "a dirty lot," says Mrs. Anderson. After her father's death the daughter cut the hotel in two and had

half of it moved across the street. Nearby is a curious old frame building erected by Richard L. Somers, which was the first custom house.

The old Quaker Meeting House was at the corner of New York avenue and Main street. It became the property of Jesse Somers, whose respect for his ancestral house of worship did not prevent his dividing it. One half he used as a tenant house, and the other was moved to a different locality and became a blacksmith shop. In those old days the Quakers buried their dead at Linwood, but neither is this spot now sacred to the followers of Penn. It has changed hands, and creeds, for it is now a Methodist graveyard.

Many of the names of the roads and of the old localities have been changed as time has passed. Bethel road was May's Landing road, and the eastern side of Main street was known as Harbor Lane. Fort Republic, nearby, rejoiced in the possession of two names, Ticktown and Wrangletown, suggesting differing forms of discomfort.

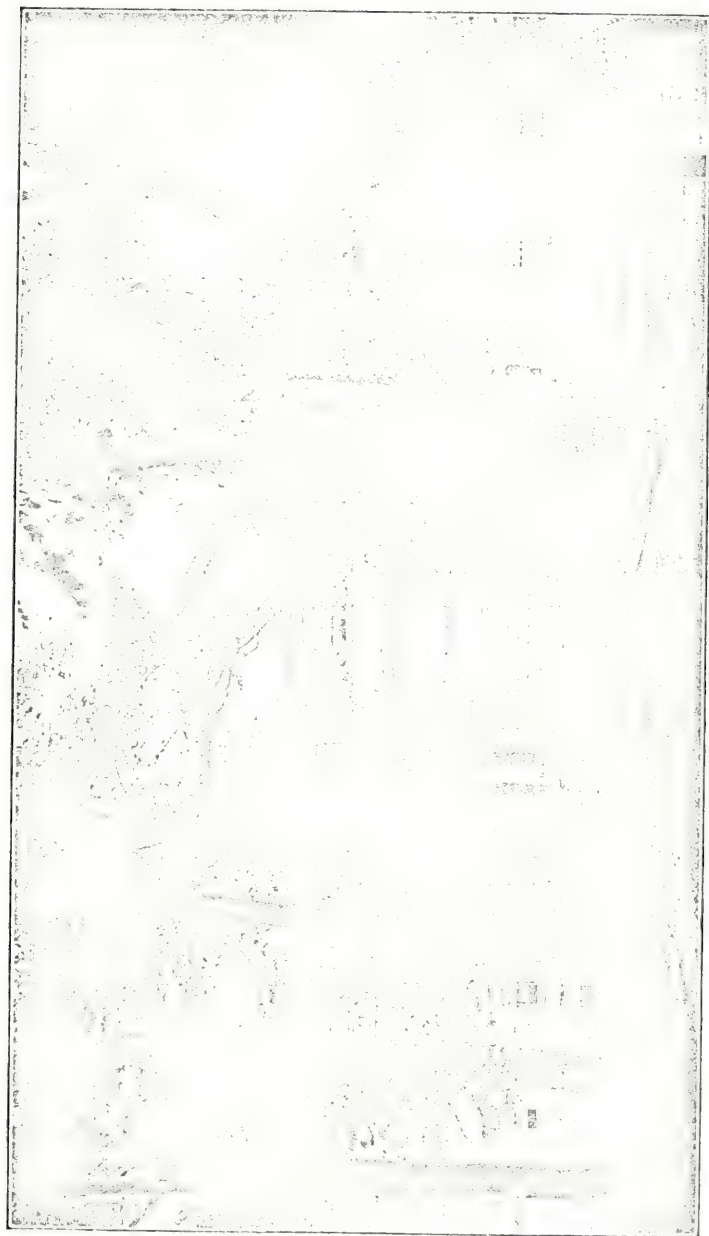
The British made several attempts to enter the harbor. Once they were chased by the Americans, and one of their ships was captured and bestowed securely at the foot of Harbor Lane. Here the British soldiers lived so long aboard her that the spot has since been called "Lousy" (sometimes erroneously called "Lazy") Point. The natural inference may be drawn. At the head of a small inlet was Horse Block Point, where travellers crossing the bay by ferry disembarked their horses and mounted them from the block they found there.

Besides the shipyard owned by Richard L. Somers there were at one time three others. The chief interest of the people has always been in the sea, so much so that it was a usual thing to describe a man's occupation by saying "He goes by water." Sea bathing was popular. The Somers Point Hotel, the Dolphin and the Beesley's Point Hotel all had bathhouses for their guests on the shore of Peck's Beach. Rowboats plied between the Point and the Beach, and a board walk ran from the bay to the ocean where the Garwood Hotel now stands in Ocean City.

Near enough to the sea to benefit by its salt laden air, Somers Point has the advantage of pine forests. Thus the atmosphere has a lightness and a dryness that the coast towns do not know. The soil is rich, and there is a happy condition of inland fertility on the

edge of salt water. Though on the mainland, the town has followed the example of those on the reefs and has uncoiled itself along the shore. It has grown rather slowly, but with the modern improvements it does possess it has not lost its charm. There is over it still the air of mysterious age, the glamor of the long-ago. In the years gone by, it was ruled over by the Somers family, and today their influence still seems dominant. Although the mansion is in the hands of strangers, yet so strong an impress did the Somers leave that after the lapse of many years the supreme interest of the town is in the house they built. It speaks of them in its imposing stateliness, and still retains their seignorial attitude. The dignity natural to a house with such antecedents clings to the Somers home and wards off any attempt at a familiarity to desecrate or alter it.





"OLD WEST," 1864

Dickinson College and Its Background

By CHARLES W. SUPER, ATHENS, OHIO



THE history of American colleges does not begin with the selection of their trustees, nor with the erection of their first building, nor even with the date of their charter. Their origin is to be sought in the intellectual, moral and religious forces that later found concrete expression in these visible forms. Every event is, of course, preceded by another of like character, this by another, and so on *ad finitum*. Albeit, in the genesis and development of the American college we have a fairly definite starting point on American soil and need not to go overseas to seek it. For one thing, we have in the colonies a different religious atmosphere from that prevailing in the old country. The social atmosphere was also different, while economic conditions were widely different. It is a question whether the people of New England showed a greater zeal in the cause of education, at least in its elements, than did the early settlers of Pennsylvania, and whether her learned men were more interested in the cause. But the New England colonies exhibited a continuous development, although very slow, while in Pennsylvania a stagnation or at least a retardation of interest supervened that had a deleterious influence on the cause.

As early as 1683 the Assembly which met in Philadelphia enacted that: "And to the end that poor as well as rich may be instructed in good and commendable learning, which is to be preferred before wealth. Be it enacted, etc. That all persons in this Province and Territories thereof, having children, and all guardians and trustees of orphans, shall cause them to be instructed in reading and writing, that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age, and that they may be taught some trade or skill, that the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want; of which every County Court shall take care," &c. Before the end of the century, or at least in the early years of the next, there were schools,

not only in Philadelphia, but as far inland as Berks county. Nor did the immigrants from England and Scotland only establish schools; but likewise some of the early-comers from Germany were men of great learning and inspired with a burning zeal for the cause of education.

However, let us note briefly the conditions in Penn's Province that led to the establishment of Dickinson College at a time when there were as yet few prospective students. Besides, the means of travel and intercommunication were both slow and difficult. Quite a dozen more or less ambitious and successful attempts had been made in different parts of the thirteen colonies, all of which are still in existence, although their careers have been widely different. The following is believed to be a complete list of American colleges founded prior to or contemporaneous with that at Carlisle. (1) Harvard, (2) William and Mary, (3) Yale, (4) University of Pennsylvania, (5) Princeton, (6) Washington and Lee, (7) Columbia, (8) Brown, (9) Rutgers, (10) Dartmouth, (11) Hampden-Sidney, (12) Dickinson.

The Moravian College and Seminary at Bethlehem lays claim to being the oldest college for women within the territory of the Union. It was organized in 1742. A similar institution was put in operation at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, thirty years later. Washington College in Maryland was chartered in 1782, and Washington College, Tennessee, the following year. Albeit, the personnel of neither, including faculty and students combined, numbers more than one hundred persons. By the end of the century the number of similar institutions had more than doubled. It would be interesting to know the minds of the men who were the initiators of these educational projects. Their largest asset was faith. Not a few of them found, however, that although faith may remove mountains, it will not permanently remove an appetite nor provide a permanent shelter. It has been pointed out in the historical sketch of the Ohio University (an institution to which we shall have occasion to refer again) how much money one founder considered ample for the needs of a university. When we are prompted to smile at the limited intellectual outlook of those men, we will do well to recall that many universities in Continental Europe had no equipment to start with except an old monastery. When Schiller was appointed Professor of History in the University of Jena, an event that occurred about

the time Dickinson College was getting under way, the position carried with it no salary. He seems to have been honest enough to consider the compensation adequate, for he admitted that he knew very little history. The first class to receive diplomas was that of 1787; it consisted of nine members. Five years later there were thirty-three. The classes between 1799 to 1803, both dates included, numbered eight and five respectively. In 1806 and 1810 there were four each. From 1817 to 1821 no graduating class is reported. The next year there were two. From 1832 to 1835 no students are reported, revealing a condition of affairs which will be dealt with farther along. The next year there were four graduates. The largest classes up to 1850 were those of 1792 (33), and the same number in 1829. That of forty fell short by one. Although Dickinson's record is not "hoary with age," it must be evident to any one who gives the situation a moment's consideration that it is impossible to write anything approaching its history in the brief compass of a magazine article. The best that can be done is to draw attention to a few "high spots" like those in a landscape illumined by the first rays of the rising or the last rays of the setting sun. Or the writer may endeavor to combine in himself the functions of the ex-wife of Menelaus on the ramparts of Ilium, and of Satan on a high mountain. He can point out the salient features in the scene beneath him, and give the names of the chief characters that furnish life to the panorama below.

The last Alumni Record is an octavo volume of nearly five hundred pages of fine print, and contains nothing except the briefest possible list of names and dates, so far as the latter could be obtained. The number of graduate alumni is a few more than two thousand. Of the young men who attended the college but who for various reasons did not graduate, the list of names is about one-fifth longer. This list does not include the names of graduates from the Law Department, which after having been in operation for a number of years was suspended, but later reopened and has been doing efficient service up to date. It should also be noted that Dickinson College has never claimed nor aspired to be anything more than a college, although its scholastic standard is a good deal higher than that of institutions not a few that are called by the more ambitious title. The list of Dickinson's alumni is not an exceptionally long one, and when the friends of other colleges boast of

much longer lists, Dickinsonians are wont to cite the Fable of the Lion and the Hare to prove that it is not the number of the offspring that counts, but the quality. Towards the close of the last century the attendance began to rise, with the result that the latest catalogue contains the name of nearly two hundred Freshmen, probably a larger number than the entire student body during the existence of the institution until recently. How widespread was the influence of the small classes even prior to the year 1800 may be here briefly pointed out so far as the meager records and limited space make it possible. Much evidence to the same effect appears in other portions of this article. Of the class of 1790, one member was born in Pennsylvania, one in Virginia, and one in North Carolina; but all died in different parts of Ohio. Of the class of 1792, one member was born in North Carolina and died in Ohio; another was born in Ireland, but died in South Carolina; one was born in Pennsylvania, but died in New York; while a fourth, born in Pennsylvania, ended his days in North Carolina. Of two who were born in Virginia and Pennsylvania respectively, one died in New Orleans and one in Ohio. Of two others who were born in Pennsylvania, one died in Missouri, the other in Tennessee. This brief statement takes no account of those who were born and ended their days in the Keystone State, although the two events may have occurred in widely sundered localities. It is also worth noting that although the Ohio University was established under New England auspices, that influence did not long perdure. Three of its presidents were Pennsylvanians, two of them Dickinsonians whose combined administration covered almost one-fourth of its existence and about one-third of the period of its actual operation. Of the graduates before 1800, Jonathan Walker was a judge of a United States district court and father of Robert Walker of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury under President Polk. Francis Dunlevy (or Dunlavy) was a leading member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention in 1802. At the first General Assembly which met in Chillicothe, he was elected one of the three district judges. In 1810 he was chosen president judge of the first or Cincinnati district. He had been one of the ten members of the convention from Hamilton county. He was one of the few men active in early Ohio who had been what might be called systematically educated. Robert Wilson, president of the Ohio University, must have attracted a good deal of attention in

his ministry a long way from home, as he received the honorary degree of D. D. from Princeton in 1818.

It has been pointed out in various places, in this article, that the early relations between New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio were intimate when we consider the difficulties of inter-communication. Ninian Edwards was a judge of the Circuit Court, of the Court of Appeals, chief justice of Kentucky, territorial governor and later governor of Illinois and United States senator. Matthew Brown was the first president of Washington, and later president of Jefferson College. Callender Irvine was commissary general of the United States army by appointment of President Jefferson. Alexander Nisbet was for some time a judge in Baltimore, and later president of the Northern Central railroad. Jesse Wharton was a member of Congress from Tennessee and later United States senator from the same State. Roger Taney has been dealt with elsewhere. Including the class of 1796, at least ten members ended their days in Ohio. Then there is no similar instance until we come to the class of 1805, which contains the name of George Buchanan, who died in Steubenville after serving the Presbyterian church for nearly forty years. It is probable that even of the non-graduates very few were absolute failures. At least a majority, no doubt, had good cause for leaving college without completing the course. The graduates up to and including 1796, numbered about one hundred and twenty. Of these more than ten per cent. are known to have migrated to Ohio. However, Dickinsonians did not cease to move both east and west. Of the men whose names are recorded in the Alumni Record, nearly one hundred and fifty gave the address as Philadelphia. All the States and the District of Columbia are represented; a few, however, by only a single name. About thirty were domiciled in Ohio, four in Oregon, ten in Washington, and three times as many in California. Of Dickinson College, Monroe's Encyclopedia has this to say:

The record of Dickinson's alumni is remarkable. With Bowdoin and Princeton it is the only other American college possessing the distinction of having graduated both a President of the United States and a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The list of other Federal Judges, of members of the State Judiciary and of Governors of the State is surprisingly large, while it is doubtful if any educational institution of similar size has furnished to the country as many as nine cabinet officers, ten members of the highest legisla-

tive body and fifty members of the lower house. In addition, the legislature of Pennsylvania began very early to contain a large number of Dickinson's graduates.

This is a remarkable tribute to an institution which Dr. Holmes would doubtless have classed among freshwater colleges. Albeit, the epithet just cited is worth at least the passing comment that if made by a less important person than the genial doctor, would have passed unnoticed or cast as rubbish to the void.

The Cumberland Valley is hardly more than an extension of the Shenandoah, or *vice versa*, according to the point of view. But settlers had penetrated into the southern valley and made permanent abiding places before the people of Pennsylvania had got so far "west." As early as 1726, Scotch-Irish pioneers had begun to enter the Virginia valley in large numbers. Among them were many Germans. As each naturally preferred their own people, they settled in groups so that there grew up many an "Irish Corner" and "German Settlement." So numerous did the Germans soon become that it was considered advisable by the government to have the laws printed in their language. The Shenandoah is still a babel of creeds, if no longer of nationalities. What concerns us here is the attitude of the English-speaking people toward education compared with their German-speaking fellow citizens, as we find the same phenomenon in Pennsylvania. It is also worth mentioning that although the most influential trustees of Dickinson in the eighteenth century were residents of Philadelphia, they looked to Princeton for guidance rather than to the university of their own city. Ambler reports in his "Sectionalism in Virginia" that preachers from Yale and Princeton were important factors in shaping the intellectual and social customs of that region. The pioneer in this work was Samuel Davies, who later became president of the College of New Jersey. In this region Princeton soon became a rival of William and Mary, although the latter had a long start in time and the advantage of proximity. In 1747, John Todd, a Princetonian of the class of the same year, founded a classical academy in Louisa county. During the same year, the institution that later became Washington and Lee was founded by John Brown, a Princetonian. In 1776 the academy which later became Hampden-Sidney College was founded by Stanhope Smith, a Princetonian of the class of 1769. These are not all the educational estab-

lishments put in operation in this region, speaking by and large, by men who had received their collegiate training in the two colleges named above. In contrast with their humble origin, that of Dickinson is noteworthy. On the contrary, Ambler makes no mention of any educational institution in this region founded by Germans until many decades later. In 1853 the Lutherans obtained a charter for a college at Salem, but before it was well under way the sectional war intervened and it has had but a feeble support ever since. This was more than a century after the Presbyterians had planted their first college in the Old Dominion. Franklin College in Pennsylvania was chartered in 1787. Its inauguration was a notable event, because the aged Franklin gave it the dignity of his presence. Although it had at different times one or more notable men among the members of its faculty, it did not for a long time rise "above the grade of a good high school." It should also be mentioned that although the Methodist Episcopal church was a strong force in the movement that resulted in the formation of the State of West Virginia, the denomination had no college within its bounds until the beginning of the present century. Most of the students from this region went either to Dickinson, or to one of the colleges in Western Pennsylvania. Others crossed the Ohio to Marietta, or went farther inland to the Ohio University. Many adherents of the minor German sects that early became numerous in Penn's Province and in the Shenandoah valley, were almost unanimous in their opposition to education of every kind beyond the elements. In Ohio, during the present century, several collisions have occurred between the school authorities and the Amish (sometimes called Hookers, because they use hooks and eyes instead of buttons on their clothing), for refusing to send their children to the public schools. The ground of complaint is, that in the schools children are taught that the world is round, whereas the Bible says it is flat. Hardly any intellectual phenomenon is more difficult to explain than the contempt with which the members of the German churches, as distinguished from the "sects," regarded an uneducated ministry, and the meager support they accorded to their colleges. It is believed that by 1750 there were more than a quarter of a million Germans in Penn's colony. A few years earlier a concerted effort was made to establish denominational schools by men who professed the Lutheran and Reformed faiths, and some prog-

ress was made; but in less than ten years the movement virtually died from want of support. In this regard the Presbyterians were more consistent. When a few of them founded a community, it at once started an academy or a college; and while these were not always liberally supported, few were entirely abandoned. Most of the old-time academies were, however, superseded by public schools.

For about a century and a half after the founding of Penn's colony there seems to have been little sectional feeling among the different commonwealths. As early as 1793 there were students at Dickinson from six of the States south of Mason and Dixon's line. There is also evidence to the effect that even before the end of the century some prospective students were deterred from entering the college because of the arduous toil imposed upon those who were so fortunate as to have entered earlier. It has been remarked that when a man pays money for a tangible commodity, it is his aim to get as much for his outlay as possible; but when he pays for an education, or what he regards as such, he is generally willing to accept as little as possible, and will even protest when he thinks he is getting too much. It is almost as natural for a student to *kick*, as it is for the quadruped whose name is usually spelled with a word of four letters, the chief difference being that the one uses his head, the other his heels. There is probably no word in the English or the German language that has wandered so far from its original Latin signification as *studens*. We still retain the connection between the two terms by the familiar "student" and "studious." But what nexus is there between these and *studens* except in athletics?

It is shown in the course of this narrative that almost from the beginning, the South was a liberal patron of the college. And it is worth a passing remark that "them times" there was no "boosting" by means of newspaper advertising. In our study of conditions as they existed at the close of the eighteenth century we have some first-hand information from Dr. Cutler, who made a journey to "The West" in a sulky. In July, 1788, he set out from Ipswich in his native State for the Ohio and Muskingum country, his ultimate goal being Marietta. He kept a brief diary of his journey in which he records some interesting incidents and observations. We are here, however, concerned with Pennsylvania only.

He entered the State near the mouth of the Lehigh river. Thence he passed through Bethlehem, Allentown, Reading, and Harrisburg. He writes that the last named town contained about one hundred good houses, "all built in less than three years." Many of them were of brick, and three stories high. "Half the people are English." He also mentions that there were as yet no churches. On the third of August he arrived in Carlisle. "Roads mostly good but now intolerable; very level." He found Carlisle to be a larger town than Reading, and mentions that it contained two hundred and eighty houses, large and well built. Here he came across a family on their way to Fort Pitt. They had a coach and three wagons. He notes that "just before we came to the town we saw on our left the barracks." "They are built of bricks in four ranges, one at the end." They appeared like colleges—"an immense pile of buildings far exceeding anything in this part of the country." He makes no mention of the college. Shippensburg was a new town containing about one hundred and fifty houses, all on one street. The road to the foot of the mountains was "excessive bad." From this place he went over the Blue Mountains into Horse Valley, then into Path Valley, ascended the Tuscarora Mountain and came down into Ahwick Valley. Here he found much work being done on the roads. In this valley he met a packer with ten horses loaded with ginseng, two barrels to a horse. Ginseng at Fort Pitt was two shillings the barrel; at Carlisle it was five shillings. Most people would regard this as outrageous profiteering. Fourteen miles from Bedford, Dr. Cutler crossed the "Juniata branch of the Susquehanna river on a good long bridge." "Bedford is the poorest county in Pennsylvania." The town was, however, fairly well built, some of the houses being "tolerable good." At this place he overtook Judge Symmes, well known in the pioneer history of Ohio and especially in that of Miami University at Oxford, the younger sister of the university at Athens. Judge Symmes was a native of Long Island, but was at that time a citizen of New Jersey. With him were several members of his family. His outfit consisted of six heavy wagons and a chair, thirty-one horses, three carpenters and one mason. The company had been on the way three weeks. Proceeding, the reverend gentleman writes that Buffalo Mountain was on his left. He found the roads in this region all good except where they were new. At a place called "The Glades," the streams began to flow

westward. Not far away our diarist preached to a large congregation for a Mr. Finley, who was ill. The woods were full of horses—three or four hundred, but no houses were near the place where the congregation had come together. Mr. Finley had two congregations about eight miles apart. They were doubtless Presbyterians. Dr. Cutler crossed the Youghiogheny at a place he calls Summerall's, then the Monongahela, which he considered a fine river, at a ferry which he calls Devour's Crossing. Washington was then new, with stumps in the streets. The courthouse and the jail, those ubiquitous concomitants of civilization, were in the center. "Fine country all around." In the vicinity of the present town of Wellsburg in West Virginia there were "fine gardens, mills, tanneries," etc. The remainder of the journey was made by water on the river, "which is big but generally narrow," obstructed by no falls along the State which bears its name, and is rarely out of service. Our diarist makes brief mention of the taverns at which he stopped, and notes whether they were kept by Irishmen or "Dutchmen." At one place he came across an extremely handsome woman and could not believe that she was "Dutch" until she herself assured him that she was born in Germany. He generally found the stopping-place fair, bad, and very bad. But as there was rarely more than one within reach, it was generally a case of "eat and sleep here or do without either." In August there was usually a place to sleep but not always "food for man and beast." At this date there was not a turnpike in the country. The first road of this kind was built between Philadelphia and Lancaster in 1790. "It was the wonder of the world."

In 1800 a double tier of counties was laid out from the Ohio river to Lake Erie. In one of these counties Alleghany College was established in 1815, Bentley Hall, which is still in use, being the first building erected. If we draw a straight line across the State from east to west about the middle, it will pass close to Bucknell University and Penn State College. But there is no institution except that at Meadville and the recent college at Greenville, north of said imaginary line. West of Carlisle there is none until we come to the vicinity of Pittsburgh, except that at Huntingdon, which is both small and recent. In none of the older States is there so large a territory without an institution of college rank, at least on paper, while they are almost "bunched together" in the vicinity of Pitts-

burgh. Bucknell and Penn State are perhaps a little north of this line, and while the former has for several decades held a fairly creditable position among colleges, the same affirmation cannot be made of the latter. It cannot be regarded as a success until near the close of the nineteenth century. For one thing, there is probably no State in the Union in which so little need of scientific agriculture is felt by the farming community, or in which it received so little attention until quite recently as in Pennsylvania. We are not further concerned here with this aspect of the case, but it may be remarked in passing that Lancaster county is generally regarded as the richest agriculturally in the world, and it had gained that preëminence long before agricultural colleges were heard of in this country. Besides, whether rightly or wrongly, the opinion was for a long time prevalent that Pennsylvania's agricultural college was being "run" more in the interest of politicians and of politicians of a certain stripe than in the interest of scientific agriculture or of any other culture. Of the people who read the early history of Pennsylvania, probably few reflect that even at so late a date as 1800 its inhabited portions consisted of hardly more than a rightangled triangle in the southeastern corner and a somewhat smaller triangle in the southwestern corner.

Let us consider for a moment the latter region, a territory that was for some time claimed by Virginia, and the occasion of not a little strife between the legislatures of the two commonwealths. Westmoreland county was set off in 1773. Then followed Washington, Fayette, Alleghany and Greene. When the settlers reached the navigable Monongahela, the way was open to the west and southwest. As early as 1782 a Jacob Yoder embarked at Redstone with a boatload of flour which he later sold in New Orleans. Thence he went to Havana, where he laid in a stock of sugar which in turn he sold in Philadelphia. This trading expedition was but a forerunner of others that were to follow. Southwestern Pennsylvania soon became a fertile seed-plot for colleges, and there are now in that region about as many as there are stars in the Pleiades. The location of the University of West Virginia, at such an out-of-the-way place for the State, is explained by the fact that there was founded, at a very early period, an academy at Morgantown, an academy which for many years had a good reputation. The probability is also that its founders expected their patronage to come

as much from Pennsylvania as from Virginia. Only one of these institutions will be briefly noticed, as it furnished a president for the Ohio University. Moreover, Dickinson College also furnished in Matthew Brown of '94 a president for both the Presbyterian colleges in this "corner." He must have been a man of note in his day, as he received an honorary degree from both Princeton and Hamilton. As early as 1787 an academy was started in the courthouse at Washington by three Presbyterian ministers. When it was burned in 1790 they transferred their school to Canonsburg, seven miles distant. This transfer soon had unfortunate results, for it became the nucleus of Jefferson College. It is the only college that received the name of the "Father of American Democracy," but which at present he shares with that of the "Father of his Country." Although Washington and Jefferson colleges were only a few miles apart, the trustees of the two institutions refused to unite for more than sixty years. The absurdity of this aloofness becomes all the more evident when we reflect that both concerns were under the care of the same religious body and that the students within reach in the nature of the case were few. The magnet that eventually drew them together was the conditional promise of a considerable sum of money by a member of one of the boards. Henceforth their joint history reads like the last chapter of a popular novel in which the hero and the heroine "lived together happily ever afterwards."

For a number of years conditions here were much the same as they were at Dickinson, except that there being two faculties and two boards of trustees to carry on their bickerings, the penchant for logomachy was at least partly gratified without involving the undergraduates. A later writer, when dealing with the Whiskey Rebellion that broke out in this region, declared that the belligerents were mostly native stock, but that they had inherited two traits from their European ancestors—their fondness for ardent spirits and for theological controversy. He adds that they believed in the injunction, "quench not the spirit," but that they interpreted it so as to read, stint not the spirits, provided they could be taken in liquid form. Although this part of the Keystone State is somewhat rough and rugged, the people have for more than a century been among the most orderly and prosperous in the whole Union. It should also be remarked that the whiskey for which those men

showed such a predilection that they were willing to fight for the right to consume it in unlimited quantities, was at least ten years old and far less deleterious than the modern product that is made almost overnight and goes by the expressive if not elegant name of "rotgut." Evidently those pioneers saw no difference between fighting Great Britain for imposing upon them a tax without their consent, and quietly submitting to one imposed by their own government to which they had not consented either. The authorities found for the thousandth time that it is as hard to tax and to please as to love and be wise. Moreover, it is well to keep in mind, when dealing with the western insurrection, that it was not the only one with which the authorities had to contend, although in the other case it was not deemed necessary to call upon the Federal government to subdue the "rebels." The "Fries Rebellion" or the "Hot Water Rebellion" made a good deal of trouble in several of the eastern counties. Owing to the participation of the women armed with pails of hot water, this war partook somewhat of the nature of the *Batrachomyomachia* with which students of Greek literature are familiar.

The opinion has been somewhat widely prevalent that Ohio was largely settled by immigrants from New England, and that they had much to do with establishing the government of the State. This opinion probably grew out of the prominence achieved by several congressmen from the Western Reserve. Professor Hinsdale has pointed out in his "Old Northwest" that, except for the colony at Marietta, the early immigrants came mostly from Virginia and Pennsylvania. He was able to trace the ancestry of twenty-six of the thirty-eight delegates who met at Chillicothe to frame a constitution in 1802. This city is more than fifty miles south of the center of the State, while all the delegates save two were from a somewhat broad fringe of counties along the Ohio river. At that time the population of the territory which afterwards became the State of Ohio was somewhat less than fifty thousand. Of the twenty-six delegates referred to above, about one-half were from Virginia, but only three from New England. The same author also traced the ancestry of thirty-three of the forty-seven of Ohio's representatives in Congress up to 1829. The preponderance was no longer with Virginia, which furnished only six members. The contingent from Pennsylvania had increased to nine men, while New Jersey, its

eastern outpost, furnished six. The same number came from Connecticut. One each came from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Kentucky and New York. It is not an unreasonable assumption that the two middle States dominated the convention, and that the College of New Jersey and Dickinson "led all the rest."

The number of students enrolled at Dickinson during the eighteenth century was about two hundred and forty. At least one-third of this number are classed as "non-graduates." Rather more than half of the whole number have left no record of themselves, or a very meager one. Those students who did not return to college for lack of means, probably got as much benefit from their abbreviated studies as others who completed the course. The meagerness of the early records is doubtless due in a large measure to pioneer conditions and to the lack of facilities for writing, rather than to the insignificance of the persons concerned. That there was no increase of students for a long time was due to the large German element in the State. The two colleges at Washington and Canonsburg have a much longer list of alumni, a condition that is mainly due to the Presbyterian or at least non-German element in the southwestern part of the State. The preponderance of the German element is shown by the circumstances that for almost fifty years beginning with 1808, most of the Governors bore German names. About 1835, Thaddeus Stevens, who is often called the father of Pennsylvania's public school system, and himself a New Englander, made a speech before the legislature in which he declared, among other things, that the languishing and sickly condition of Pennsylvania's colleges was certainly not due to poverty, "yet she has scarcely one-third as many collegiate students as cold, barren New England. The reason is plain," declared Mr. Stevens: "She has no free schools." There is little room for doubt that no two Americans belonging to the nineteenth century are better known and more unfavorably judged than Roger B. Taney of the class of 1795, and James Buchanan of the class of 1809. It was the misfortune of the latter to become involved in conditions and perplexities for which a man of his strictly logical mind and legal training was ill qualified to cope. Yet nothing that he did or left undone brought a stain upon the purity of his character or upon his loyalty to his country. The same may be said of Chief Justice Taney. The fact that his decision in the Dred Scott case,

which brought so much obloquy upon his name, was concurred in by six of his fellow judges, is evidence that his interpretation of the constitution was correct, as it was understood at the time. It was not by an act of congress nor by a reversal of said decision that full civil rights were granted to the negroes; it required a constitutional amendment to do that. The radical abolitionists did not find fault with the decision; they condemned the constitution as a covenant with hell and a league with death. Judge Taney's mistake was in making a part of his decision a political and historical argument in favor of human slavery. He was behind the times. Lawyers are not often statesmen. It should also be remembered by those who condemn said decision, that Abraham Lincoln both before and after his election to the presidency repeatedly declared that he had no right and no intention to interfere with slavery. Both those Dickinsonians had been prominent in the affairs of their country for a long time before one of them was elevated to the position of chief justice and the other to the presidency.

During the entire nineteenth century, Dickinsonians were in the public eye. John A. Inglis, of '29, who was chancellor of South Carolina, drafted the ordinance of secession. Later Willard Saulsbury, of '42, was for a long time the doughty and unterrified champion of the minority in the Senate of the United States, while Thomas Williams, of '25, was chosen to present the articles of impeachment against Andrew Johnson. Just before the battle of Gettysburg a Confederate regiment was quartered on the college grounds and in the buildings. But the property was carefully guarded against injury, by order of the colonel, because the college was the *alma mater* of his friend Dr. Deems, of the class of '39, the famous preacher and prolific writer and later the pastor of the Church of the Strangers in New York City. It was he who interested the elder Vanderbilt in the university that now bears the family name, and secured from him not only large benefactions but the continued interest of his descendants. Moncure D. Conway is probably the most widely although not the most favorably known of Dickinson's alumni. His birthplace was Stafford county, Virginia; the year of his birth was 1832. His father, followed by most of his family, left the church to which he belonged and "joined de Methodist," to the surprise of some of his neighbors and to the dismay of others. Young Conway was only fifteen when he entered col-

lege; but he was under the chaperonage of an older brother. He was first admitted to the Sophomore class, and four months later advanced to Junior. He writes in his autobiography that the faculty of his day was not surpassed in ability by any in America. This was not the immature judgment of an undergraduate, nor of a man whose intellectual outlook never widened after he had received his diploma; but of a man of large experience and profound scholarship. Besides, he put it on record after more than fifty years of reflection. Although nominally a Methodist college, the professors had been chosen without regard to denominational preference. Mr. Conway considered Robert Emory an ideal college president. "When he called on my brother and me, I can not remember what he said, but after he left we were ready to die for him." He regarded Professor Allen an abler man than Whately, whose "Logic" the class was using as a text-book, although Allen was only temporarily in charge of the class owing to the death of Professor Caldwell. Dr. Allen was a native of Maine, an alumnus of Bowdoin, and for many years the president of Girard College. Spencer F. Baird, a Dickinsonian, who was soon to be admitted to the company of the Immortals both on account of his connection with the Smithsonian Institution and by his original writings, was the beloved of the faculty and the ideal student. It would not be easy to praise a man more highly than Conway praises Baird and his charming family. Mr. Conway also writes that "Dr. McClintock made Greek studies interesting, and Professor Crooks had much skill in teaching Latin." Another passage from this autobiography is instructive by reason of the inside view it gives of Carlisle's population about the middle of the century. After writing somewhat in detail of the distinguished men who were living in the city, he continues: "To me it was a revelation to find so many great men and refined ladies belonging to a sect that in Fredericksburg was in dismal contrast with the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches." Every one who has the slightest interest in the "old college" should read the earlier pages of this autobiography. Few persons have the time to read the entire two volumes. The author thinks the majority of the students were from the South, and notes that a few of them occasionally went on sprees, but there were no drunkards. Mrs. Dillon, a daughter of President Johnson, who died in 1868, in her delightful partly autobiographical novel "In Old Bellerive," di-

lates with almost pathetic fondness upon the charming circle of which the college was the centre. In later visits she made disparaging comparison between the students of her girlhood years and those of the Twentieth Century. The latter she declared to be neither so chivalrous nor so handsome as the heroes of the earlier time. On a few points, comparisons of the past with the present may be made in favor of the former. It seems to have been assumed by American as well as by British teachers that no one had need to study his mother tongue. A great deal of attention was given to spelling in both public and private schools. A student who misspelled a word was a rarity. Those from the South especially excelled in the graces of speech. It may also be said of them and hardly less of their northern confrères, that their English was less punctured with what may be called slang, and which pervades current English to a lamentable degree, although there were no girls among the students. As the sciences, broadly speaking, except mathematics, received comparatively little attention, greater time was left for reading, which was generally well used. What may be called "trash" with perfect propriety, was not much in evidence. Do the students of the present day ever discuss a new book? In the Twentieth Century more people seem to read in order to avoid the labor of thinking, than to find materials to stimulate thought. Also, there were few non-academic activities. Skill in writing can not be taught by any pouring-in or smearing-on process; the "urge" must come from within. On the other hand, men who were on intimate terms with both the earlier and the later generation will agree on all points with Mrs. Dillon's panegyrics. Although the students from the South under the old regime always displayed a certain kind of gallantry in their intercourse with the gentler sex that is lacking to their successors from both North and South, they were no more gentlemen in reality. A man may make a brilliant appearance in a drawing-room and be a rake none the less.

Of the writer's college mates who became more or less conspicuous in later years, only the number of the Muses can receive brief mention here. Austin Bierbower was a professor of Greek and Latin, correspondent and editorial writer for several metropolitan newspapers, and the author of a number of books. His brother, Vincent (Vinc), was an editor, a superintendent of schools in Missouri, a judge, a States attorney, United States attorney, State Sen-

ator in two States, president of the Senate of Idaho, and later lieutenant-governor of the same State. W. S. Smith was a teacher, a merchant, bank cashier, real estate agent, chief clerk in the United States Land Office, and superintendent of irrigation. Louis F. McComas (Goob), was a member of Congress from Maryland four terms, and later Senator one term, professor of international law and diplomacy, a justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and for many years a leading spirit among the Republicans of his native State. William H. Wahl, after receiving his degree from the University of Heidelberg, was, for most of the remainder of his life, secretary of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, his native city; he was also the author of many scientific books and papers. C. H. Curtis was a prominent official in the Denver & Rio Grande railroad, general manager of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé railroad, and a successful mine operator in Colorado. A. C. Chenoweth was long identified with engineering projects in New York City. His wife was a daughter of Fernando Wood, three times mayor of that city and perhaps the most prominent if not the most favorably known occupant of that office in the Nineteenth Century. His brother George was also engaged in large engineering enterprises, among others on the Northern Pacific railroad and the Pennsylvania railroad. John F. Goucher was the founder of the college that long bore his name, and was its most liberal benefactor. It is universally admitted to have the highest standard of any similar institution under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal church. Among the bishops of said church seven are or were Dickinsonians. These bishops are not diocesan, although they have under their jurisdiction well defined areas. These areas together embrace almost the entire world except those parts that are under spiritual oversight of the Wesleyans, such as Great Britain and Canada, which are not episcopally governed. As these bishops are elected in an open General Conference which meets every fourth year and whose delegates now number almost a thousand, there is little opportunity, even if there were a desire, for "log-rolling and trading." It is therefore a reasonable assumption that the most competent men are chosen, although, of course, not all the most competent.

Charles Nisbet was born in Scotland, and received his degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1760. Even in his first charge his

eloquence as a pulpit orator attracted considerable attention. But after the disagreements between the Colonies and the Mother Country became serious, he expressed sympathy with the former and aroused considerable adverse criticism among his parishioners. His sympathies having become known on this side of the Atlantic had much to do—perhaps everything—with his being chosen for the principalship of the new college. Some of his countrymen in America, but especially John Witherspoon and James Wilson, the former being president of the College of New Jersey, had kept their transatlantic countrymen fully informed on the course of political events on this side. It is well to keep in mind, in this connection, that Scotland is a small country, especially as the part northwest of the Caledonian canal hardly counts. It has been observed by several writers on the history of Scotland that the state of education in that country was for several centuries in advance of what would be expected from the state of its civilization. The cause does not concern us here. One does not need to be very deeply versed in the early history of Pennsylvania to reach the conclusion that the latter half of the familiar compound, Scotch-Irish, can with entire propriety be omitted, at least so far as leadership is concerned. These men sometimes carried the Horatian maxim *tenax propositi* to a disagreeable extreme; but they got results. Both their weakness and their strength of character is formulated in the saying attributed to one of their number: "I am willing to be convinced, but I'd like to see the man who could convince me." Dr. Nisbet landed in Philadelphia with his family of five, June 9th, 1785. In that city he made a very favorable impression upon all who came in contact with him. He was equally pleased and gratified. He arrived in Carlisle on July 4th, having been met some miles out of town by a large company of men and women and escorted to his new residence with almost regal honors. However, soon after the arrival of the new principal his troubles began. Some of the members of his family became ill from the change of climate and the intense heat. Every one who has had experience with the summer climate of southern Pennsylvania and that of Great Britain, especially with that of Scotland, can testify that the difference is great. In less than four months after his arrival in this country, Principal Nisbet handed his resignation to the board of trustees with the intention of returning to his native land as soon as possible, with

a view to regaining his health. However, nothing came of this, and the writer of the resignation never saw his native land again. Moreover, other troubles assailed him, some of which were his own fault. Some were due to conditions over which he had no control. All the remainder of his days he had a bouldery road to travel. To some of his friends in Scotland he expressed his dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms. Some of his letters were published on the other side of the Atlantic, and the periodicals containing them were sent to this country, where they were republished and produced an effect which could easily be foretold. There is room here for only a few brief quotations. In a letter written at Carlisle in 1790, Dr. Nisbet declared that "no degree of vice can make a man infamous, nor could the highest degree of virtue procure any respect for its owner. Most of the people have as little patriotism as religion, and many concurred in the Revolution merely to avoid paying their debts. The public men here are a lot of mean rogues generally who mind nothing but vice and riot, and please the people that they may live at their expense, but they have no knowledge, virtue or public spirit." About a year later he wrote: "Laws are made against slavery in a State in which there are hundreds of thousands of slaves, and slaves liberated by one master are kidnapped and sold to another." The gross exaggeration of this estimate of the slaves in the State becomes at once evident when we read that their number in 1790 was less than four thousand, which number had fallen to less than seventeen hundred by the end of the century. Thirty years later there were but sixty-seven. Besides, in Pennsylvania the status of the slaves differed little from that of hired men and women, and was probably in many cases preferable to that of the unfortunate Redemptioners. There could not be fewer than two hundred thousand slaves if there were hundreds of thousands; hence if this sweeping indictment were true, about one-half of the population must have consisted of bondmen. If the reverend gentleman thought he was writing the truth, an assumption that is fully justified, he ought to have taken the precaution to warn his transatlantic friends against making too free a use of his manuscripts. Those of us who have looked somewhat minutely into the history of America have learned that there is more truth "in hard sayings" than in the eulogies we are familiar with, upon the virtues and self-denying patriotism of "The Fathers." Dr. Nisbet was a scholar of

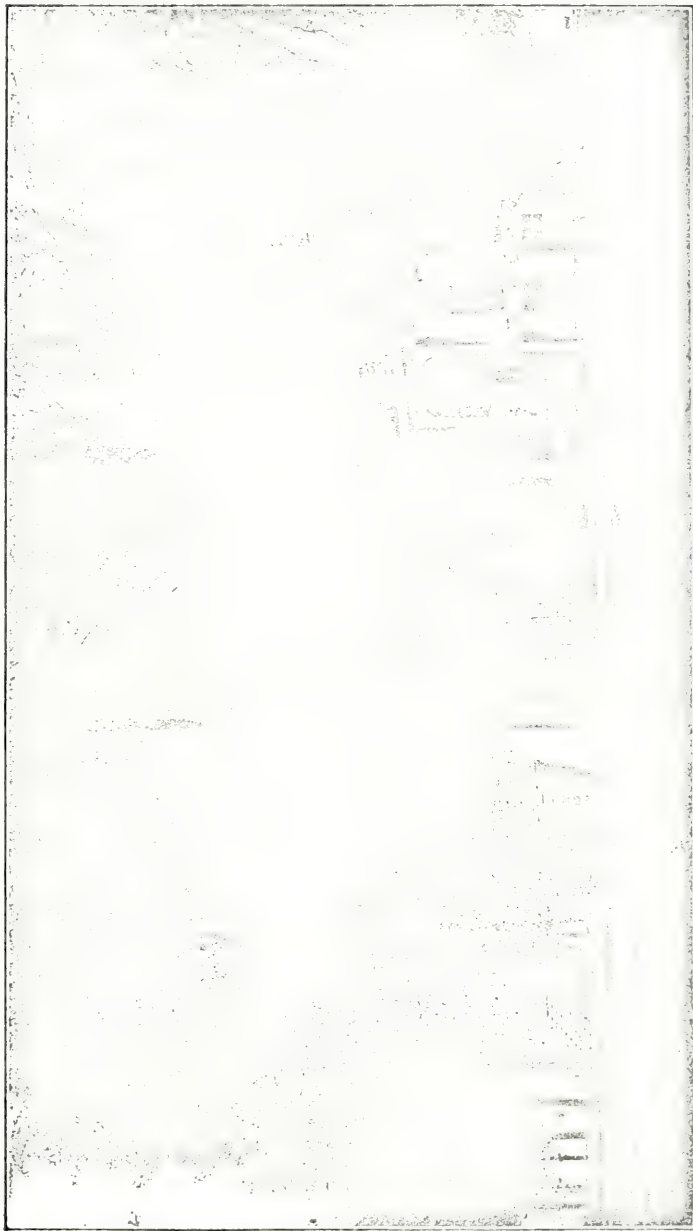
the massive type, but not a profound or original thinker. It may be safely affirmed that in the former capacity no man connected with the old college since his day has been his equal; in the latter, at least a dozen have been his superiors. He seems himself to have been aware of his limitations; hence he published very little. Dr. Ashbel Green, at one time the president of the College of New Jersey, asserted that "Dr. Nisbet was beyond comparison a man of the most learning that I have ever known, and in wit a prodigy. I can truly say that I never myself have known an individual that could pretend to be his equal. Everything he had heard, read or seen, seemed firmly fixed in his mind and ready for instant use." Other testimony to the same effect is on record. It is said that "among other things he was master of nine languages, could converse and write in Latin with ease, and was so familiar with Latin and Greek authors that without the use of a book he could hear recitations in the classics and correct the slightest mistakes."*

While it is true that all roads in Pennsylvania until far along in the Eighteenth Century were rough and rocky, that travelled by Dickinson College was typical of those physical conditions, although it never travelled a mile from its original site. In a few years after the death of the first president, it had half a dozen in succession. There were usually three parties striving for the mastery—the faculty, the trustees, and the students. At times the hostilities between the parties became so fierce that it was deemed advisable to close the concern entirely. When matters did not go quite so far, entire classes were suspended or expelled. For the years 1800 and 1803 only five graduates are reported. In 1806 and 1810 there were but four each year. When we come to the years 1817 and 1822 there appear to have been only a duet. The years 1832-33-34 are again blank. The classes in the Eighteenth Century were larger on the average than those in the first third of the nineteenth. Socrates would have said that he is a poor shepherd who makes the

*At a comparatively early period in the history of Pennsylvania a few men began to be interested in knowledge which they considered practical, and which could be acquired without going to college. In 1789, Dilworth's "Young Bookkeeper's Assistant" appeared in Philadelphia. Seven years later a similar manual by Benjamin Workman was published in the same city. William Mitchell's "Ready Reckoner" was issued in York about the same time. William Jackson's "Bookkeeper's Assistant" seems to have been published at the same place, although this is not certain. James Maginness had a similar work printed in Harrisburg in 1817. Somewhat later a Mr. Bennett conducted a sort of ambulatory commercial college that sometimes sojourned temporarily in Philadelphia.

flock smaller. The story was current about the college fifty years ago and may be yet, that "Jimmy" Buchanan, of the class of 1809, was advised to pay a long visit to his father or at least long enough to give him time to make up his mind to be a better boy before returning to college. There was nothing mercenary about those squabbles; it was merely a question regarding that intangible thing known as honor or right. Experience has abundantly proved that as much mischief may be done by too much democracy as by too much autocracy, especially in the management of a college. If some irreverent gentlemen like the two Thomases—Jefferson and Paine, and in the first college named after the Virginian similar conditions existed—knew of these conditions that followed one another in rapid succession, they doubtless would have expressed the thought of Tertullian, if not in his words: "Behold how these Christians love one another." The boys wanted to know, as they still do under more or less similar conditions, who was IT. At times they expressed their query in a somewhat less terse form: "Who is running this concern?" or "Who is it for, us or somebody else?" A majority of American college boys, like their European peers, belong to the Ancient though not always Honorable Order of Recalcitrants; and most of them are careful not to get out of practice. It would perhaps be an unwarranted assumption that the Order is never joined by a girl.

A deed of exceptional and permanent importance was done in the last years of Principal Nisbet's reign. After the trustees had decided to move to new quarters they purchased a full square in the town from the Penns for about \$150, and began the erection of a substantial building upon it. But before it was completed it was destroyed by fire. This calamity eventually proved to be a blessing in disguise, although the disguise was for a considerable time so complete that the blessing was not recognized until years afterwards. Subscriptions for a new edifice soon began to come in from all sides. "Thomas Jefferson gave a hundred dollars, and Count de la Lucerne, the French minister after whom a county in Pennsylvania is named, headed a subscription list, while upon another appeared the names of seventeen members of Congress." The plans for the new building were drawn by Peter Charles L'Enfant, the government architect, probably the only college building in the Union that can boast of such a distinguished paternity. The result



EAST COLLEGE, 1836

was "West College," a fine example of colonial architecture which is as durable as the everlasting hills, for the danger of destruction by fire is now extremely remote. No single cut can adequately represent the grace, symmetry and simplicity of "Old West." About a third of a century later, East College, an equally substantial though less ornate but not less commodious structure, was built and is still in use. It is one hundred and thirty feet in length and about forty-three in depth. West College is one hundred and fifty-three feet long, with a depth of fifty-four feet at the ends and forty-six at the center. Both buildings are virtually four stories high, as the ground on which they stand is as "level as a floor."

Undoubtedly the most picturesque, certainly the most bellicose, though by no means the most pleasing personality connected with the old régime, and the only one whose stormy career can be briefly sketched in this connection, was Thomas Cooper. He never asked, as did the Irishman who happened upon a melee among his countrymen: "Is this a private fight, or can anybody join in?" Cooper joined in or took a hand when he saw a fight, and when there was none in sight he started one of his own. He was born in London, educated at Oxford, admitted to the bar, went to France, and took part in the Revolution because he always sympathized with social upheavals. He succeeded in making himself sufficiently conspicuous to be attacked in the House of Commons by Burke. He came to America, and for a time practiced law in Philadelphia. Later he settled in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, where Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, had taken up his residence after the mob (always the doughty and daring champions of orthodoxy) had burned his place of worship. Cooper was made a judge of the Court of Common Pleas and later Land Commissioner, but was shortly after removed for malfeasance in office. Then he applied himself to the study of chemistry, and was appointed professor of physics and chemistry in Dickinson college, a position which he held from 1811 to 1814. As would be expected, Thomas Jefferson esteemed him highly and procured for him a professorship in the University of Virginia. He was, however, soon driven from this haven of refuge by the clergy, who were bitterly hostile to him. In 1819 he went to Columbia, South Carolina, and one year later was placed at the head of the University of that State, which position he held until 1834. He is credited with having had

a good deal to do with the nullification movement. Cooper was one of those men who are not as rare as they should be, who are always sure that they are right and who are generally engaged in convincing other men that they are wrong. He regarded Christianity as a fraud and Christians as little better than knaves or simpletons. When he had an opportunity, whether in the classroom or in society, he expressed and defended his heretical opinions. He wrote books on law, among others a Commentary on the Institutes of Justinian, on geology, on ethics, on theology and on politics.

It has already been pointed out that at the beginning of the fourth decade of the Nineteenth Century, the college was again closed, and the trustees were once more at their wit's end as to what disposition should or could be made of their property. Let us consider for a moment the change that had been gradually taking place in the State in the intervening period in both church and society. The Episcopalians were never very numerous in the central portions of the commonwealth, while the Presbyterians in large numbers had migrated to the southwestern counties. The list of Washington and Jefferson's alumni is more than twice as long as that of Dickinson. The German immigrants had greatly increased by this time, but they held tenaciously to their lingo—it can hardly be called a language—and to their customs. Although some of Dickinson's first trustees have clearly German names, there is very little evidence that those who bore them were active participants in the management of the college. Attention has already been called to the growing indifference to education on the part of the German churches in this country. Among the names of the first trustees is that of one of the Muhlenbergs. This was a thoroughly progressive family, and its members had sufficient discernment to perceive that English was also the American language, and likewise that those who were unable to use it were at a serious disadvantage. "The Reformed and Lutherans also made an effort to spread the English language among the Germans. Muhlenberg himself taught English and was careful to have his sons educated in it before sending them to Germany." The Methodist Episcopal church may be said to have suffered a schism because of the language difficulty. At any rate, Germans who could not speak English do not seem to have been welcome among them. This church had meanwhile grown rapidly. Although it had no organization prior to the

first General Conference which met in Baltimore in 1784, it was supposed at that date to have half a million members. John Wesley was what would probably be called a Tory, but he was not the man to sacrifice a fact for a sentiment. Accordingly, after independence had been acknowledged he prepared a frame for an ecclesiastical organization to be put in operation in the United States, and in fact for the world, that has proved to be as nearly perfect as such an organization can be made. We have learned from the testimony of Mr. Conway that in his time there were men and women of refinement and not a few men of profound scholarship and exceptional ability residing in Carlisle. The Methodists had already made the beginning of a college at Meadville and some of her leading men were looking round seeking a location farther east for the establishment of an institution of collegiate rank. Negotiations were accordingly set on foot between the trustees of the embarrassed college and the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conferences of said church for the transfer of Dickinson to their control. Notwithstanding the supposed fundamental differences between the creeds of these two religious bodies, they seem to have been on amicable terms generally in this country. "It was finally agreed that a majority of the old trustees should resign and that their places should be filled by the election of new trustees to be designated by the patronizing conferences. This was harmoniously accomplished in June, 1833, and Bishop John Emory was elected president of the board of trustees. The charter was so revised as to obviate future conflicts between the trustees and the faculty, the president becoming *ex-officio* president of the former, while all disciplinary measures were placed in the hands of the faculty." It should however not be inferred that henceforth everything was peaceful and placid "in the old town." Although the public knew little about what was done by the trustees and the faculty, the citizens of Carlisle could testify that the students did not refrain from occasionally indulging in "rough stuff." It is not surprising that they were at times obstreperous; it would be surprising and unique if they had not been. The internal history of American colleges until some time after our sectional war is, to a considerable extent, a record of strife with the faculty or among themselves or both. These conditions may have been inherited from their trans-atlantic peers, or it may have been a parallel development. The annals of

higher education in England, where conditions were far less turbulent than on the continent, are to a large extent a record of roistering, when they are nothing worse. On the other hand, it can be truly said that the large number of prominent men who came forth from American colleges until about half a century ago was in no small measure due to the limited number of studies in the curriculum, which necessitated a greater measure of concentration than the wide range of choice now permitted. It is also doubtful whether undergraduates spent as much time to no purpose as they do "in these last times."

How Dickinson College received its name is shown by the record in its charter which specifies that "In memory of the great and important services rendered to his country by His Excellency John Dickinson, Esquire, President of the Executive Council (Governor of the State) and in commemoration of his very liberal donations to the institution, the said college shall forever hereafter be called and known by the name of Dickinson College." The term "forever" was doubtless inserted in the charter because its framers were convinced that no benefactor would ever appear on the scene with a donation that would surpass the first in amount and thus make a change advisable. This little word throws an interesting side-light on the mental horizon of representative Americans at the close of the Revolution. Dickinson's gifts comprised two hundred acres of land in York county, five hundred in Cumberland county, five hundred dollars in money, and a selection of books from his library. The land donated was estimated to be worth rather less than a pound an acre at the time the donation was made. For the first two centuries after the settlement of this country, not much money was needed to buy much glory when it was given for the founding or enlargement of a college, or even of a "university," as has been shown in a former article. Besides Dickinson, we need to mention only Harvard, Yale, Brown, Rutgers, and the Ohio University. After this primitive period it required at least half a million dollars to accomplish the same result. Probably the earlier donations were relatively more liberal than those of later date, considering the financial ability of the donors. What crude, in fact almost childish ideas about the financiering of a college or university the men of this country had so late as the middle of the Nineteenth Century, is strikingly shown by the fact that shortly after

1850 the management of Dickinson College authorized the issuance and sale of four-year scholarships for twenty-five dollars. A scholarship for ten years could be purchased for fifty dollars, and one for twenty-five years cost one hundred dollars. Whatever may have been the necessities of the case, it was poor financiering. When those scholarships began to be offered for tuition, they brought in no money except the small contingent fee for incidentals and for subjects not in the curriculum when they were issued. The writer has personal knowledge of one school in central Pennsylvania that was largely built with scholarships, but which not long after was obliged to close permanently because not enough cash came in with which to pay the teachers.

There is at present no discoverable reason for the choice of the name "Carlisle" except that the name Cumberland was selected for a county after one of the same name in England, in accordance with an early custom—the name of the county-seat naturally followed. Its growth for a time was rapid. In 1795 it was the choice of the House for the capital of the State. In the following year it was again voted on but was defeated by Lancaster owing to the repeated disagreement of the Senate. The second name on the original list of forty trustees is Henry Hill. It may be passed over as unimportant. The third name is that of James Wilson. Like his friend Dickinson, he was somewhat reluctant to take the final step that led to a break with the Mother Country. Mr. Wilson was also a Scotchman by birth. At the University of Edinburgh he was a favorite pupil of Hugh Blair because of his marked ability. After coming to this country he read law with Mr. Dickinson, and for a time practiced his profession in Philadelphia and later in Carlisle. In 1777 he removed to Annapolis, and a year later settled in Philadelphia. When the Marquis of Chastellux was in that city he was surprised at the size of Wilson's library and the extent of his learning. Of the fifty-five delegates to the Constitutional Convention, Wilson is generally regarded as the best prepared by his knowledge of history and the science of government for the work before that body. No other member except Madison and Morris spoke so often and so well. Soon, however, party spirit began to run high, in fact very high, and Wilson was much berated for never being on the popular side, a railing accusation that was also hurled at Dickinson. He was, however, appointed one of the first justices of the

Supreme Court by Washington, a position which he held at the time of his death at the comparatively early age of fifty-six. In his later years he became involved in financial difficulties through some land speculations, and in order to avoid arrest was obliged to exchange circuits with Judge Iredell. That he was guilty of illegal acts does not seem to have been established. His body was laid to rest at Edenton, North Carolina, where it remained for one hundred and eight years, then his remains were brought to Philadelphia and interred by the side of his wife. The fourth name on the original list of trustees is William Bingham, who was also a Philadelphian. Although an Episcopalian, he subscribed £400 to the funds of the college, a sum that seems ridiculously small when we consider that he was regarded as the richest man in his native city and perhaps in the State. Mr. Bingham was a United States Senator for one term beginning with 1795. The fifth name on the list is that of Benjamin Rush, M. D., also known as the American Hippocrates, the American Sydenham, and the Father of American Medicine. He was born in 1745, and received his degree from the College of New Jersey at the age of fifteen. After graduating in medicine at the University of Edinburgh, he settled in his native city, where he resided to the end of his days. What was called medical science in those times was a comparatively simple matter, and Dr. Rush, being of an active temperament, took a leading part in all the civic affairs of his native city and even of the State. His radical views on the effect of ardent spirits on the human system have given him a unique place in the history of American medicine. There is still extant a letter in which he expresses confidence that "Dickinson College will one day become the sun of light and knowledge in the western part of the United States." Dr. Rush's "western part of the United States" was one hundred miles inland from Philadelphia.

In the historical sketch of the Ohio University that recently appeared in "Americana," the writer expressed the belief that the initial suggestion was due to a man who had no systematic education, and was entirely self-taught; that, however, in the nature of the case and more especially in view of the character of the man, he felt that the project should take practical shape under the guidance of some one who had passed through the experience which had fallen to the lot of Dr. Cutler. The author was subsequently gratified to

learn from Mr. Peters (whose name is mentioned in the article) that he had independently formed the same opinion, or, as he expressed it "General Putnam was the abler man of the two." A similar case of intellectual kinship or twinship seems to have existed between Colonel Montgomery (although his name appears far down the list of trustees) and Dr. Rush in the planning of Dickinson College. In both cases there were two military men and two medical men. Judge Biddle, after examining all the evidence in the case within his reach, felt constrained to leave the decision *sub lite*, but was strongly inclined to decide in the affirmative. The priority of the two institutions clearly belongs to Dickinson, although it was planned on a much less ambitious scale. Still more interesting is the fact that a Mr. Peters figures in the case. Colonel Montgomery was generally on the ground, which is virtually also true of General Putnam. Books are not the only source of wisdom. Colonel Montgomery was a trustee from 1783 to 1808; General Putnam, from 1804 to 1824.

As Philadelphia was the seed-plot of Dickinson College, it is proper to mention in this connection that the accredited leadership to Boston in matters intellectual, is probably due more to the persistence of the claimants than to the validity of the claim. Ben Franklin would certainly not have migrated from the city of his birth to the city of Brotherly Love if he had not believed that it afforded a more favorable field for the realization of the many projects that jostled one another in his teeming brain. Not only was Philadelphia at an early period the home of a large number of scientists and scholars; it was also the first American city in which at least two men essayed to gain a livelihood by literature, and measurably succeeded—Charles Brockden Brown and Joseph Dennie, the one a native, the other a self-transplanted exile. Brown is still somewhat kindly remembered and faintly praised by historians of American and even of English literature. Dennie, who died in 1812, was host to Tom Moore when he visited "the States," and it was in his company that he "passed the only agreeable moments which my tour afforded me." Francis Hopkinson was also a native of Philadelphia. His lyric is better known than his name or his native city. "Hail Columbia" was set to music by a German teacher of the art resident in Philadelphia, and almost instantly leaped into popularity, a circumstance which does not speak very highly for the musical taste of the city. John Woolman was

born in Burlington county, New Jersey, in 1720, and died in 1772; Charles Lamb recommended to everybody to learn his prose by heart. Of Franklin it has been written that if a collection could be made of the gazettes of Europe for the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, a greater number of panegyrical paragraphs upon "le grand Franklin" would appear than upon any other man that ever lived. A German student once remarked to the writer as lately as 1870: "You Americans have had only one great man; that was Franklin." The most widely known American bookseller in the Eighteenth Century was John Bell. He republished a number of high-class works, and travelled from Boston to Charleston holding book-auctions. The works of Macchiavelli in the original, in four volumes bound in two, were issued in Philadelphia in 1818. Paine was brought to the city by Franklin for the reason that he believed his radical opinions, when promulgated through the press, would find more readers in that vicinity than they would farther south or farther east. It was hardly a happy thought, when the entire situation is taken into consideration. Philip Freneau had marked talents both as a writer of prose and of poetry. West and Rembrandt Peale narrowly missed being born within the limits of Philadelphia. Alexander Wilson was by birth a Scotchman, but a Philadelphian by residence and the author of a work whose value to science is imperishable. William Bartram was no mean ornothologist, besides being a botanist of high rank. The foundations of Audubon's great work were laid within sight of Philadelphia. The "Log College" always mentioned in the history of early education in Pennsylvania, and even in that of the United States, was put in operation in Bucks county, finally finding a permanent resting-place less than two score miles from the city of Penn. John Witherspoon, the only clergyman who signed the Declaration of Independence, was elected president of the College of New Jersey in 1768, but spent much of his time in Philadelphia. He was mainly instrumental in the choice of Dr. Nisbet for the principalship of Dickinson College, as he knew both the man and the position he was expected to fill. Witherspoon was a fighter with carnal as well as with spiritual weapons. He took part in the battle of Falmouth, where he was made prisoner, but was soon released. He received his degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1742; was called to the presidency of the College of New Jersey twenty-six years later, and occupied the post until 1794. Dr. Nisbet's large and valuable library passed into the hands of the

trustees of the Princeton Theological Seminary, evidence of the friendly relations that existed between the Pennsylvania and the New Jersey institutions. John Dickinson was for a long time a resident of Philadelphia. In 1790 the county of Philadelphia had a population of 54,000, which by the end of the century had more than doubled. New York, on the other hand, did not reach an enrollment of 60,000 until after 1807, while Boston as late as 1822 had only 47,000 inhabitants. William Smith, a recent graduate of Aberdeen, came to America in 1751. Although brought up in the Presbyterian faith, he returned to England for the purpose of taking Orders in the Anglican church. He soon gained such a reputation abroad that he not only received the degree of D. D. from his *alma mater*, but also from Oxford and Dublin. He was named provost of the college in Philadelphia in 1754, which is usually regarded as the year of the founding of the University of Pennsylvania. Although planned on a large scale, it never gained the prestige of Harvard and Yale. At the present time it has about ten thousand students, which is as many as both these institutions combined, with Princeton added. It probably labored under the disadvantage of being regarded as a purely secular institution. Such an opinion was in advance of the time. When one reads the history of those early days he is prompted to change the familiar adage: "Look for the woman," into "Look for the Scotchman." General Wayne, although himself almost a Philadelphian, sent his only son to Dickinson College, where he was graduated with the class of 1792.

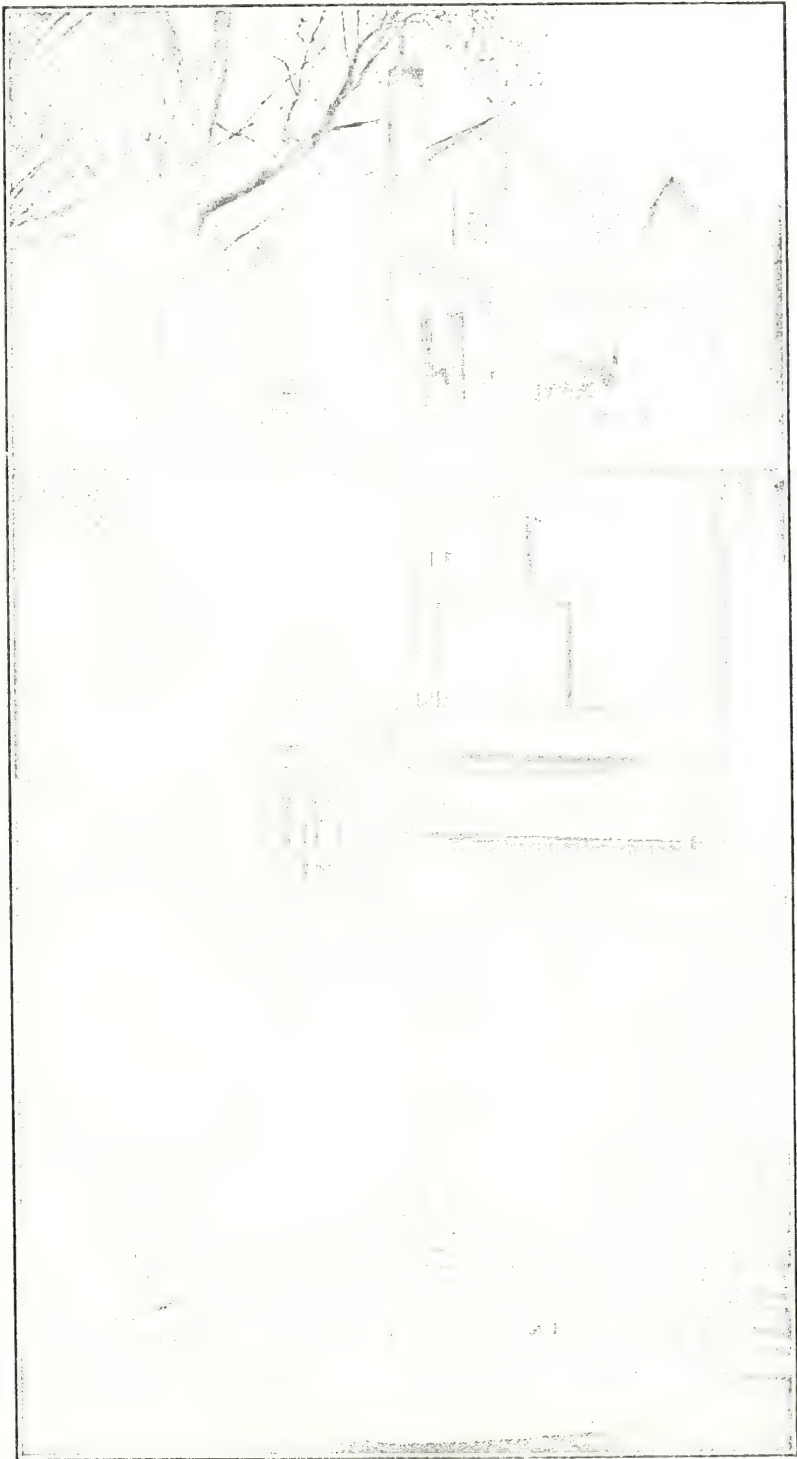
Among the various celebrities who for a longer or shorter period were residents of the little inland city and whose careers have been briefly outlined in publications by Judge Biddle, that of Mary Ludwig-Hays-McCauley, better known as Moll Pitcher, is without doubt unique. This sobriquet was applied to her by the soldiers at the battle of Monmouth, who saw her at work with a pitcher in which she brought liquid refreshments for their parched throats on a hot June day in 1778. Although she was probably never inside the college buildings except perhaps as a scrub-woman, and performed the deed that immortalized her name in an adjoining State, she verified the dictum that

"Honor and shame from no condition rise;
Act well your part, there all the honor lies."

Although she lived long before Barbara Fritchie and is a far less

mythical heroine, she has not been so fortunate as to have a Whittier to "sound her praise abroad" for a deed which she did not perform. Moll was more picturesque in appearance than polite in manner or polished in speech. She may have been "a joy forever," but "a thing of beauty" she was not. She was evidently a firm believer in the doctrine of efficiency, which just now has so many champions. She wanted results. She held to the injunction that whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might. Perhaps no other woman born in Pennsylvania who was of so little importance to her contemporaries as the woman with the tripartite name, ever received such posthumous honors. On the Fourth of July, 1876, a monument was dedicated to this unconscious heroine. In 1905 and again in 1916 elaborate ceremonies were held in commemoration of her deed of mercy. This sketch may appropriately be closed with the fine and fitting words of Judge Biddle, the orator on three occasions: "This monument which Carlisle receives from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is a splendid and lasting recognition of the lofty virtue which we call courage. During the past fifty years Molly Pitcher has come to be accepted as America's most picturesque exponent of feminine valor, notwithstanding that the unique position accorded to her has been frequently and vigorously assailed. Critics have denied the whole story concerning her, have questioned the very foundations on which it stands, but up to this time their criticisms have had little effect on the popular belief. On the other hand, writers of stories and of verse have spread the narrative concerning her broadcast over the land until it has become lodged in the hearts of the people; there probably it will be cherished as long as the interest in the American Revolution endures." The woman to whom this tribute was paid may have been unwept and unsung, but she has assuredly not been unhonored.

NOTE—I need not enumerate all the sources from which I have drawn the materials used in preparation of this sketch. A few are mentioned in the course of our narrative. But special acknowledgment is due to Judge Biddle, who sent me several of his publications dealing with matters herein under consideration. He also courteously answered some of my inquiries by private correspondence. Judge Biddle is a native of Carlisle, a Dickinsonian, president of the board of trustees of the College and, in coöperation with his wife, a liberal benefactor to the same. Besides all these things to his credit, he is a model citizen. My thanks are also due and are hereby tendered to George L. Reed, a son of a former president of the college. He is a compiler of the Alumni Record published at the beginning of the present century. Howbeit, such a volume is prepared to be consulted, not to be read. On the other hand the writer of a sketch like the present must use his best judgment in selecting from his materials what seems to him most characteristic. If his judgment is at fault, only those will read what he has written, who are impelled by a sense of duty or attracted for the moment by idle curiosity.—C. W. S.



Above, the John Woolman Cottage. Center, Corner of Porch. Below,
Low Raftered Living Room.

John Woolman's Cottage

By CAROLINE LADD CREW, MT. HOLLY, NEW JERSEY



SITUATED on the outskirts of a country town at Mount Holly, New Jersey, Woolman Cottage does not easily attract one who follows the beaten highway, but rather the unhurrying traveller who does not mind a detour in order to reach the worn doorstep of John Woolman. Nor does its name, that of a simple-minded eighteenth-century Quaker tailor, appeal to the casual motorist. Its historic setting is, however, its outstanding charm, for the cottage was built a hundred and fifty years ago by that old Quaker saint, John Woolman, for his daughter Mary, when she married John Comfort. The specifications for it, written in John Woolman's own hand, are in the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia. This home has become what Henry James would call "identified ground." Officially it is known as the John Woolman Memorial, and is owned by the John Woolman Memorial Association, but more familiarly it is called the Woolman Tea House.

The formal opening of the hostel came in June, 1916, and since then an increasing number of visitors have found their way to this Quaker shrine. Probably no one would be more surprised than the builder himself, if he knew that his home had become in any sense a mecca, to which came yearly such latter-day pilgrims as still care for the beauty of simple things, and who appreciate the enduring freshness of Woolman's life. The hundreds of visitors who are entertained at the little house by the road are drawn partly by the humble-minded quaintness and the quiet of the place, and include a good many academic folk, university professors and young college women, as well as Camp Dix officers, canoeists, and admirers of John Woolman. Many who knew nothing of the reformer and author of the eighteenth century, but come rather to seek a cup of tea, ask "*who was John Woolman?*" It is a natural question, but difficult to answer in a single sentence. Perhaps the two leading achievements in the life of John Woolman were: That he was

the herald of the anti-slavery movement in America, and that he was the author of the Journal. Many readers have been introduced to the excellencies of this gentle and audacious Quaker through the classic words of Charles Lamb in his "Quakers' Meeting:" "Get the writings of John Woolman by heart, and love the early Quakers." Although John Woolman's Journal had long found "fit audience, though few," it was not until ex-President Eliot put it on his five-foot shelf of books that its place among the literary élite was recognized.

The established facts in John Woolman's life are contained mostly in the meagre outline of this spiritual autobiography, the Journal. He was born, he tells us, in Burlington county, West Jersey, in the year 1720. His father's farm was near Mount Holly, on the Rancocas creek, now an earthly paradise for every lover of canoeing. It is at the site of his father's farm that the two branches of the Rancocas come together and form a brimming stream before it joins the Delaware eight miles away. No doubt this lovely creek in the midst of a rich farming country satisfied the boy's craving for the beautiful. We do not know much about his schooling, except that at an early age he became familiar with the Bible and other religious books. We do know, however, that he was not "an illiterate tailor," as he has been too often described. Any man, master of a style of abiding beauty such as his, could not have been unschooled or unread. He learned the trade of tailoring in Mount Holly, later he set up business here for himself, did tailoring, sold cloth, and prospered; indeed, he was so successful that he came to have a "stop in his mind" about the growing volume of his business. Accordingly, in order to be more free from outward cares, he gave up merchandising, dismissed his apprentices, and did only such tailoring as he could do alone.

It was this humblest and quietest of men who gave the impulse to a great current in the world's affairs. Very early in life he felt a strong objection to "the holding of fellow-men as property," and became the precursor of the anti-slavery movement. His gentle ways lent to the cause of the slave a persuasiveness denied the more aggressive agitators. George Macaulay Trvelyan, in his delightful essay on "John Woolman, the Quaker," has this to say: "A Quaker Socrates, with his searching simple questions, John Woolman surpassed his Athenian prototype in love and patience and ar-

gumentative fairness, as much as he fell below him in intellect. And when the Friends found they could not answer John's questions, instead of poisoning him or locking him up as an anarchist, they let their slaves go free. Incredible as it may seem, they asked no one for compensation. But then the Quakers always were an odd people. . . . Woolman's religious experiences from first to last concerned his love and duty toward his fellow creatures, and not the selfish salvation of his own soul."

Perhaps the fundamental principle in John Woolman's character was what we would call today his passion for social justice, and it is this extraordinary modernness in his teaching which allies him with the movements of the Twentieth Century. As an economist he was in advance of his contemporaries, both in England and America. Woolman's objections to luxury, which he carried to the greatest lengths in his own case, were based not on any ascetic feeling, but on his unwillingness to profit by human pain. As an example of his self-denying testimonies, he wore undyed homespun and a gray-white beaver hat. When John Woolman's mission carried him to England in 1772, he went in the steerage, because his mind was not free to travel first-class where the adornments of the cabin had cost vain and degrading labor. Moreover, in the steerage he had better opportunity to know the sailors. In England he travelled mostly on foot from London to York, because he felt that the horses of the coaches were over-driven and the post-boys had too long hours. It was while on this one and fateful voyage to England that he died in York, in 1772.

As a modern memorial to John Woolman, Violet Oakly has included in her pictures at the Capitol in Harrisburg, four paintings of incidents in his life, taken from the Journal. These suggest Woolman's tender-hearted love for slave and sailor. Perhaps one would not naturally choose this eighteenth-century saint as the patron of anything so material as a tea house. However, in the restoration of his home the Woolman Association has never been unmindful of the brooding spirit of its builder, and the purpose has been to make of it a place of immaculate neatness and cleanliness and gentle courtesy, all of which qualities John Woolman emphasized in his own life. He was a good craftsman himself, successful in business, and possessed of an ingrained instinct for good manners and a delicate sense of fitness. Moreover, he was an orchardist and a lover

of trim gardens. So it may well be that this early apostle of the simple life would not be disturbed by the use of his demure home and garden for the very modern activities of a tea house. Built of time-dulled red brick, with soft grey-green doors and shutters, the cottage has aged graciously and beautifully. Its charm is not merely a matter of decades, for it was built at a time when good taste prevailed, and is lovely in itself. The gable-end, covered with ivy and roses, stands to the street, and on the porch at the side are old meeting-house benches and a settle.

On the inside the house shows more space than is indicated from without. Previous owners under the impulse of practical modernizing, had papered the walls, had plastered the ceiling, and worst of all, had bricked up the good old fireplaces. The glory of the cottage is a cavernous fireplace in the living-room, seven feet across, and surmounted by a great oak beam as mantelpiece. Traces of the would-be improvements were obliterated by the Association; the fireplaces were opened, and the heavily-beamed ceiling was bared. Left to itself, the oak has taken on a warm restful tone, pleasing to the eye and appealing to the mind. The setting of the Eighteenth Century has been preserved so far as possible, and old pieces have been used in furnishing the cottage. At the same time the note of quaintness has not been over emphasized. Such twentieth-century conveniences as modern plumbing, furnace heat and electric lights, have been welcomed, but introduced with all possible care that they should not jar with the historic background.

The lot is a narrow oblong, pleasantly diversified by a hollow, which relieves the monotonous level of Jersey land. In the rear of the house is an old-fashioned flower garden, merging into a vegetable garden where lady-slippers and carrots grow side by side. Like the lover in "The Gardener's Daughter" of Tennyson, its owner may say:

"Not wholly in the busy world, nor quite beyond it,
Blooms the garden that I love."

Beyond the vegetable garden lies the blessed hollow, which nature, with its willows and elderbushes, designed for a bird's sanctuary. And at the farther end across the hollow is a small orchard. By cultivating an orchard, the heritage of the past is carried on, for John Woolman himself was an orchardist, and tells us that he employed some of his time in "hoeing, grafting, trimming and inoculating." In the garden with sun-lit open spaces around it there has

been preserved the homely simplicity which marked the life of its unpretending owner. Run wild under alien ownership, it has been reclaimed, and now gives out a faint incense of ancient days. Velvety blue-green cedars, hollyhocks and lilacs, form fit setting for well-sweep and sun-dial, both delightful survivals of a lost leisure. More than one visitor has gone away phrasing the sentiment of the old revivalists, "I found peace," thinking not of a mansion in the skies, however, but of a sweet garden savor. If the lines of William Watson, addressed to Wordsworth, might be applied to meaner things, they suggest the signal joy of the John Woolman Tea House:

"What hadst thou that could make so large amends
For all thou hadst not, and thy peers possessed.
Motion and fire, swift means to radiant ends?—
Thou hadst for weary feet, the gift of rest."

The year 1920, which marked the two-hundredth anniversary of John Woolman's birth, was a Jubilee Year for the John Woolman Memorial Association. One golden October afternoon the friends of John Woolman gathered from all the countryside to do honor to the lonely patient virtue of the man who pleaded for an equal division of toil and comfort. They filled the beautiful old meeting house in Mount Holly, and then overflowed Woolman Cottage and garden. Situated on the Rancocas creek, eighteen miles from Camden, Mount Holly is easily reached by train or trolley, as well as by motor. The Rancocas is an ideal stream for paddling—narrow, winding, shady—and naturally many of the guests at Woolman Cottage are also lovers of the creek. In rough weather, when even that delectable stream is uninviting, guests have the pleasant alternative of a day before the great fireplace in John Woolman's low-raftered living-room, or in the cosy library with its panelled chimney cupboard and its companionable books. Fortunately there is more than one tethering-string to draw visitors back to John Woolman's cottage. Its lure appeals to such as are looking for a bit of refreshment by the way (and there are too few pleasant eateries in what Arnold Bennett calls "ungastronomic America"); it appeals to those antiquarian spirits who revel in the excellent things of the eighteenth century, to those who love gardens, and lastly to those who care for the author of the *Journal*, the man, John Woolman. In his personality are found the vision and spiritual insight of the mediaeval saint, dominated always by the impelling force of love.

Hilton and Allied Families

By WINFIELD S. DOWNS, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

Arms—Two bars azure.

Crest—A stag couchant ducally gorged and chained or.

Supporters—Two lions argent.



THE FIRST official mention of the name of Hilton is that of 1166, when it is recorded that "Romanus, Knight of Hilton, holds of ancient feoffment three knights' fees." The actual origin of the name is lost in the obscurity of distant ages, centuries ago; but it is reputed to be the oldest family entitled to bear arms in Great Britain. It is certain, however, that the vast number of legends related of the origin and of the early members, are convincing evidence of great antiquity. On June 23, 1295, in the reign of Edward I., Sir Robert, Baron Hilton, was summoned to Parliament, and his son, Sir Alexander, Baron Hilton, was summoned in 1331 under Edward III. While these are the only summonses known to exist, there is abundant evidence that the Barons attended many other parliaments.

The Hiltons quarter their arms with the Nevill, Skirlaw, Percy, Vipont, Percy-Lovaine, Lumley, Eure, Washington, Ogle, Vesey, Felton, Heron, Surtee and Bowe families; and the arms of these families, with others too much worn by the ages to be accurately deciphered, as well as with the arms and banners of England and France, and these are, with their own, beautifully sculptured on the walls of Hilton Castle, at the original family seat, which is in Durham, England.

In the vale of Wear, on the old road to Newcastle, three miles west of Wearmouth Bridge, county of Durham, stands Hilton Castle, low and sequestered, which is, in fact, according to the original name, Heltun. It is an unusually large structure, consisting of a main or central tower, built during the rule of the Danes and Saxons, to which the family undoubtedly belonged, and there are additions erected by the Barons of the Norman and later periods. On the records their estates consisted of the manors of Hilton, Barmston, Grindon, Ford, Cloweroft, North Biddick, Great Usworth and Fallowsby, in the county of Durham; Carnaby and Wharram-Percy, in the County of York; Elryngton and Woodhall, in Northumberland; Aldstone Moor, in Northumberland and Cumberland, with the advowsons of Kyrkhault and Monk-Wearmouth.



Hilton

J. Edward Hilton, a son of this ancient house, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, left Durham, his native county, to follow the sea. He engaged in the fishing industry, serving his apprenticeship and becoming master, and in 1621 he joined the Fishmongers' Guild at London. No doubt, being familiar with the New England coast through his voyages to the fishing banks of North America, and attracted thereto, early in 1623, he brought a colony, with servants, cattle, implements and the like, to a place called by the Indians Coheco, about six miles up the Piscataqua river, in the district known to the natives as Weecanacohunt. Here he settled, naming it Northam; it was later on called Hilton's Poynt, and is now known as Dover, New Hampshire. Likewise he named neighboring localities in memory of his home county, such as Durham, Newcastle and Stratham. Thus he was the first settler in what is now New Hampshire, and with reason is known as the father of that State. In 1628, Edward Hilton, of Coheco, was assessed the sum of one English pound as his share of the expense of an expedition set afoot by the Plymouth Colony, which captured and expelled Thomas Morton from Merrymount, now Wollaston, Massachusetts. It was only a few years later that this same Edward Hilton took an active part in protecting the inhabitants from pirates infesting the coast and high seas. The town of Exeter made Mr. Hilton a grant of land on the fourth day of the first week of the tenth month of 1639, and shortly afterward he moved there, where in 1652 it was "voted that Mr. Hilton be requested to go along with Mr. Dudley to the General Court to assist him." In 1653 another grant of land of about two miles square, comprehending the site of the whole village of Newmarket, was made to him, "in regard to his charges in setting up a saw-mill." In 1655 "it is testified that Major Shapleigh hath lately made leases of lands for one thousand years to Mr. Hilton of Exeter, Dr. Barefoot, and others." That the people of his neighborhood regarded him in esteem is clearly shown by this entry in the records of May 19, 1669: "The Court on Perusall of the articles of agreement between this Colony and the inhabitants of Dover, several of them well remembering that Mr. Edward Hilton was one of those that were commissioned to agree with this Court in behalf of the inhabitants of Piscataqua, doe declare that Mr. Edward Hilton is according to the articles, justly exempted from the county rates and that he be freed from such impositions." Mr. Hilton was, like his friends, Mason and Gorges, an ardent supporter of the Church of England. He was neither of the Pilgrims of the Plymouth Colony nor of the Puritans, who after settled Massachusetts, and consequently he settled in a distant part to be free from their quarrels and able to manage his own affairs. He maintained a garrison on his plantation, and, as he was a gentleman of good judgment, the settlers looked to him for protection and advice when in danger or in trou-

ble, and when Massachusetts in 1641 usurped the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, he was the first one named in the list of magistrates. He was a man of wealth, enterprise and influence, possessed of the friendship of the governors of Massachusetts, and was their confidential correspondent. At the time of his death he left an estate which in the equivalent of today would be valued at about one hundred thousand dollars, on which letters of administration were granted to his sons Edward, William Samuel and Charles, March 6, 1671. He died in Exeter, early in 1671.

He married (first) name unknown. Married (second) Katherine Shapleigh (Treworthy), daughter of Alexander Shapleigh, who was agent for Mason and Gorges, and widow of James Treworthy, who had been killed by Indians. Issue (by first wife): 1. Edward, mentioned below. 2. William Hilton, born 1628; a sea captain and commander; made the noted voyage to the southward on the Atlantic coast in 1662, when he discovered and named many places, among them Hilton Head, South Carolina, and of this voyage he wrote a full report which his step-uncle, Major Nicholas Shapleigh, mapped, the reprint of which was recently published during a celebration in Charlestown, S. C.; died 1690. 3. Samuel Hilton, remained in Exeter. 4. Charles Hilton, born about 1638; died at Exeter, 1684, unmarried. 5. Mary Hilton, married Christopher Palmer, of Hampton, N. H. 6. Sobriety Hilton, married, November 20, 1651, Henry Moulton, of Hampton. Issue (by second wife): 7. Elizabeth Hilton, married, at Exeter, in 1659, Capt. John Gilman.

II. Edward Hilton, son of Edward Hilton, was born in 1626, at Northam, New Hampshire. By reason of a conflagration and carelessness, vast numbers of the early records of about this period have been destroyed; hence the family historian lacks statistics, many dates, and much of the story of the first settlers and their children, and nearly all the data had to be compiled from what had been preserved by individuals or recorded in State and Provincial documents. The Hiltons fought the Indians for a foothold in America. They were numerous in all the Indian and Colonial wars, and all those who were able took an active, and some a prominent, part in the Revolutionary War. William Hilton was a pallbearer at General Washington's funeral. The muster-rolls of the Civil War will reveal many of the family at the front, and altogether they have had no inconsiderable part in preparing and establishing the country the later descendants may enjoy. Edward Hilton, the eldest son, received the major share of his father's property. He was active in the affairs of his community, taking his father's place on the plantation, maintaining the garrison to defend it, and interesting himself in local matters. He was not prominent in politics, and we find few traces of him in the larger concerns of public life; but he was a high-

ly respected citizen and a soldier. He seems to have been much in the company of his father, as their names appear together on many documents. On January 17, 1660, he received a tract of land from the Indians. In 1693 he strengthened his garrison by the addition of two more men.

He married Ann Dudley, born at Salisbury, Massachusetts, October 16, 1641, daughter of Rev. Samuel Dudley, who was born 1606, at Canons Ashley, England, eldest son of Thomas Dudley, many times elected governor of Massachusetts Colony, and his first wife, Dorothy Yorke. Rev. Dudley came to America in 1630 with his father and Governor Winthrop. Ann Dudley's mother was Mary, eldest child of John Winthrop, first governor of the Massachusetts Colony, and his first wife, Mary Firth, of Great Stambridge, Essex county, England.

Issue: 1. Winthrop Hilton, born 1671; was the celebrated Colonel Winthrop Hilton, soldier and statesman, leading the expedition against Port Royal, as well as several expeditions against the Indians to the eastward. 2. Dudley Hilton, was carried off by the Indians when they killed his elder brother, Winthrop, and was never afterward heard of by his friends. 3. Joseph Hilton, mentioned below. 4. Jane Hilton, married Richard Mattoon, of Newmarket. 5. Ann Hilton, married Richard Hilton, son of her uncle William. 6. Mary Hilton, married Joseph Hall, of Exeter, New Hampshire. 7. Sobriety Hilton, married Jonathan Hilton.

III. Joseph Hilton, third son of Edward and Ann (Dudley) Hilton, born about 1681, was a sailor, and he is called in the records "Ensign." Died 1765, aged eighty-four years.

Married (first) October 16, 1709, Hannah, daughter of Richard Jose, sheriff of the province. Married (second) October 10, 1716, Rebecca (Atkinson) Adams, widow of Israel Adams, who had died in 1714, less than two months after their marriage, and daughter of Theodore Atkinson, a very prominent citizen of Portsmouth. Issue (by first wife): 1. Hannah Hilton, born Aug. 11, 1710. 2. Israel Hilton, born Oct. 10, 1717; went to the Carolinas. 3. Joseph Hilton, followed his brother. 4. Theodore Hilton, of Newmarket, New Hampshire; married Mary Sinclair. 5. Dudley Hilton, mentioned below.

IV. Dudley Hilton, youngest child of Joseph Hilton and his second wife, Rebecca (Atkinson) Hilton, resided in Newmarket, New Hampshire. Married Sarah Taylor. Issue: 1. Dudley Hilton, lived at Parsonsfield, Maine. 2. Daniel Hilton, mentioned below. 3. George Hilton, of Newmarket, died Sept. 2, 1821. 4. Ward Hilton, of New Market. 5. Nathan Hilton, of Deerfield. 6. Ann Hilton, married Major William Norris, of Newmarket. 7. Chace Hilton, of Newmarket, died July 26, 1786.

HILTON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

V. Daniel Hilton, second son of Dudley and Sarah (Taylor) Hilton, was born June 16, 1758, at Newmarket, New Hampshire, and was a merchant and trader, holding several government offices by appointment. He served in the Revolution, was a corporal in Capt. Robert Pike's company in 1777, and joined his only son Daniel at Meredith Village, New Hampshire, March 9, 1822. Died at Meredith Village, shortly after March, 1822.

Married, in 1783, Sarah Wiggin, born June 5, 1761, daughter of Simon Wiggin, the son of Lieut. Simon Wiggin, whose father was Capt. Simon Wiggin, son of Andrew Wiggin and his wife, Hannah Bradstreet. Andrew Wiggin was son of Governor Thomas Wiggin, who came to Piscataqua in 1630. Hannah Bradstreet was daughter of Governor Simon Bradstreet and his wife, the first American poetess and celebrated writer, as well as social leader, Anne Dudley, daughter of Governor Joseph Dudley. The Dudleys trace their ancestry back to Henry I., of France, and Edward the Elder, of England. Sarah (Wiggin) Hilton died July 24, 1799.

Married (second) in 1801, Elizabeth Rowe, who died December 8, 1819. Issue (all by first wife): 1. Sarah Hilton, born Aug. 11, 1784, died in infancy. 2. Charlotte Hilton, born Nov. 2, 1785, died young. 3. Chace Hilton, born May 9, 1788, died in infancy. 4. Charlotte Hilton, born Sept. 4, 1789. 5. Nancy Hilton, born March 20, 1792. 6. Daniel Hilton, mentioned below:

VI. Daniel Hilton, youngest child of Daniel and Sarah (Wiggin) Hilton, was born April 21, 1794, at Newmarket, and at an early age removed from that town to Meredith Village, where he engaged in farming and resided all his life. Died at Meredith Village, April 21, 1794.

Married, February 10, 1822, Elizabeth Lamprey Moulton, born May 12, 1799, died May 12, 1869, daughter of Benning Moulton and Sally Leavitt, and granddaughter of General Jonathan Moulton, noted Indian fighter, Revolutionary officer, merchant, and friend of Governor Benning Wentworth, after whom he named his son. Jonathan Moulton was a resident of Hampton, New Hampshire, and is the hero of many traditions, celebrated in song and story. He left a large estate, including eighty thousand acres of land, to a family of no less than eighteen children. The general was a grandson of Lieut. John Moulton, called "the Giant," born March 16, 1638, in Newbury, Massachusetts, son of John Moulton, who came to New England with a wife and five children from the county of Norfolk, England, early in 1637, and was the first settler of Winnacunnet, now Hampton.

Issue: 1. Amanda Moulton Hilton, born Dec. 7, 1822. 2. George Hilton, born Dec. 27, 1825, died in childhood. 3. Charles Hilton, mentioned below. 4. George Oliver Hilton, born Feb. 1, 1832, died

young. 5. Huntington Porter Hilton, born Dec. 4, 1835; named for his uncle, Rev. Huntington Porter; died in Rochester, N. Y., 1886; married; no issue. 6. George Selwyn Hilton, born Feb. 21, 1840; moved to Paterson, N. J., where he became a lawyer of repute; married; no issue.

VII. Charles Hilton, second son of Daniel and Elizabeth L. (Moulton) Hilton, was born July 24, 1829, in Meredith Village. When a youth he was very prominent in the affairs of his native town. He was a leader in the debating society and a member of the Rifle Corps, distinguished by permanent organization and regulation uniform and equipment from the "slam-bangs," as the train bands that met for drill once a year were called. After three years' study in Brown's architectural and engineering office in Lowell, Massachusetts, he joined the Boston, Concord & Montreal railroad as civil engineer, and two years later transferred his energies to the Attica & Alleghany railroad, shortly afterwards entering the service of the New York Central railroad, with headquarters in Albany, where in 1858 he established his home. In 1865 he became chief engineer of the Central, and was in charge of many large and important works, including both bridges over the Hudson river and the Broadway viaduct in Albany, and the Grand Central station and grain elevators in New York City. He was sometime division engineer on the Erie canal, deputy State engineer, and major of engineers of the Ninth Brigade, N. G. N. Y., on the staff of General Dickerman. Mr. Hilton organized the Hilton Bridge Construction Company, located in North Albany, in 1878. As an engineer he was eminent and successful, and his position and reputation in the profession were of the highest, while his expert opinion was in great demand in and out of the courts. Socially he was much sought after. He was prominent in Masonic circles, and attained the thirty-second degree, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. He was master of Temple Lodge, No. 14, in 1863, and from 1865 to 1867 was high priest of Temple Chapter. He was also several times eminent commander of Temple Commandery. Major Hilton was a member of the Old Guard of the Burgesses Corps. In politics he was an earnest, consistent, and unwavering Democrat. Died in Albany, New York, December 1, 1884.

Married at LaSalle, Niagara county, New York, February 15, 1856, Mary Etta McWhorter, born September 1, 1832, at Cincinnati, Cortland county, New York, died at Albany, September 15, 1907, daughter of Zurial McWhorter and Polly Fairchild. The McWhorter family line of descent is as follows:

The McWhorters descend from Mortough, otherwise Murchertach MacEarcha, son of Muiredach, son of Eogan, and grandson of Niall the Great. He was called MacEarcha, that is, son of Earcha, from the name of his mother, who was the daughter of Loarne, the eldest of the six brothers who had led the colony to Albania, as Scotland

HILTON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

was anciently called. Mortough succeeded Lugh VII. as monarch of Ireland, in the year 503, and reigned until 533. He was no less remarkable for his Christian piety than for his valor as a warrior. He afforded particular protection to religion, as did his wife Sabina, who died with a high reputation for sanctity. In the reign of this monarch, Oilioll, son of Murtough, reigned in Leinster, and Cormac, descended in the eighth degree from Oilioll by Eagan-More, in Munster. The Daliads of Ulster made their last colonization expedition into Albania at the close of the fifth century, when some of the family of Murchertach settled there, and are now to be found a small clan in the Galloway district, spelling the name McWhirter.

In Armagh, Ulster, Ireland, the original seat of the Murchertachs, or McWhorters, as it is now written, some differences of opinion amongst those of the Armenian view of worship led to a separation in the congregation, and in 1759 about three hundred of the members, mostly from Monaghan and Ballibay, formed a new church organization in the latter town, where they called the Rev. Thomas Clark to be their pastor. Persecution caused them to sail in a body, May 10, 1764, to New York, where they landed July 28, and remained for a short time in order to look about for a place of settlement, finally going to Stillwater, New York, where they waited until Dr. Clark had closed negotiations for a large tract of land in Charlotte, now Washington county, New York, and in 1766 they founded a town, calling it New Perth, now known as Salem, New York. Here they organized the first Presbyterian church.

One of these immigrants, an enthusiastic supporter of and large contributor to the enterprise, was Elder Matthew McWhorter, whose kinsman, Solomon Barr, was the first of the colony to die. Elder Matthew was an active citizen. He enlisted in the Revolutionary army and received land grants for his services. He also represented Charlotte in the New York Legislature in 1780-81-82, sitting in Poughkeepsie, Kingston and Albany.

Matthew McWhorter's son John studied medicine, became a physician, and began practicing in Unadilla, New York, from which place he went with a number of others through Oxford into Cortland county, where in 1795 they settled on some military land tracts, thus founding the town of Cincinnatus, New York. One of the company, Zurial Raymond, had married the widow Young, in Williamstown, and obtained through her land grants given her deceased husband for his services in the war, and his step-daughter, Miss Young, a very interesting and accomplished young lady, as it is related, became wife of Dr. John McWhorter. He was the first physician in Cortland county, built in 1802 the first frame house in Cincinnatus, and his was the first marriage there. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, an active and prominent citizen, and was elected to responsible positions at various periods. From 1802 to 1809 he was a member of the Legislature, and was several times appointed surrogate. He had one son and four daughters, the son being named Zurial.

Zurial McWhorter was born in Cincinnatus, New York, January 12, 1803, and died at Niagara Falls, February, 1882. He married at Pitcher, New York, August 17, 1824, Polly Fairchild, born at that place, September 25, 1805, died at LaSalle, New York, October 2, 1881. In 1848 Zurial McWhorter moved with his family to LaSalle, Niagara county, where he settled on a farm; all his children were born in Cincinnatus. His daughter, Mary Etta, became the wife of Charles Hilton, as above related.

Issue of Charles Hilton and Mary Etta (McWhorter) Hilton: 1. Charles McWhorter Hilton, born May 2, 1857, at Cortland, N. Y. 2. George Porter Hilton, mentioned below. 3. Frank Perine Hilton, born July 12, 1861, at Albany. 4. Harriet Kidd Hilton, born Sept. 15, 1870, at Albany.

VIII. Colonel George Porter Hilton, second son of Charles and Mary E. (McWhorter) Hilton, was born in Albany, New York, March 19, 1859, and died in the city of his birth, October 7, 1909. He was educated in Albany Academy, Albany High School, 1877, and Amherst College, A. B. 1881. He entered business life in July, 1881, as an employe of the Hilton Bridge Construction Company, became vice-president, and in 1884, when Charles Hilton passed away, his son,

George P. Billm.

HILTON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

George P. Hilton, succeeded him as president. The company under the new president continued its successful course, and has to its credit two of Albany's great engineering improvements, the Hawk street viaduct and the Northern boulevard. In 1900 the company was absorbed by the American Bridge Company, Mr. Hilton soon afterward retiring from all connection with its affairs.

In 1902 Mr. Hilton became manager of the John G. Myers estate, which included the large mercantile business of which Mr. Myers had been the head. In 1905 the large modern store building on North Pearl street was erected, and later, when the business was made a co-partnership, Mr. Hilton became a member of the firm which continued the business and developed it to a position among the leading dry goods stores of New York State. He was known as a man much concerned in military matters, athletics, business, religion, and advancement of civic affairs, in the strict sense that all these drew his close attention and absorbed his time, yet he ranked none of them before his strong love for an ideal life. His association with the National Guard extended over a long period, and gave him a wide acquaintance with men and officers both at home and in other cities, and in 1898 he was made colonel and inspector-general of the New York State National Guard. Possibly he was known best for his energetic work as president of the Albany Chamber of Commerce, in which effort for the improvement of the city and for the good of all its citizens he took the greatest delight. One can find no more fitting expression or estimate his personal worth more closely than in the words of that body when his activities were over:

"The shadow of a great sorrow is now resting heavily upon this Chamber of Commerce in the sudden death of its president, Major George P. Hilton. A member of this body since its organization, for three terms its vice-president and twice chosen its president, its success and efficiency are in a large measure owing to his intelligent interest in all its activities and to his splendid executive ability. In the full strength of bodily vigor, with mental powers unimpaired, bearing the multitudinous details of the great civic festival of the Hudson-Fulton Celebration, the success of which in so large a measure depended upon his intelligent direction and untiring zeal, the summons came, and the ties of business, social life and family relationship are suddenly severed, while the city pauses in its rejoicings and sorrowfully pays its silent tribute of respect to one of its foremost citizens. Possessing great executive ability, he gave to this organization in full measure his time and strength, and with infinite patience met its every demand with cheerful and efficient service. Genial and lovable in his personality, and with a cheerful optimism that was unruffled under any stress of work, he found time in the midst of exacting duties of the great business interests in which his own fortune and that of his family were largely invested, to give to the performance of civic duties a strength rarely equalled. To his church he freely gave his services as custodian of its finances, and to the financial institutions of our city, upon whose boards of directors he was an efficient member, he gave a measure of personal attention rarely equalled, and yet he found time and abundant opportunity to devote a large measure of his business talent to this organization, in an unselfish love for the city of his birth. He was a man of strict integrity, spotless reputation, warm-hearted, tender and beneficent, his benefactions many and various."

Mr. Hilton was identified with many other important institutions. He was trustee and treasurer of the Corning Foundation of Chris-

tian work in the Episcopal Diocese of Albany; treasurer of the Cathedral of All Saints; trustee of the Albany Medical College; director of the National Exchange Bank and of the Schenectady Trust Company; vice-president of the Albany Trust Company; tenor soloist of St. Peter's Church under Organist Philip Hale; and had membership in the Fort Orange, Albany University, Racquet, Camera, and Albany Country clubs, the Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society, American Association of Engineers, New York Yacht Club, the Triton Club of Canada, and the New York University Club.

Mr. Hilton's death took place on the eve of the Hudson-Fulton Celebration in Albany, for which he had worked indefatigably and of which he was the moving spirit. It consequently was a shock to the people of Albany, and when his funeral occurred, on October 10, 1909, it was attended by a vast concourse of people in every walk of life, all moved by a feeling of deep and sincere loss.

Bishop Doane read the following tribute to George Porter Hilton at a meeting of the Chapter of the Cathedral of All Saints, and it was adopted by the Chapter:

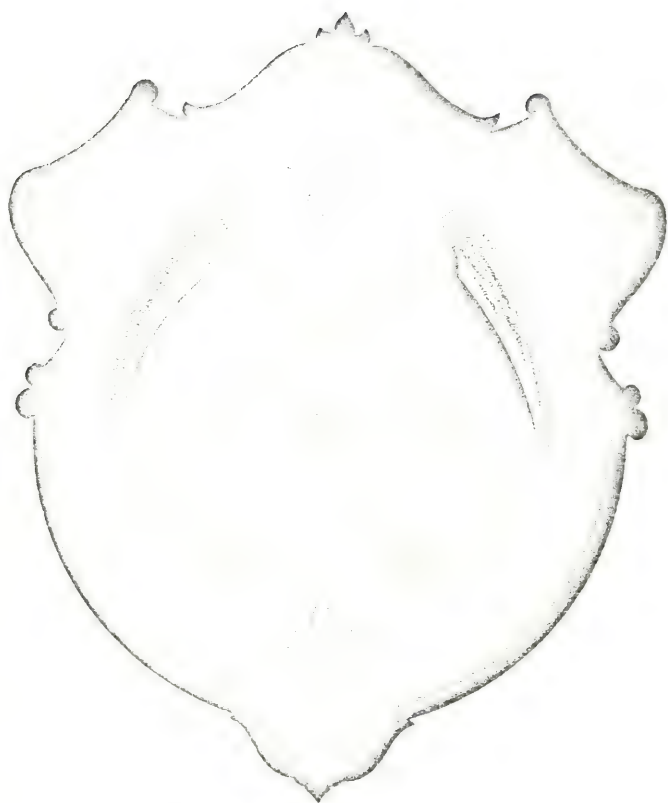
"Meeting under the sudden and severe shock of a second sorrow; meeting to elect one and finding ourselves called upon to elect a second member of the Chapter of the Cathedral of All Saints, those of us who survive make record here of our great personal grief and of our grave and irreparable loss. We have just, in a few simple words, recorded our loving memory of William Bayard Van Rensselaer, and now the death of George Porter Hilton reopens the old wound. Rich in intelligence and cultivation, with tireless energy of resource, with the reserve force of a young, active, strong physical frame, Mr. Hilton early won his way to leadership and dominant influence in the affairs of the city. As president of the Chamber of Commerce, he had the chance of inaugurating and directing many of the public movements along the line of business activity. His dauntless courage when the falling in of the foundations and the following fire wrecked his big business building was simply heroic, and won the victory. With all the tireless activity and constant absorption in public affairs, he had time and taste for other things; for genial companionship, for reading, for the joys and delights of his dear home, and for the outdoor life. He had a genius for friendship and won and held men to him. In all his home relations he was devoted to the older as well as to the present generation. People didn't stop to think of Mr. Hilton's integrity but only of his individual responsibility in anything he ever undertook to do. As treasurer of both St. Agnes School and of the Cathedral, he was an essential part of all our work here, and the substratum of all his power was his devout, consistent, reverent religious faith. His worship was his delight and his joy in the Cathedral services intense. And so, ready on every hand, he passed instantly from what seemed full-blooded physical life into the life that has in it the fullness of all joy, physical and spiritual, in the power of a perfect, unhampered service."

Mr. Hilton married, in Albany, September 14, 1899, Jessie Kenyon Myers, daughter of John G. and Mary Augusta (Young) Myers. (See Myers line).

(The Myers Line).

Arms—Or 2 scythes in saltire proper between in chief a mullet azure, and in base three martlets sable, posed one and two, in base point a mullet of the third (azure).

The Myers family of Albany, New York, is one of the Old Dutch families of the province of New York. The progenitor of the family



Myers

in America was Stephanus Myers, or Myer, who came from Holland and settled first in New Amsterdam, now New York City.

I. Benjamin Myers, a descendant of Stephanus Myers, was born October 21, 1728, died December 12, 1819. Married (banns published August 13, 1756) Leah Osterhoudt, daughter of Teunis Osterhoudt and Catrina Legg. Issue: 1. Teunis Myers, mentioned below. 2. Christian Myers, born June 5, 1759, died unmarried. 3. Stephanus Myers, born Dec. 27, 1760. 4. Petrus Myers, born Nov. 17, 1762, died March, 1841. 5. Catherine Myers, born April 10, 1769. 6. Annatje (or Anna) Myers, born June 23, 1772. 7. Martje Myers, born May 10, 1775. 8. Solomon Myers, born Oct. 1, 1786, died unmarried.

II. Teunis Myers, eldest child of Benjamin and Leah (Osterhoudt) Myers, born 1756, resided at Saugerties, New York, where he owned considerable property, and on which was a stone house, typical of the Colonial period, and bearing upon its portal the date of its erection, 1746. This was situated not far from Mount Marion, in the Catskill mountains, and a beautiful location for a residence. The house was long and low, with an unusually steep roof, and was still standing in 1910. He died November 22, 1831.

Married, in 1781, Cornelia, daughter of John Legg, who resided where in 1910 was the Sheffield place, now Henry Barclay's Saugerties. She was an intimate friend of Governor George Clinton's wife, and when the British proceeded up the Hudson, working devastation, she witnessed the burning of Kingston, October 13, 1777. Issue: 1. Benjamin Teunis Myers, mentioned below. 2. Jane Myers, born Sept. 17, 1793, died Nov., 1872. 3. Solomon Myers, born July 14, 1798.

III. Benjamin Teunis Myers, eldest child of Teunis and Cornelia (Legg) Myers, born May 9, 1783, at Plattskill, Ulster county, New York, was originally a farmer on a somewhat large scale, and supplied the neighborhood and river towns with the produce from his estate. In the later years of his life he was able to retire from business cares and all activities in Saugerties, where he lived the greater part of his life. Died at Saugerties, January 31, 1869.

Married at Plattskill, New York, September 2, 1804, Sarah, only daughter of Johannes Snyder and Leah Myer, and granddaughter of Col. Johannes Snyder, of Ulster county, who was colonel of the First Regiment of Ulster, May 1, 1776; also delegate to the Provincial Congress, member of Council of Safety, member of Assembly, president five terms of board of trustees of Kingston corporation. Sarah Snyder inherited a number of slaves as a portion of her dowry, one of whom, Flora, taught Mrs. S. M. Taylor to knit, and

another was known as "Old Rub." Issue: 1. John Benjamin, mentioned below.

IV. John Benjamin Myers, only child of Benjamin T. and Sarah (Snyder) Myers, was born February 27, 1806, at Brabant, near Kingston, New York, on a farm rented of a Mr. Cockburn, by his father, who soon purchased a farm. He resided most of his life at Mentz, where he had an extensive farm of his own; on his death he was buried in Fort Hill Cemetery, at Auburn, New York. Died in Mentz, near Fort Byron, New York, February 27, 1861.

Married at Saugerties, August 12, 1828, Arriet, daughter of Capt. John Gillespy. The last named had a record as a fighter in the American cause, and was the son of Major John Gillespy, who engaged in the French and Indian wars, and afterwards was a participant in the Revolution as a member of the Fourth Ulster County Militia. Capt. John Gillespy fought at the head of his company in the War of 1812 against the British. For a time he was stationed on Staten Island.

Issue: 1. Benjamin Gillespy Myers, born August 20, 1829, at Saugerties; died March 5, 1901, in Albany. 2. John Gillespy Myers, mentioned below. 3. Sarah Myers, born Sept. 21, 1833. 4. Jason Gillespy Myers, born Jan. 25, 1840; unmarried. 5. Elizabeth Myers, born near Port Byron, N. Y.; died young. 6. Lavinia Myers, died Oct. 29, 1885, at Albany. 7. Selina Myers, married S. Henry Atwater.

V. John Gillespy Myers was born in Saugerties, Ulster county, New York, August 4, 1832, and died in the city of Albany, December 1, 1910. The first eight years of his life were passed on the farm in the Catskills, near Mount Marion, then the family home was transplanted to Cayuga county, where John B. Myers purchased a farm. There the lad, John G. Myers, remained until fourteen years of age, attending school and aiding his father. He early developed a liking for business transactions, and was a great help in disposing of the farm produce. At the age of fourteen he was allowed to return to Saugerties and enter the employ of his mother's brother, P. M. Gillespy, a merchant. He remained with his uncle seven years, attending school and working in the store as general clerk. Those were years of great value to the young man, not alone in business experience they contained, but in the opportunities they gave him for reading and the study of human nature. There he laid a solid foundation upon which to rear his business career, and at the age of twenty-one years he was well equipped for the battle of life.

His first venture as a merchant was in Port Byron, Cayuga county, New York, where with two partners he opened a general store. This enterprise was a failure, the upshot being that Mr. Myers was

Journal, Mexico

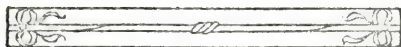
left to dispose of the stock and satisfy the creditors. This he finally accomplished, every creditor being paid in full before the business was finally closed up. His next experience was as a clerk with the wholesale house of Clapp & Kent, New York City, dealers in dry goods and clothing. In 1861 Mr. Myers started a store at the corner of Bleecker and Christopher streets, New York City, and there conducted a profitable business. It was not until 1865 that he appeared in Albany as a merchant, his first adventure being the purchase of the dry goods business on North Pearl street, operated by the firm of Ubsdell, Pierson & Lenox. His partner in this business enterprise was William M. Whitney, the association continuing for five years, during which time the "New York Store" became the largest and best known in Albany. In 1870 the partnership was dissolved, each partner continuing in the same line of business, but in two establishments. Mr. Myers opened a large store at Nos. 39-41 North Pearl street, and there continued a most successful business until his death. He was the leading retail dry goods merchant of the city, and the business he founded was continued after his death by his estate, under the management of his sons-in-law, H. King Sturdee and George Porter Hilton. It was during Mr. Hilton's term as manager that the handsome new building on North Pearl street was erected in 1905, upon the site of the old one. Mr. Hilton died October 7, 1909.

In his business, Mr. Myers was the active, energetic head, giving strict attention to its details and keeping in closest touch with its every department. He prospered abundantly but not selfishly, and after his death Mrs. Myers founded the John G. Myers fund of profit-sharing, by which employees each year partake of the prosperity of the business. He held the goodwill and respect of his large force of store workers, and was in all respects their true friend, a fact they felt and appreciated.

As he grew in business strength and importance, Mr. Myers became connected with many local corporations and institutions. He was a director of the Albany Railway Company; vice-president of the Merchants' National Bank; first vice-president of the Albany Trust Company; vice-president of the Commerce Insurance Company, and a trustee of Rural Cemetery. In 1891 he was appointed by the mayor one of four special commissioners to investigate and report upon a plan to provide Albany with an increased and purer water supply. He was connected with several of Albany's institutions, serving Albany Hospital, as president; Albany Orphan Asylum as a governor; and Albany Female Academy as trustee. Perhaps Albany Hospital more than any other institution benefitted by his generosity and interest, but he was liberal with all, although so adverse to publicity that the facts cannot be given. He was greatly interested in the erection of a new building for the academy, now

Albany Girls' Academy, and the building of the new hospital was greatly aided by his contributions, one of the pavilions being entirely erected by him. He was a member of State Street Presbyterian Church, and in politics a Republican. His splendid ancestry entitled him to admission to the various orders based on Colonial and patriotic ancestry, he becoming a member of the Holland Society of New York, December 7, 1888, one of the earliest members, and always took a decided interest in its affairs. He was also a member of Philip Livingston Chapter, Sons of the Revolution. His club was the Fort Orange of Albany.

John G. Myers married, in Cayuga, New York, August 19, 1857, (Rev. Frederick Starr performing the ceremony), Mary Augusta Young, born in Auburn, New York, February 22, 1833, died in Albany, New York, February 9, 1904. Mrs. Myers was a daughter of Jacob Young, of Auburn, who served with the American force in the War of 1812 at sixteen years of age, and a granddaughter of Christian Young, a soldier of the Revolution, and his wife, Margaret (Wallace) Young. Mrs. Mary A. (Young) Myers was a member of State Street Presbyterian Church, and her husband's associate in church, charity and philanthropy. The Myers' home was one of the most beautiful in the city, and from it issued a spirit of hospitality, goodwill and love that was wonderful. Children: 1. Margaret Fuller, who married Henry King Sturdee, of London, England. 2. Jessie Kenyon, who married Colonel George Porter Hilton (q. v.) both survived by one son, John Gillespy Myers Hilton, born in Albany, May 11, 1901, and was educated in the Albany Boys' Academy and the New York University, 1920. 3. Georgianna Seymour, who married Walter Launt Palmer, and died in Saugerties, New York, June 13, 1893.



Geo. C. Wilson

Wilson and Allied Families

By WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Arms—Gules a chevron counter-embattled, between three mullets, argent.

Crest—A talbot's head erased argent.

Motto—As the last.



O attain a worthy citizenship by a life that is always honored and respected deserves more than mere mention. One may take his place in public life through some vigorous stroke of public policy, and even remain in the hearts of friends and neighbors, but to take the same position by dint of the practice of an upright life and without a craving for exaltation and popularity, is worthy of the highest praise and commendation. The late George Chester Wilson, for years one of the substantial farmers and business men of Youngstown, Ohio, who was well known throughout his section of the State, was a man respected and honored, not because of the vigorous training of his special talents, but because of his daily life, each day having been one that was above criticism and passed upon in the light of real, true manhood. Strong and forceful in his relations with his fellow-men, he not only made his presence felt, but also gained the good will and commendation of his associates and all with whom he came in contact, ever retaining his reputation among men for integrity and high character, no matter how trying the circumstances, and never losing that dignity which is the birthright of a gentleman. Consequently his influence for good in the general upbuilding of Youngstown was most potent, and he will long be missed from the circles in which he formerly moved and over which his influence was like sunshine on a field of ripened wheat.

George Chester Wilson, who departed from this life on June 10, 1897, was born at Girard, Ohio, January 12, 1835, on a farm, where he was reared. He received a good education in the public schools, and then, still in young manhood, he entered the employ of the United States Express Company. He was married in 1859, and immediately afterward he and his young bride went to Memphis, Tennessee, where he was sent in the interests of the express company. Subsequently they were sent still further South, down the Mississippi river, and while there the War of the Rebellion came on. Mr. Wilson's northern sympathies were well known and he was advised to take his wife further North, which he did, leaving Paris, Ten-

nessee, on the last through train which came North. Coming to Louisville, Kentucky, they remained there during the remainder of the war, though Mr. Wilson made frequent trips South for his company. On one of these trips he was waiting for a north-bound train, having with him a large amount of company money, when a runaway engine, south-bound, went thundering by. Later they found the tracks torn up, and Mr. Wilson traveled from Memphis to Louisville in a wagon, reaching home in safety. However, his long-continued absence had excited the gravest apprehensions and he was reported as captured and in a rebel prison, so that his safe arrival home was not only unexpected, but the source of great joy, especially to his young wife. At a later period the national government placed him in charge of all river transportation at Louisville, the duties of which position he discharged with the same fidelity and efficiency that characterized his previous service with the express company. At one time Mr. and Mrs. Wilson nursed at their Southern home a brother of Mrs. Wilson, a soldier in the Northern army who had been wounded in the service. Though Mr. and Mrs. Wilson had many exciting, and sometimes unpleasant, experiences during the eight years of their stay in the South, they enjoyed their residence there. While in the employ of the express company Mr. Wilson had been buying, from time to time, the interests of the heirs to the old Sheehy farmstead in Mahoning county, the birthplace of Mrs. Wilson. Subsequently, when Mr. Wilson's health failed, necessitating a change of occupation, they located on the old farm, where Mrs. Wilson has spent practically all her life, excepting the eight years spent in the South. Here Mr. Wilson engaged in farming to a limited extent, putting up a large and commodious barn, and also engaged in stock raising and horse breeding. In these lines he was eminently successful, for he kept none but the best of stock, which always commanded the best of prices in the market. Later, the condition of his health became so precarious that he was compelled to relinquish all active work, and during the last seventeen years of his life he was practically an invalid.

Mr. Wilson was a shrewd and farseeing business man, and he foresaw that eventually the growth of the city would embrace his farm, therefore he began platting the desirable portions of the land and selling off lots, in which enterprise he was eminently successful, and which has had much to do with advancing the values of other lands also in that section. For about seven years, in conjunction with some of his neighbors, he worked to get a street put through his land, the greater part of his efforts being put forth in the evenings, for at that time he was employed in an office at Niles. The street, after being put through, was named Wilson street, in his honor, and is now paved, with city and interurban electric cars running on it, and otherwise improved. Mr. Wilson had fifty acres

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1897

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Mrs Geo. C. Wilson

Elizabeth T. Wilson

platted and he donated the right-of-way for the electric lines. At that time the county seat was Canfield, necessitating frequent drives to that place in closing real estate transactions. Despite the bodily infirmity which afflicted him, Mr. Wilson retained his mental faculties in their full vigor, and from his sick bed he directed and managed his extensive business affairs with success. His advice on business matters was sought by many, and when given way always found sound and practical. He had a fund of information about Youngstown history and Youngstown people that was inexhaustible, and he was a very interesting conversationalist. Despite his illness he was of a most happy disposition, and he often cheered the spirits of those who, although despondent, were physically much better equipped to fight life's battles than he.

Mr. Wilson was a Republican in his political views, though he was liberal and not closely bound by party lines, often supporting Democrats for office. He was a member and a liberal supporter of the First Presbyterian Church of Youngstown, and his fraternal relations were with the Free and Accepted Masons, belonging to Western Star Lodge, which organization had charge of the funeral services.

Mr. and Mrs. Wilson had no children of their own, but they adopted one, Elizabeth Thomas Wilson, who was received into their home at the age of eight years. She was born in Blanaŵn, Wales, and no child of their own blood could have shown a deeper love or more constant faithfulness to parents than she has exhibited toward her foster parents, who, in turn, gave her the same attention and care as they would have done to one of their own flesh and blood. During the long illness of Mr. Wilson, she was Mrs. Wilson's constant help and comfort, and now, as constant companion and assistant, she gives Mrs. Wilson much appreciated and effective assistance in the management of the property. Since the death of her husband, Mrs. Wilson has remained in the old neighborhood, having bought her present residence, at the corner of Wilson and Truesdale avenues, in 1907. Here her companions are her daughter, Elizabeth Thomas Wilson, and Mrs. Wilson's sister, Annie, widow of Thomas J. Lewis. Mrs. Wilson is a woman of versatile ability, as is evident from the fact that since her husband's death she has successfully managed the estate and has carried through several intricate deals which would have tested the ability of an experienced business man. In addition to the affairs referred to, she possesses valuable sand pits on the farm, and is a stockholder and was secretary of the Garland Block and Sand Company for some years. She still owns over eleven thousand feet of land along the tracks of the New York Central line, but as several other railroads are near it is probably only a question of a short time until that part of the old farmstead will be put to the use of the railroad.

Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Lewis are members of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in which they take a very active interest, Mrs. Lewis having served the local chapter as chaplain. Mrs. Wilson has passed through many and varied experiences, in all of which she has been a close observer, and she keeps well informed on current questions of the day, so that she is a very entertaining conversationalist and companion, her talk being enlivened by touches of the Irish wit inherited from her paternal grandfather, Daniel Sheehy, who is mentioned at length in the following sketch. She possesses that tact and amiableness which enables her to adapt herself to any circumstances, but, withal, it is a source of great gratification to her that she has been permitted to spend practically her entire life amid the scenes of her childhood, on the land entered by her grandfather over a century ago.

Mrs. Wilson, who was married to George C. Wilson on October 27, 1859, bore the maiden name of Ellen Sheehy, being the daughter of John Young and Anna (Kimmel) Sheehy, a prominent, respected and well known family of Mahoning county, Ohio.

(Shehy-Sheehy Line).

Arms—Quarterly, 1st., azure a lion passant guardant argent; 2nd., argent, three lizards vert; 3rd., azure, three pole-axes in fess or; 4th., argent, a ship with three masts sable.

Crest—An armed arm couped below the elbow erect, holding in the hand a sword, the blade entwined with a snake, all proper.

Mottoes—*Campo fero prœmia belli.* (I bear off the rewards of war from the field). *Dei memor gratus amicis.* (Mindful of God, grateful to friends).

The MacSheehy, O'Shehy, Shehy or Sheehy family, as this branch spells the name, is descended from Milesius, King of Spain, through the line of Heremon, thirteen hundred years before Christ; eighth son of that monarch, and the first King of all Ireland. The MacSheehys belonged to the Hy. Many tribe, so called from the Maine More, or Main, the great King, in the fifth century. They are of the Clan Colla race, the founder of the family being Colla da Crioich, son of Eocha Dubglein, brother of Fiacha Straivetine, first King of Connaught, of the race of Heremon. The ancient name was Shiehy—in Irish, MacShaoghaidh, and signifies "A General."

The chiefs of the MacSheehys held possession in various parts of Ireland. They were a martial sept and appear to be of Ulster origin. The MacSheehys of Antrim were famous throughout Ireland as the chieftains of gallowglasses, heavy-armed infantry soldiers, and accordingly obtained possessions in several localities as sword lands from the powerful toparchs into whose service they entered. A branch of them was brought from Connaught in the fifteenth century by the Fitzgeralds, Earls of Desmond, who appointed them their body-guards. Several descendants of the sept have changed their name to "Joy," and of this family was the Irish Judge Baron Joy.

ON 1871

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Mrs. Annie Sheehy Lewis

They are considered to be the same as the Joyces of Connemara, a race of men of rare and manly stature.

The MacSheehys and O'Hallinans were chiefs of Ballyhallinan, in the parish of Problebrien, County Limerick, Ireland, and the former also possessed lands in the counties of Clare and Tipperary. After the overthrow of James the Second, many of the MacSheehys went to France, and the family continued to furnish officers to various regiments of the Irish Brigade in that country from its foundation and after the fall of Limerick until its disbandment on the outbreak of the French Revolution. Of this, Patrick MacSheehy, lieutenant in Dillon's regiment, deserves special mention. He was present, with his regiment, at the capture of the Isle of Grenada, in the West Indies, July, 1779, when the French (mostly composed of Irish troops) inflicted a crushing and disastrous defeat on the English, capturing the entire garrison, three standards, a hundred and two cannon, sixteen mortars, besides thirty vessels in the harbor, ten of which were privateers. In the assault on the Morne, the stronghold of the place, whither the English had retired in their desperate resistance, Lieutenant MacSheehy was mortally wounded by a cannon shot. In this state, writes a historian of the expedition, he could merely speak, with much pain, a few words worthy of the great days of Sparta and Athens: "Is the Morne taken?" he enquired. "Yes," they replied. "Well, then," he rejoined, "I die content," and at once expired. A nephew of this hero, Bernard MacSheehy, was born in 1744, was adjutant general under the Emperor Napoleon, the First, at the bloody battle of Eylau, February, 1807, where he was killed by a cannon shot. He was greatly regretted "as he united with bravery and military talent of the first order, a vast erudition and capability of speaking and writing several languages." Another member of this family, John Bernard Louis MacSheehy, was born in Paris, 1783, was attached, while yet a boy, to Dillon's regiment as a gentleman cadet and subsequently attained high honors in the service of the great Emperor. He went through twelve campaigns, was wounded six times, had two horses killed under him, and was honored with the rank of Chevalier of several military orders.

Perhaps the best known of this family, however, is that of the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy, who owes his sad celebrity to the fact of his being the last Catholic priest who was put to death under the operation of the infamous Penal Laws of Ireland. The Cromwellian and Orange ascendancy, partly wishing to get rid of him, owing to his sympathies with the oppressed and plundered people, had him indicted for the "high crimes" of being educated abroad, while the "law" denied him the right of being educated at home; and of being a "Popish priest" who celebrated mass without being duly registered, and so forth. As this process was tedious, they hastened matters by accusing him of being accessory to the murder of a man who had not

been murdered at all. For this purpose they released from jail three criminals, and bribed them and gave them their freedom to testify against the priest. On their "evidence" Father Sheehy was convicted, hanged, drawn and quartered, and his head was spiked on Clonmel jail, where it remained twenty years. This was as late as 1766. The grave of this "last of Irish martyrs" is held in veneration by the people to the present day. To still further glut their vengeance, the magistrates and landlords had Edward Sheehy, a respectable farmer, and cousin of Father Sheehy, arrested the following month, and convicted of murdering the same man, who was at the time living in St. Johns, New Foundland. Sheehy was offered his liberty before going to the scaffold if he would declare that Father Sheehy had been guilty, and that Bishop Creagh and some of his priests were engaged in a conspiracy with the French Government—a proposition which, of course, was scornfully rejected. This Edward Sheehy, it may be noted, was the grandfather of the celebrated Countess of Blessington. This family is still numerous in Ireland, where they command the respect and confidence of their fellow-countrymen, as also in the United States and Canada, where many of them occupy responsible and honorable positions.

We may mention in this connection Commissioner Edward Sheehy, of New York City, a splendid type of that ancient Irish family, and the Rev. Daniel Sheehy, of St. Ambrose Church, in Brooklyn, also a fitting and worthy representative of the Irish Logarithms of old.

Daniel Shehy, the founder of this American branch, was born in Ballaforen, County Tipperary, Ireland, in 1759. He had the good fortune to receive a good education, being a classical scholar. He was preparing for the law or clerical calling, but he chose to cast his fortune in the wilds of America. He was of a very outspoken, impulsive temperament, and an uncompromising enemy of the British Government. This hatred was intensified by seeing an uncle of his, a Catholic priest, executed in 1766, by the British Government, for his persistence in his sacred calling. This, under the Penal Laws of the time, was called treason, though no overt act was committed. Another member of the family connection, Edmond Shehy, was executed, and his property confiscated for his active opposition to the tyrannical laws which oppressed them. It is a well known historical fact that, after the success of the Amercian colonies in gaining their independence, all Europe was convulsed with revolutionary ideas. Poland tried it and suffered disaster. France succeeded in overthrowing the ruling power, but landed in anarchy and a terrible reign of terror. Ireland was strongly imbued with the desire of relief from the tyrannical laws which oppressed her, which finally culminated in the disastrous rebellion of '98, which resulted in the exe-

cution of Robert Emmet and other patriots. From his enmity to the British Government and his impulsive nature, Daniel Shehy would, sooner or later, have embroiled himself in the contest of freedom from the oppressive laws, and his life would undoubtedly have been the forfeit. He chose the wiser course and came to this country to enjoy its freedom. He and his brother, Roger, came to America prior to the Revolutionary War, and Daniel Shehy fought in that conflict (Vols. X and XI, Series 2, Pennsylvania Archives). He remained several years in the State of New York, and was employed as clerk in one of its courts and utilized his time reading law, of which he obtained a good knowledge, which served him well in after life, as well as his neighbors, to whom he could give counsel and settle their various differences.

In 1796 John Young purchased from the Connecticut Land Company the township which he named after himself. It was then a perfect wilderness, with no human beings except Indians. In that year he induced Daniel Shehy and others to visit the territory with a view of permanent settlement in his township. In the court house in this city there is a fresco representation of three white men meeting Colonel Hillman, a trapper and Indian trader, on the banks of the river at Spring Common. These men were Daniel Shehy, Isaac Powers, and Mr. Wolcott, a surveyor. They purchased land that year, and were the first *bona fide* settlers in the township, and the Reserve, except three or four families at what is now the city of Cleveland.

The Western Reserve was surveyed in townships in 1796, but each township was not surveyed in detail to actual settlers until 1797, and afterwards H. Z. Williams' "History of Mahoning and Trumbull Counties" confirms the family tradition that Daniel Shehy came here with two thousand dollars in gold and purchased of John Young one thousand acres, six hundred on the south side of the river, later partly owned by the Gibsons, and four hundred on the north side of the river, which was his lifelong homestead. He began his improvements at once, which was the condition of his purchase. This cabin was made of rough logs, about sixteen by twenty feet, one story high, all in one room, which served as a kitchen, sitting and bedroom. The space between the logs being well filled with clay mortar made it warm. The big, open fireplace, five or six feet wide, was a good devourer of wood. The chimney outside the walls was made of split lath, well mortared. The roof was made of clapboards, three or four feet long, weighed down with round logs. Shingles were things unknown, as there were no nails to put them on. There was one door opening, and one window. The first season the only door was a quilt, as there were no boards to make one. The floor was made of split logs, dressed level. When they got a door of boards it was hung with wooden hinges and wooden lath, with a string through to the

outside. No locks were needed in those days except a pin over the latch at night to keep wild animals out. As their family increased, they built near the same place a double log house, two stories high, or rather two houses with a six-foot hall between them, which was much in vogue in that day. This hall was a regular curiosity shop and always open at one end. Here were hung the riding saddles, pack saddle, axes and other tools, and an endless assortment of bric-a-brac of that day. By this time saw mills furnished lumber for floors and doors, but the roof was still of the same primitive style. In this house he ended his days.

It is known that in 1797 he and two or three others went down to Beaver, the nearest settlement, to celebrate the Fourth of July. That year he married Jane McLain, a daughter of Robert McLain, and came to their future home in Youngstown, both riding the same horse. Robert McLain was also a Revolutionary soldier, serving in Company 7, First Battalion, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania (Vol. XXIII, Series 3, Pennsylvania Archives). Jane McLain was born in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. Her family moved to what is now Pittsburgh some time in the eighties, and farmed for a time on what is now Fifth avenue, then removed to the wilderness in Beaver county, where Mr. McLain built his cabin and moved his family to it. In moving his farm produce to Beaver on a raft, when near home his raft went to pieces and he was drowned, leaving a widow, three daughters and a young son to commence the struggle of a life of hardship and privation.

Let us now for a moment look at Daniel Shehy's position. Coming from a land where forests are unknown and from a student life, unused to labor and the methods of preparing the land for their subsistence, it was certainly an heroic undertaking. In this he was ably assisted by his good wife, a woman of strong mind, will and courage, and, as before stated, well schooled from childhood in all the methods of pioneer life, their efforts could not but be successful. The first year their subsistence in part had to be brought from Beaver, thirty miles, on horseback, the man leading the horse on the Indian path. The game of the forest furnished all the meat they needed. Thenceforward their life was the oft-repeated tale of privations and perils common to all the early settlers, the details of which would be voluminous. But some few incidents must be mentioned. At that time the Indians were quite numerous, though rather inclined to be peaceable not from any moral reformation of their savage character, but from their defeat by the white man. General Wayne gave them such a defeat at Greenville, Ohio, in 1794, that they yielded to the superiority of the whites and made peace with them. The immediate tribe in the Mahoning valley was called the Massasaugas or Rattlesnake Indians, a roving band, without any fixed villages. They appeared to be a discouraged people, having to leave their long-

time homes for their new homes, far West. On two or three occasions they caused a panic in the new settlement. The Indians were of a very inquisitive disposition, walking into the house and peering into everything, begging the white man's food, and at times it was hard to satisfy them. One mischievous trait of their character was to frighten women and children. Grandmother Shehy often related to her children incidents of this kind. One time a couple of Indians came to their cabin, stuck a tomahawk into a log and went in, looked in every corner, and to her intense fear examined the crib in which two children were sleeping, fondled them, and left saying they would do them no harm. Another time, a body of them were filing past their house, pushed aside a quilt which was substituted for a door, presented a gun, as if in the act of firing, and left with loud laughter at the scare they gave them. True to their sneaking instincts, they always invaded a house in the absence of the men.

The settlement by this time had increased rapidly. At first thought one would suppose it was a dreary and lonesome life; but not so. The fires of the clearings made it very cheerful and appeared good company. Much of the clearing was done at night, day time being utilized for tilling, building and repairing. There is a peculiar fascination in the big fires at night, and it is a well known fact, yet unexplained, that the fire consumes with more force at night than in day time. Burnings were to be seen in all directions. The light being reflected from the clouds, it is said they never had a dark night. Aside from the economy of night clearing, it had the effect of driving away the wild animals; they could not stand the brilliant lights, and retreated to the depths of the forest, to be again surrounded, and with the ever ready rifle soon became extinct. The household was the scene of constant industry. Idleness was a thing unknown. Crude methods had to be employed in preparing the grain for the sustenance until the mills were built. Grandmother Shehy almost reached the distinction of an aristocrat by coming in possession of a hand mill with which to grind the corn upon which they lived. It was continuously patronized by their neighbors. Every article of wearing apparel was of home manufacture and of coarse material. All were on perfect equality. They were not disturbed by the tyranny of fashion, health and comfort being only thought of. In addition to their struggles for life, they had much difficulty with John Young in getting a deed for their land. One published account says Young was offered fifty cents per acre more than Shehy contracted to pay, and a great difficulty arose between them. This caused Shehy to make two trips to the headquarters of the land company in Connecticut to obtain his rights, and only succeeded in getting three hundred and twenty acres on the north side of the river, relinquishing his contract on the south side of the river. These trips were made afoot in midwinter, as it was the only time he could leave his

work. On this land he lived until his death in 1834, aged seventy-five years.

Issue of Daniel and Jane (McLain) Shehy: 1. Catherine, born 1799; married Neal Campbell. 2. Robert, born 1801, died 1818. 3. Mary, born 1803; married William Woods. 4. John Young, of whom further. 5. Daniel, Jr., born 1808. 6. Margaret, born 1810; married Daniel McAllister. 7. Lucius McLain, born 1813. 8. James, born 1816. 9. Jane, born 1818; married John Lett.

John Young Sheehy, as the name has been used by this line, son of Daniel and Jane (McLain) Shehy, was born in 1805, in the first home of his parents, on the bank of the Mahoning, Ohio, and lived on the home farm all his life. He was the first white child born in Youngstown township. Daniel Shehy named his son for his friend, John Young, who at that time was so pleased at the honor that he presented his namesake with two lots in the village of Youngstown, one of these being the present site of the wholesale house of John H. Fitch, the other is the present site of the Lucretia Baldwin public school. These lots remained in the family until after the death of John Young Sheehy, when, in the settlement of the estate, they were sold.

John Young Sheehy married Anna Kimmel, who was a daughter of Isaac and Anna Kimmel. Isaac Kimmel was a native of Switzerland, and his wife, of Amsterdam, Holland. They were married in Pennsylvania, and when they came first to Ohio, settled in Trumbull county, but later removed to what was known as Senator Wirt's place at Brier Hill, Youngstown township, which they subsequently sold and then moved to Coitsville township. Their home was on the present site of the Iron, Sheet and Tube Company's plant. John Young Sheehy died in May, 1844. Mrs. Sheehy married (second) Alexander Truesdale, who gave the name of Truesdale avenue to one of the beautiful thoroughfares of Youngstown.

Issue of John Young and Anna (Kimmel) Sheehy:

1. Robert, deceased; married and left two sons, John Young and William W.

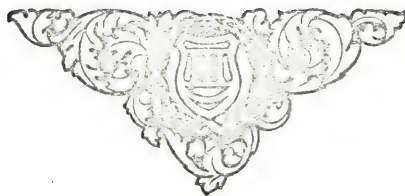
2. Ellen, born on the beautiful property which she has appropriately named Oakland Farm; married, in October, 1859, George C. Wilson, who died June 10, 1897, a sketch of whom precedes this. She was educated in the excellent schools at Youngstown, proving a very intelligent pupil, and when but sixteen years of age she was given a certificate which entitled her to teach. She taught first in the township and later at Youngstown, and continued until the time of her marriage. Although many years of her married life were passed in other surroundings, her birthplace was always "home."

3. Lois, married (first) Charles Medbury; (second) James W. Ross, and resided on Lincoln avenue, Youngstown. She had one son, Frank B. Medbury. Mrs. Lois Ross died in 1914.

4. Annie, widow of Thomas J. Lewis, who resides with her sister, Mrs. Ellen Wilson, in Youngstown, Ohio. Thomas J. Lewis was born in Blanavon, Wales, came to America with his parents as a young man, settling along the Monongahela river in Pennsylvania. He served in the One Hundred Fifth Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, during the Civil War. He died in 1878.

5. Daniel J., for many years a prominent resident of Wilson avenue, Youngstown, Ohio, who died January 23, 1917. He served all through the Civil War as a soldier. He married Angie B. Hartzell. They were the parents of two sons: i. Daniel Charles, who served in the United States Regular Army, went all through the late World War, worked his way up the ranks to a first lieutenant's commission. ii. George Wilson, served as a machine gunner in the Three Hundred Thirty-second Regiment during the World War, most of the time serving in Italy.

Sheehy street, Youngstown, and the Sheehy School, Youngstown, are named for this pioneer family.



Peter Flath—A Biography

BY SARAH M. NEWICK, GLEN RIDGE, NEW JERSEY.



FIVE YEARS after his coming to Ravenna, Ohio, in 1860, Peter Flath took the place among the business men of the city that he occupied, with an ever widening circle of influence, until his death in 1898. His business record is that of a man of keen commercial sense, guided by strict rules of integrity and uprightness. In lodge and church he was held in the sincere and cordial esteem that was his lot in the sphere of practical affairs, and the annals of the city dealing with its citizens of a generation past contains no name borne more worthily.

Peter Flath was born in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, September 17, 1829, one of the seven children of Philip and Katherine Elizabeth (Flath) Flath. He grew to manhood in his native land, and after obtaining an excellent education learned the tailor's trade under the instruction of his father, who was the proprietor of a tailoring establishment. In 1848, during the insurrectionary movements that resulted in the convocation of a congress of representatives of all the people, Peter Flath, then a youth of nineteen years, left his homeland and came to the United States, joining an uncle in New York City. Remaining in the metropolis for a short time, he then came west to Portsmouth, Ohio, securing employment at his trade, working there for six months, when he went to Rochester, New York, and for four years he was a resident of this place, following his trade. He was subsequently in Chicago, Illinois, until 1854. He then returned to New York City, where he made his home for more than a year. Cleveland, Ohio, was his next place of residence, and in 1856 he went to Galion, Ohio, a year later returning to Cleveland and establishing a tailoring shop on the present site of the Inter-urban Street Railroad waiting room. In 1860, Mr. Flath came to Ravenna, Ohio, entering the employ of J. T. Green, owner of a tailoring business, as cutter. He purchased his employer's business in 1865, and admitted L. W. Reed to partnership under the firm name of Flath & Reed, the firm continuing operations at the old location in the Phoenix block. Mr. Reed later sold his interest to William L. Poe, the name changing to Flath & Poe, its style until April 23, 1875, when Mr. Flath bought out Mr. Poe's interests and thenceforth conducted independent dealings. He moved the business to the Flath block, No. 105 East Main street, which he purchased, making a number of improvements and additions to the property. The scope of



Peter Flath

Katherine Holmes Felt

Mary Charlotte Firth

his operations was enlarged by the installation of clothing and gentlemen's furnishings departments, his store the pioneer venture in that field in Ravenna. His broadened enterprise was also successful, and he continued in the direction of a prosperous, flourishing business until his death. His standing among the merchants of the region was high, and a large patronage was based upon the general confidence in his integrity and fair dealing and his popularity with his fellows. John G. Flath, whose sketch follows, acted in the capacity of manager of this establishment until the death of Peter Flath.

Mr. Flath was a strong Democrat in political faith, affiliated with the Masonic order, and was a member of the Lutheran church. He lived a useful life, meeting every duty fairly and squarely, and his death, January 13, 1898, was mourned by the host of friends his sincere kindness had made.

Mr. Flath married, in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1856, Katherine Heimes, born in Germany in 1833, who was five years of age when her parents brought her, with four other children, to the United States, locating in Cleveland, Ohio. Mrs. Flath, a lifelong member of the Lutheran church, died February 28, 1917, and, like her husband, is buried in Maple Grove Cemetery. They were the parents of one child, Mary Charlotte, born in Galion, Ohio, who was educated in the schools of Ravenna. For one year she conducted her father's business after his death, then disposed of it and gave her time to the care of her mother and the management of the estate. Since the call of death took the mother beyond the reach of the loving devotion that the daughter had faithfully rendered, the latter has resided at No. 162 Sycamore street, long the family home. Mr. and Mrs. Peter Flath adopted a nephew, George Flath, whom they raised as their own son. After Peter Flath's death, George Flath conducted the business for a year for Miss Mary Charlotte Flath, and then for several years conducted the business for himself. He is now deceased.

The names of John George and Peter Flath are inseparably linked in the history of Ravenna, Ohio, where they were long business associates, and where the younger man, John George Flath, continued the management of the clothing and gentlemen's furnishing business after the death of the elder Peter Flath. This was the business with which John George Flath became identified after an extensive tailoring experience in the East and the Middle West, and in the course of many years of intimate association with Ravenna he made for himself a place distinctively his own. Activity in religious and fraternal organizations rounded out a life that was wholly productive, and he received sincere tribute of respect and esteem from those who knew him, and their number was legion.

John George Flath was a native of Murnling-Grumbach, province of Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, born February 24, 1833, son of Philip and Katherine Elizabeth (Flath) Flath. For generations the Flath family has been prominent in educational work throughout the German Empire. John G. Flath obtained a common school education in the schools of his native town, and in young manhood learned the tailor's trade with the thoroughness and precision that has always marked artisan effort in that land. He was a youth of nineteen years when he came to the United States, whither his brother Peter had preceded him, and upon his arrival in New York City he proceeded directly to Rochester, New York, where for two years he followed his trade. Subsequently he was employed as a tailor in Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, and Maysville, Kentucky. He remained in this last named place for five years as manager of a large clothing store, but at the outbreak of the Civil War he returned to Cleveland, Ohio, and in association with his brother, Peter, opened a clothing establishment on the public square, the present site of the Cleveland Hotel. When political and business conditions had become more settled he went again to Maysville, Kentucky, in 1863, founding an independent clothing enterprise in that place.

On July 3, 1864, Mr. Flath located in Ravenna, where his entire after life was spent. He was manager of the clothing and tailoring establishment owned by Peter Flath until the death of the latter, when he continued in the same capacity for Peter Flath's heirs. John George Flath came closely into touch with the Ravenna community, and upon it left the impress of a capable business man, prompted in his every dealing by high standards of fairness and integrity, a merchant whose success was founded upon years of reliable service to a large patronage. For fifty years he was a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, which he had joined in Maysville, Kentucky, and he affiliated with Ravenna Lodge, No. 65, and Ravenna Encampment, No. 129, of that fraternity. He was an Independent in politics, and a member of the Lutheran church.

Mr. Flath married, in Newton Falls, Ohio, October 19, 1874, Mary Louise Goeppinger, daughter of Jacob Justus and Mary Magdalene (Goeppinger) Goeppinger. There was one child of this union, Mary Magdalene, born in Ravenna, April 15, 1879. John George Flath died June 29, 1912. Throughout the decade since his passing the sense of his worth has continued strong, and there are many to bear witness that in his day and time he manfully performed a man's work.

Editorial

THIS PRESENT NUMBER

In such times as the present, with its many distractions, it is to many a relief to turn from what is, to what was; to look back upon scenes and persons long passed into history, leaving fragrant memories. To such, the present number of our Magazine will especially appeal. Three of its articles are by female contributors—one relating to the women patriots and heroines of New York in the Revolution; another to the brilliant naval officer, Somers; a third to the gentle Quaker, John Woolman, whose personality is one of the most pronounced of his period. Another article of much interest is that relating to famous old Dickinson College, and necessarily touching upon educational progress throughout the country in the same period.

Nor is the biographical department lacking in interest. As has been well said by a deep student: "Biography is the one field in which our curiosity never wanes, the evergreen in the forest of historical literature, the ever-blooming perennial in the garden of letters. We may have little knowledge and less concern in the story of strange lands, but we cannot avoid an interest in the activities of a fellow-being; wherever he may be, he is a man laboring with and among men, and he is not alien to us."

THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

Medical men and psychologists of no mean ability have of late said or written much of what they recognize as a decided mental and moral (some also say physical) retrogression of people generally, as measured from pre-war days—of an unhealthy reaction as consequent upon the unnatural strain which characterized the days of the great struggle—a strain varying in effect from pessimistic

morbidity to pronounced hysteria. Quite recently, a high professional authority stated it as a fact that such mental disturbance is now recognizable among military and naval officers. If such men are so affected, men whose life training has been a rigid self-control of all their faculties, how much more must be such effects upon the average man or woman, untaught such discipline?

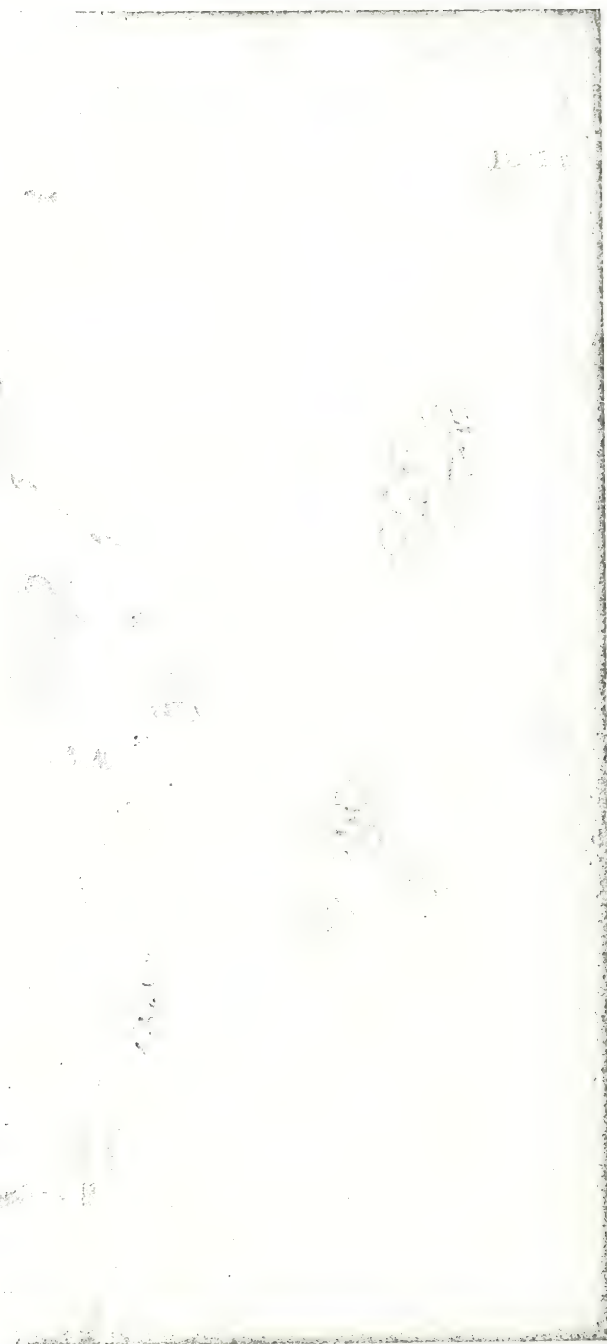
To the present writer, the most significant evidence of a mental retrogression is found in the literature of the day, and he finds his judgment amply confirmed, particularly in the past few weeks, by various of our principal literary reviewers. There are quarterly and monthly magazines and the literary departments of certain newspapers, all of high grade, in which have appeared somewhat of criticism and much more of serious questioning, of the character and influence of the great mass of fictional works, many of which are in the lists of "best sellers." As was recently expressed a few days ago by one of broad reading and judicial mind, "as a general thing, I regard the books that are most talked of, as good books—*not* to read." So much from a man of the world. The parent, the conscientious teacher, the faithful minister, the every man and woman who thinks of life seriously, and of the rational enjoyments that may and should go with it, could say much more.

To return to our immediate subject—the alleged retrogression, mental and moral, growing out of the recent war. The question naturally suggests itself, are such the inevitable results of war? By no means, as many now living can testify. Such results did not follow after the four war years on our own soil, more than a half century ago. The population of the United States at the opening of that great struggle was a little more than thirty-two millions. The usual ratio between such a total and the number of males capable of arms bearing, would make the latter about six millions, and of this number North and South sent into their armies more than two millions. To quote a high authority of that day: "Most striking fact of all, this vast force, drawn from civil life (mostly volunteers), went back as quietly into civil life as did Cromwell's Ironsides after the civil struggle in England." And he might have added, that they fell back among a people as normal as were they themselves; and that these soldiers, both of the North and South, were most efficient factors in the period of great uplift which ensued. Mr. Galsworthy in one of his recent dramatic works, says, "our young

men have been through the war, and have come out *different*—the italics his—and the people to whom they came back are also apparently *different*. To dismiss the matter in a phrase, America has been and is passing through a tremendous revolution, whose duration and results are incalculable.

And as to the literature which lies at the bottom of these reflections. That of the Civil War period, with the days immediately preceding and following, was most glorious, with Bryant, Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, Beecher, Draper, Mitchell, Holmes, Whittier, Holland, Lew Wallace, Mark Twain, and many others. But where are their successors?





REVOLUTIONARY BATTLE SCENE

From an Old Painting

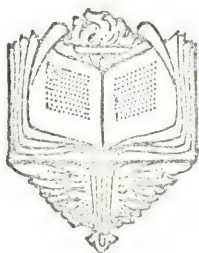
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PITTSBURGH IN 1700
From a Steel Engraving by J. C. McRae



AMERICANA

JULY, 1922

"I Have Called the Place Pittsburgh"

By GEORGE T. FLEMING, PITTSBURGH, PENN.

E COME now to the narration of events that have placed the name of Braddock on many pages of American history—a disheartening narrative wherein contemplation of that veteran soldier of Europe in his pathetic end awakens only compassion. Braddock is immortal through defeat, but his name eternal as human things are because it has been applied to a great industrial community and in that application suggestive of mighty works and wonderful accomplishments. Vast history is opened up by the name Braddock. Vast not only in significance, but in results. The disaster of July 9, 1755, served but to incense and made more determined the British ministry to drive the French out of the "Debatable Land about the Ohio." There was a loud cry, too, for vengeance which though slow in coming, arrived on two most memorable occasions; first at the Forks of the Ohio, November 25, 1758, with John Forbes the "Head of Iron," and that day was the natal day of Pittsburgh. It came again in all completeness September 13, 1759, in the grey dawn of morning on the Plains of Abraham. For one hundred and sixty-seven years able and accomplished writers of history have told, in several languages, the tragic story of Braddock's Field, and in varying veins, from compassionate to deeply incisive, have placed the character of Edward Braddock before the world. Able artists have touched the pencil and the brush to give us divergent and somewhat impossible views of the battle and have more or less, as imagination dictated, depicted the fall, the death and

NOTE.—This narrative is condensed from "History of Pittsburgh and Environs," by Mr. George T. Fleming, the well known antiquarian and historian of Pittsburgh (The American Historical Society, Inc., New York, 1922). Necessarily subject to much elision on account of restricted space, it is nevertheless of much interest, and will lead to thorough reading of the volume from which it is taken—EDITOR.

burial, of the brave but stubborn general in command. The fame of the modern town of Braddock, that has spread far beyond the locus of the battle, is such that every detail of the strange contest maintains an absorbing interest.

Across the Monongahela opposite the town there is a wooded hill known as Kennywood and beneath this hill the army of General Edward Braddock halted on its march from the mouth of the Youghiogheny on the fateful day, July 9, 1755, and from this hillside the army marched with all the pomp and pageantry of martial array—down to the river's edge and through the shallow waters of the Monongahela, past the deserted cabin of John Frazier, the trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, and debouching to the left, the veterans of many fields climbed the slight hill to the ravines in their front. A thousand rifles blaze out and the warwhoops from 700 red throats sound as the crack of doom. Braddock is immortal through defeat. Three days later with dying breath the fated warrior murmured to his faithful attendants: "Who would have thought it?"

Today from these same heights, gazing across the placid river towards the scenes of slaughter of 1755, one can repeat the inquiry of the contrite general. We may consider his last words also: "Next time we shall know better," for the next time a British army came was November, 1758; then Forbes and Victory—and PITTSBURGH. With these remarks we may proceed to the story of Braddock's Expedition.

The British Government finally determined to oppose with energy the growing power of the French in America and to regain possession of the territory upon the Ohio, war or no war. This determination led to the dispatch of Braddock's Expedition, so called in history. The plan was to send two regiments on foot from Ireland to Virginia to be reinforced there by Colonial troops. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts and Sir William Pepperell were to raise two regiments of one thousand men each in New England to be commanded by themselves, and three thousand were to be enlisted in Pennsylvania, the whole to be placed at the disposal of a commander-in-chief sent from England. This was Major-Gen. Edward Braddock, appointed January 14, 1755, to this service and the command of all the Royal forces in North America. The two infantry regiments, the 44th and 48th, each of five hundred men, sailed from Cork in January and arrived at Alexandria, Virginia, February 20,

1755. The 48th was commanded by Col. Thomas Dunbar, and the 44th by Col. Sir Peter Halket.

* * *

"The following account of the proceedings of the army for a few days before and after the battle," writes Craig, "is taken from the Diary of a person, who was evidently a participator in all those transactions, and is the best narrative we have seen; for which reason we insert it in full." It seems curious that Craig did not say that this account, taken from the King's Mss., was written by Orme. However, the account as Craig has it, reads as follows:

GENERAL BRADDOCK'S EXPEDITION, 1755—KING'S LIBRARY; VOL. 212, P. 87, TO THE END.¹

July 4th—We marched about six miles to Thickettyrun; the country was now less mountainous and rocky, and the woods rather more open, consisting chiefly of white oak.

From this part two of our Indians were prevailed upon to go for intelligence towards the French fort, and also (unknown to them), Gist, the General's guide.

The Indians returned on the 6th and brought in a French officer's scalp, who was shooting within a half mile of the Fort. They informed the General that they saw very few men there or tracks, nor any additional works; that no pass was possessed by them between us and the Fort, and that they believed very few men were out upon observation. * * * They saw some boats under the Fort, and one with a white flag coming down the Ohio. (Allegheny).

Gist returned a little after, the same day, whose account corresponded with theirs, excepting that he saw smoke in a valley between our camp and Duquesne. He had concealed himself with an intent of getting close under the Fort in the night, but he was discovered and pursued by two Indians who had very near taken him.

At this camp the provisions from Colonel Dunbar, with a detachment of a captain and 100 men, joined us, and we halted here one day.

On the 6th of July we marched about six miles to Monakatuca Camp, which was called so from an unhappy accident that happened upon the march.

Three or four people loitering on the rear of the Grenadiers were killed by a party of Indians and scalped. Upon hearing the firing, the General sent back the Grenadier company, on whose approach the Indians fled. They were discovered again a little after by our Indians in the front, who were going to fire upon them, but were prevented by some of our out-rangers, who mistaking these, our Indians, for the enemy, fired upon them and killed Monakatuca's son, notwithstanding they made the agreed countersign, which was holding up a bough and grounding their arms. When we came to our grounds, the General sent for the father and the other Indians, condoled with and made them the usual presents and desired the officers to attend the funeral, and gave an order to fire over the body.

This behaviour of the General was so agreeable to the Indians, that they afterwards were more attached to us, quite contrary to our expectations.

The line of carrying horses, extending very often a prodigious length, it was almost impossible to secure them from insults, though they had yet marched without any interruption. Every Bat-man having been ordered to carry his fire-lock, and small parties kept constantly on their flanks. The disposition of march for these horses had varied almost every day according to the nature of the country, but the most common was to let them remain upon the ground an hour after the march of the line, under guard of a captain and one hundred men, by which means there was no confusion in leaving the ground, and the horses were much eased. They were now ordered, when the roads would permit, to march upon the flanks, between the subaltern's picket and the line; but whenever a country was closed or rocky, they were then to fall in the rear, and a strong guard marched thither for their security, which was directed to advance or fall back in proportion to the length of the line of carrying horses, taking particular care always to leave parties upon the flanks.

¹This is part of "Orme's Journal." See "History Expedition Against Fort Duquesne, etc.;" Sargent, p. 349 *et seq.* "History of Pittsburgh;" Craig (Edition 1917).

"I HAVE CALLED THE PLACE PITTSBURGH"

ORDERS AT MONAKATUCA CAMP.

If it should be ordered to advance the van, or send back the rear guard, the advanced parties detached from them are permitted to remain at the posts facing outwards. Whenever there is a general halt, half of each of the subaltern's parties are to remain under arms with fixed bayonets, facing outwards, and the other half may sit down by their arms.

On the 7th of July, we marched from hence, and quitting the Indian path, endeavored to pass Turtle Creek about twelve miles from the mouth, to avoid the dangerous pass of the Narrows. We were led to a precipice which it was impossible to descend. The general ordered Sir John St. Clair to take a captain and one hundred men, with the Indians, guides and some light horses, to reconnoitre very well the country. In about two hours he returned and informed the General he had found a ridge which led the whole way to Fort Duquesne, and avoided the Narrows and Frazier's, but that some work was to be done would make it impossible to move further that day; we therefore encamped here, and marched the next morning about eight miles to the camp near the Monongahela.

When we arrived here, Sir John St. Clair mentioned, (but not to the General), the sending a detachment that night to invest the Fort, but being asked whether the distance was not too great to reinforce that detachment in case of an attack, and whether it would not be more advisable to make the Pass of the Monogahela, or the Narrows, whichever was resolved upon, with our whole force, and then send the detachment from the next camp, which would be six or seven miles from the fort. Sir John immediately acquiesced, and was of the opinion that would be a much more prudent measure.

The guides were sent for, who described the Narrows to be a narrow pass about two miles, with a river on the left, and a very high mountain on the right and it would require much repair to make it passable by carriages. They said the Monongahela had two extremely good fords, which were very shallow, and the banks not steep. It was, therefore, resolved to pass this river the next morning, and Lieut. Col. Gage was ordered to march before the break of day, with two companies of Grenadiers, 160 rank and file, of the 44th and 48th. Capt. Gates' Independent Company, and two six pounders, with proper guides, and he was instructed to pass the Fords of the Monongahela, and to take the post after the second crossing, to secure the passage of that river. Sir John St. Clair was ordered to march at four o'clock, with a detachment of 250 men, to make roads for the artillery and baggage, which was to march with the remainder of the troops at five.

ORDERS AT THE CAMP NEAR MONONGAHELA.

All the men are to draw and clean their pieces, and the whole are to load to-morrow on the beating of the General, with fresh cartridges. No tents or baggage are to be taken with Lieut. Col. Gage's party.

July 9th—The whole marched agreeable to the orders before mentioned, and about eight in the morning, the General made the first crossing of the Monogahela by passing over about 150 men in the front, to whom followed half the carriages; another party of 150 men headed the second division; the horses and cattle then passed, and after all the baggage was over, the remaining troops which till then possessed the heights, marched over in good order. The General ordered a halt, and the whole formed in their proper line of march.

When we had moved about a mile, the General received a note from Lieut. Col. Gage, acquainting him with his having passed the river the second time without any interruption, and having posted himself agreeably to his orders.

When we got to the crossing, the bank on the opposite not being yet made passable, the artillery and baggage drew up along the beach, and halted till one, when the General passed over the detachment of the 44th, with the pickets of the right. The artillery wagons carrying the horses followed, and then the detachment of the 48th with the left pickets, which had been posted during the halt upon the heights. When the whole had passed, the General again halted till they formed according to the annexed plan.

It was now near two o'clock, and the advanced party under Lieut. Col. Gage, and the working party under Sir John St. Clair, were ordered to march on until three. No sooner were the pickets upon their respective flanks and the word given to march, but we heard an excessive quick and heavy firing in the front. The General imagining the advanced parties were very warmly attacked, and being willing to free himself from the incumbrance of the baggage, ordered Lieut. Col. Burton to reinforce them with the vanguard, and the line to halt. According to this disposition, eight hundred men were detached from the line, free from all embarrassments, and four hundred were left for the defence of the



E Brudock.

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artillery and baggage, posted in such a manner as to secure them from attacks or insults. The General sent word forward an aid-de-camp to bring him an account of the nature of the attack, but the fire continuing, he moved forward himself, leaving Sir Peter Halket with the command of the baggage. The advance detachments soon gave way, and fell back upon Lieut. Col. Burton's detachment, who was forming his men to face a rising ground upon the right. The whole were now got together in great confusion. The colors were advanced in different places to separate the men of the two regiments. The General ordered the officers to endeavour to form the men, and tell them off into small divisions, and to advance with them, but neither entreaties nor threats could prevail.

The advanced flank parties, which were left for the security of the baggage all but one ran in. Their baggage was then warmly attacked, a great many horses and some drivers killed, and others escaped by flight. Two of the cannon flanked the baggage, and for some time kept the Indians off; the other cannon which was disposed of in the best manner, and fired away most of their ammunition, were of some service, but the spot being so woody, they could do little or no execution.

The enemy had spread themselves in such a manner that they extended from front to rear, and fired upon every part. The place of action was covered with trees and much underwood upon the left, without opening but the road, which was only about twelve feet wide. At the distance of about 220 yards in front, and upon the right, were two rising grounds covered with trees.

When the General found it impossible to persuade them to advance, and no enemy appeared in view; and nevertheless a vast number of officers were killed by exposing themselves before the men, he endeavored to retreat them in good order but the panic was so great that he could not succeed. During this time they were loading as fast as possible, and firing in the air. At last, Lieut. Col. Burton got together about 100 of the 48th regiment, and prevailed upon them, by the General's order, to follow him toward the rising ground on the right, but being disabled by his wounds, they faced about to the right and returned.

When the men had fired away all their ammunition, and the general and most of the officers were wounded, they, by one common consent left the field, running off with the greatest precipitation. About fifty Indians pursued us to the river, and killed several men in the passage. The officers used all possible endeavors to stop the men, and to prevail upon them to rally; but a great number of them threw away their arms and ammunition, and even their clothes, to escape the faster. About a quarter of a mile on the other side the river, we prevailed upon near 100 of them to take post on an advantageous spot, about two hundred yards from the road. Lieut. Col. Burton posted some small parties and sentinels. We intended to have kept possession of that ground till we could have been reinforced. The General and some wounded officers remained there about an hour, till most of the men ran off. From that place the General sent Mr. Washington to Col. Dunbar, with orders to send wagons for the wounded, some provisions and hospital stores, to be escorted by the two youngest grenadier companies to meet him at Gist's plantation, or nearer if possible. It was found impracticable to remain here, as the General and the officers were left almost alone; we therefore retreated in the best manner we were able. After we had passed the Monongahela the second time, we were joined by Lieut. Col. Gage, who had rallied near 60 men. We marched all that night, and the next day, and about 10 o'clock that night we got to Gist's plantation.

July 11—Some wagons, provisions and hospital stores arrived. As soon as the wounded were dressed, and the men had refreshed themselves, we retreated to Col. Dunbar's camp, which was near Rock Fort. The General sent a Sergeant's party back with provisions to be left on the road on the other side of the Yoxhio Geni for the refreshment of any men who might have lost their way in the woods. Upon our arrival at Col. Dunbar's camp, we found it in the greatest confusion. Some of his men had gone off upon hearing of our defeat, and the rest seemed to have forgot all discipline. Several of our detachment had not stopped till they had reached this camp. It was found necessary to clear some wagons for the wounded, and as it was impossible to move the stores, the howitzer shells, some twelve pound shot, powder and provisions, were destroyed or buried.

July 13—We marched from hence to the camp near the Great Meadows, where the General died of his wounds.²

²Orme's "Journal" ends here somewhat abruptly. See Sargent's "Expedition," etc., p. 357. Also "The Monongahela of Old," Chap. V.

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No accurate list of the casualties was ever attained. Lists vary; of eighty-nine commissioned officers twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven wounded. Lossing says 714 in all were killed and wounded. Sparks adds to this sixty-three officers. Judge Veech says 1,450 officers and men were engaged, of whom 456 were killed and 421 wounded. James Hadden's total is 830; the killed in excess of the wounded. Veech gets his figures from Orme as published by Sargent ("Expedition," p. 238). The French casualties were trifling. Three officers, including Beaujeu, were killed, and four wounded; four regular soldiers were wounded. About thirty were killed of the Canadians and Indians—mainly Indians.

In the Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne it is recorded that one French soldier was buried on the field of battle, two men and Ensign la Perade died of their wounds, and that M. Dericherville was killed in the battle. N. B. Craig published a translation of this matter in the "Register," in the "Pittsburgh Gazette," July 5, 1858. A battle where the losses were so disproportionate has had few equals in the annals of war. It was truly, as Charles McKnight has Halket put it, "A sorra day."³

The number of women and servants killed could never be ascertained, since their names were not entered on the army rosters. It is known that only three servants were spared. The wagoners escaped to a man. Of the whole number who set out, two never returned—one having died of disease and the other was killed by the Indians while on the march.

Washington's part in this astounding battle is often reverted to; it shows him the real soldier. Washington, very ill, had been left behind under the care of Dr. Craik and came up on the evening of the 8th with a hundred men conveying provisions and pack horses which he had joined on July 3rd. Washington was hauled in a covered wagon. On the day of the battle he had ridden on a pillow, so enfeebled was he from his attack of fever. He formed and covered the retreat, and at night rode miles to find Dunbar for wagons, provisions and hospital stores. His journey lasted all night in rain and darkness, and he reached Dunbar at daybreak. To quote Irving here:

Washington was disappointed in his anticipations of a rapid march. The general, though he had adopted his advice in the main, could not carry it out in detail. His military education was in the way; he could not stoop to the makeshift expedient of a new

³"Captain Jack, or Old Fort Duquesne," and "Our Western Border One Hundred Years Ago;" Charles McKnight. Both published in Pittsburgh.



MAJOR GEORGE WASHINGTON

At the age of twenty-three

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country, where every difficulty is encountered and mastered in a rough-and-ready style. "I found," said Washington, "that instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every molehill, and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles."

For several days Washington had suffered from fever, accompanied by intense headache, and his illness increased in violence to such a degree that he was unable to ride, and had to be conveyed for a part of the time in a covered wagon. At the Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny the general assigned him a guard, provided him with necessities, and requested him to remain, under the care of his physician, Dr. Craik, until the arrival of Colonel Dunbar's detachment, which was two days' march in the rear; giving him his word of honor that he should, at all events, be enabled to join the main division before it reached the French fort. This kind solicitude on the part of Braddock shows the real estimation in which Washington was held by that officer. But notwithstanding these kind assurances, it was with gloomy feelings that Washington saw the troops depart, fearful he might not be able to rejoin them in time for the attack upon the fort, which, he assured his brother aide-de-camp, he would not miss for five hundred pounds.¹

Washington wrote: "On July 8, I rejoined the advanced division of the army under the immediate command of the General. On the 9th I attended him on horseback though low and weak. This day he was attacked and defeated by a band of French and Indians. When all hope of rallying the dismayed troops and recovering the ground had been expired, our provisions and stores being given up, I was ordered to Dunbar's Camp." Washington wrote his brother John A., May 30, 1755, as follows:

Upon my return from Williamsburgh. I found that Sir John St. Clair with Major Chapman and a detachment of 500 men, had marched to the Little Meadows in order to prepare the roads, establish a small post, and to lay a deposit of provisions there. The 2nd of June Mr. Spendelow discovered a communication from Fort Cumberland to the old road, leading to the crossing of the Youghiogany, avoiding the enormous mountain which had proved so destructive to our wagon horses. This communication was opened along a branch of Will's Creek, and finished by the 7th, when Sir Peter Halket, with the First Brigade of the Line, began its march, and encamped within a mile of the old road (which is about 5 miles from the Fort) the same day. This encampment was first called Grove Camp, but was afterwards altered to that of Spendelow's Camp.

This day also, Capt. Gates' Independent company, the remaining companies of the Provincial troops, and the whole park of artillery, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's warning, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Burton; and they accordingly did so on the 9th following, but with great difficulty got up to Sir Peter Halket's Brigade at Grove, or Spendelow's Camp, the same day.

This march, from the number of wagons, occasioned a council of war to be held upon the arrival of the General (with Colo. Dunbar's regiment) at this camp. In this council it was determined to retrench the number of wagons, and to increase the transportation by pack-horses. In order, thereto, the officers were called together and the General represented to them the necessity there was to procure all the horses possible for His Majesty's service, advised them to send back such of their baggage as they could do without and apply the horses (which by that means could be spared) to carry provisions for the army. This they accordingly did with great cheerfulness and zeal.²

Washington remained at Fort Cumberland for a few days, in feeble condition, still suffering from the effects of his illness. While there he wrote the following letter to Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia:

¹"Life of Washington;" W. Irving, Vol. I, pp. 183-185.

²"Writings of George Washington, 1748-1757;" W. C. Ford, Vol. I, pp. 160-161.

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Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755.

Honorable Sir:

As I am favored with an opportunity, I should think myself inexcusable were I to omit giving you some account of our late action with the French on the Monongahela, the 9th instant. We conducted our march from Fort Cumberland to Frazer's, which is about seven miles from Fort Duquesne, without meeting any extraordinary event, having only a straggler or two picked up by the French Indians. When we came to this place we were attacked (very unexpectedly I must own) by about 300 French and Indians. Our number consisted of about 1,300 chosen men, well armed, chiefly regulars who were immediately struck with such a deadly panic that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers in general behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered, there being nearly 60 killed and wounded, a large proportion out of the number we had.

Our poor Virginians behaved like men and died like soldiers, for I believe out of three companies that were there that day scarce 30 were left alive. Captain Peyrouny and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed. Captain Polson shared almost as hard a fate, for only one of his escaped; in short the dastardly behavior of the English soldiers exposed all those that were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death, and at length, in despite of every effort, broke and ran like sheep before the hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition and provisions and every individual thing amongst us as a prey for the enemy; and when we endeavored to rally them, in hopes of regaining our invaluable loss, it was with as much success as if we had attempted to stop wild boars on the mountains.

The General was wounded behind the shoulder and in the breast, of which he died the third day after. His two aides-de-camp were both wounded, but are in a fair way of recovery. Col. Burton and Sir John Sinclair were also wounded, and I hope will get over it.

Sir Peter Halket, with many other brave officers, was killed on the field. I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me.

It is supposed we left 300 or more dead on the field; about that number we brought off wounded, and it is imagined, with great notice, too, that two-thirds of both these numbers received their shots from our own cowardly dogs of soldiers who gathered themselves into a body, contrary to orders, 10 or 12 deep; would then level and fire and shoot down the men before them.

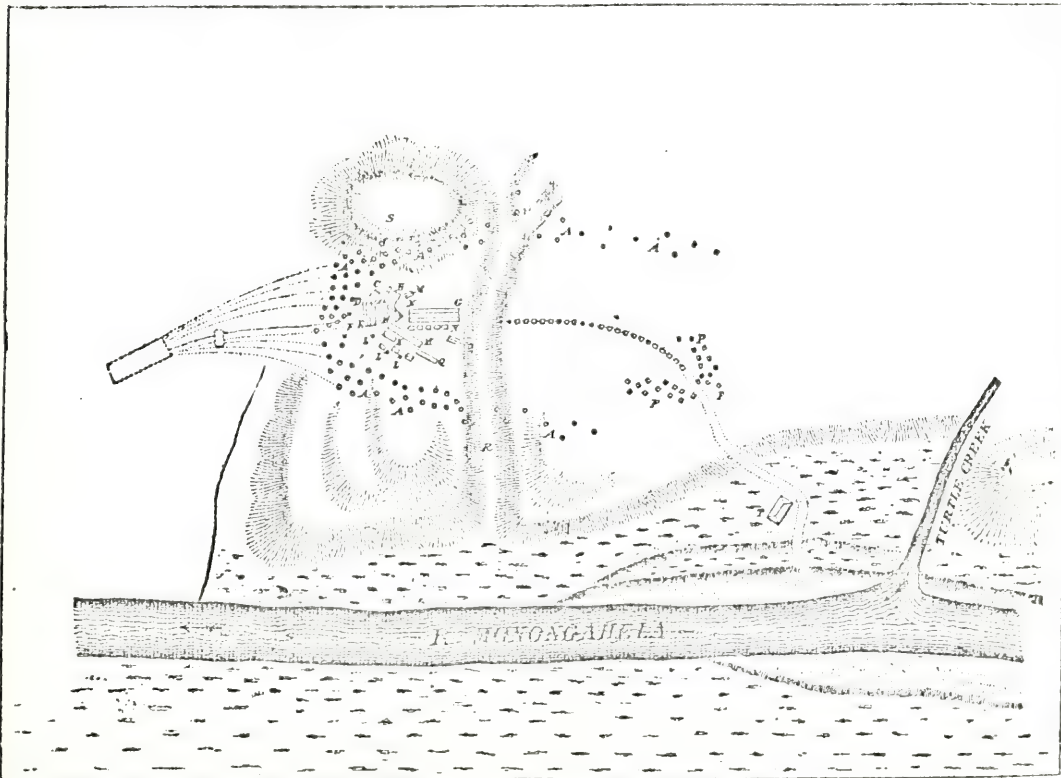
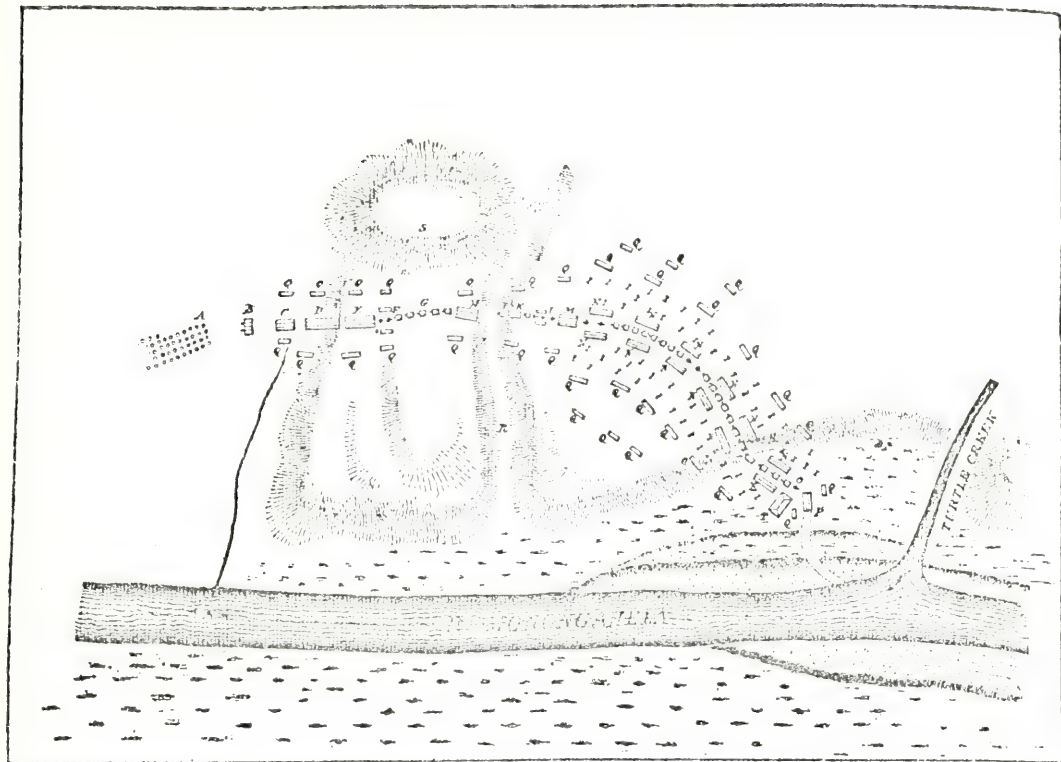
I tremble at the consequence this defeat may have on the back inhabitants, who I suppose will all leave their habitations unless proper measures are taken for their security. Col. Dunbar, who commands at present, intends as soon as his men are recruited at this place, to continue his march to Philadelphia into winter quarters, so that there will be none left here unless the poor remains of the Virginia troops who now are and will be too small to guard our frontier.

As Capt. Orme is now writing to your Honor, I doubt not that he will give you a circumstantial account of all things which will make it needless for me to add more.

Washington arrived home at Mt. Vernon on June 26. Dunbar left for England in November. Washington wrote to his mother from Fort Cumberland, 18th July, 1755, in almost the same words, adding:

Captains Orme and Morris, two of the aides-de-camp, were wounded early in the engagement, which rendered the duty harder upon me, as I was the only person then left to distribute the general's orders; which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recovered from a violent illness that had confined me to my bed and a wagon for above ten days. I am still in a weak and feeble condition, which induces me to halt here two or three days, in the hope of recovering a little strength, to enable me to proceed homewards, from whence I fear, I shall not be able to stir till towards September; so that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you till then, unless it be in Fairfax. . . .

Washington began this letter by addressing his mother, "Honored Madam," and in conclusion said: "I am, Honored Madam,



Mackellar's Maps of Braddock's Battle. Charts signed "Pat. Mackellar, Esq." the upper showing beginning and lower the end of battle. In both, the rectangular figures show the British, and the small circles the French and Indians. In upper, A is the advancing French and Indians. In lower, the French and Indians are shown almost surrounding the British. [Reproduced from "Montcalm and Wolfe," Parkman; courtesy of Little, Brown & Co., owners of copyright.]

your most dutiful son." To his brother, John Augustine, he wrote at the same time:

As I have heard since my arrival at this place a circumstantial account of my death and dying speech, I take this early opportunity of contradicting the first and of assuring you that I have not yet composed the latter. But, by the all-powerful dispensations of Providence I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt; although death was levelling my companions on every side of me.*

Major Patrick Mackellar, who afterward attained distinction at Quebec, accompanied Braddock as engineer, with Robert Gordon and one Williamson as assistants. All three were wounded. It is remarkable that amid the turmoil and panic of that terrible day they were able to make the maps which are still available. Parkman, who has used everything pertaining to this history, reproduces them in his work "Montcalm and Wolfe."

For the purpose of illustrating the ground, Mackellar's maps as printed by Parkman are presented, and the references also, and afterwards apportioned to the present locus, that is, as we know the ground. The following notes are from Mackellar's map No. 1, entitled: "A sketch of the Field of Battle of July 9th upon the Monongahela seven miles from Fort Du Quesne, showing the Disposition of the Troops when the Action began."

It is obvious Mackellar's reference characters must be described. The parallelograms indicate British troops, the long lines expressing the number of files. Small circles show French and Indians; black crosses, cannon and howitzers; square with a short vertical line on the top, wagons, carts and tumbrils; the heavy letter I, cattle and pack horses. Mackellar's verbatim references are: A—French and Indians when first discovered by the Guides. B—Guides and six light Horse. C—Vanguard of the Advanced Party. D—Advanced Party commanded by Lt. Col. Gage. E—Working Party commanded by Sir John St. Clair. F—Two Field Pieces. G—Waggons with Powder and Tools. H—Rear Guard of Advanced Party. I—(light letter) Light Horse leading the Convoy. K—Sailors and Pioneers with a Tumbril of Tools, etc. L—Three Field Pieces. M—The General's Guard. N—Main Body upon the Flanks of the Convoy, with the Cattle and Pack Horses between them and the Flank

*These letters in Spark's "Writings of Washington;" Vol. II, pp. 86-89. See also "George Washington;" W. C. Ford, Braddock matter, Vol. I, p. 58, *et seq.* Washington closed the letter to John: "I am dear Jack your most affectionate brother George Washington." Letter to mother in Niles' "Register," 1816, Vol. X, pp. 249-251. To Dinwiddie, "Pa. Mag. of Hist.," Vol. IX, pp. 237-239.

Guard. O—Field Piece in ye Rear of ye Convoy. P—Rear Guards. Q—Flank Guards. R—A Hollow Way. S—A Hill which the French and Indians did much of their Execution from. T—Frazier's Horse. The tumbrils were two-wheeled carts conveying tools, etc.

Mackellar's map No. 2 is entitled: "A sketch of the Field of Battle showing the disposition of the troops about 2 o'clock when the whole of the main body had joined the advanced and working partys, then beat back from the ground they occupied as in plan No. 1."

His notes are as follows: A—French and Indians skulking behind Trees round the British. B—Two Field Pieces of advanced Party abandoned. C, D, E, H, K, M, N, Q—Whole body of British joined with little or no Order; but endeavoring to make Fronts towards ye Enemies Fire. L—The 3 Field Pieces of the Main Body. P—Rear Guard divided (round rear of Convoy now closed up) behind Trees having been attacked by a few Indians. N. B.—The Disposition on both Sides continued about two hours nearly as here represented, the British endeavoring to recover the guns (F) and to gain the Hill (S) to no purpose. The British were at length beat from the Guns (L). The General was wounded soon after. They were at last beat across the Hollow Way (R) and made no further stand. The Retreat was full of Confusion and Hurry, but after a few Miles there was a Body got to rally.

With reference to present topography, the first map shows that the British left was at the Pennsylvania railroad and Corey avenue, the right at the river and Turtle Creek at Frazier's; the convoy spread out from this point as far west as Thirteenth street. The "Hollow Way" is just beyond Braddock Station on the Pennsylvania railroad. The British advance got as far north as Kirkpatrick avenue and Corey street in North Braddock borough. The French and Indians were massed on the south side of the railroad about Copeland Station; the main body of the British were north of the present line of the Pennsylvania tracks.

The second map shows the British huddled about the location of Braddock Station of that road, perhaps slightly above, surrounded on three sides, with an open way to the east. The convoys are shown at the railroad in front of the furnaces, a few Indians are on their left flank; French and Indians on right flank (though scattered) as far east as Bessemer Station, with skulking parties behind trees endeavoring to entirely surround the British. At the time of the bat-

the Frazier's house was deserted. From there it was eight miles to Fort Duquesne by a rough path.

Mackellar was with Gage in the advance. Parkman says his map was never fully approved by the chief officers, presumably Gage and Burton, but it does correspond closely to one made by Capt. Orme, whose plan, the last of six, was engraved in 1758 and published by Jeffreys in his work, "General Topography of North America and the West Indies," London, 1768. This work contains a plan of Fort Duquesne also, which Jeffreys calls "le Quesne."

* * *

The defeat of Braddock and the flight of Dunbar left all the English frontiers open to the incursions of the Indians in alliance with the French, and most mercilessly they pressed the advantage. Though a chain of forts was built along the frontiers of Pennsylvania they were inadequate, too few in number and too far apart, hence easily avoided. The Delawares under Shingiss and Captain Jacobs from Kittanning were the worst, if such could be, of all the demons that ravished the Province. Colonel John Armstrong, to punish these miscreants, marched from Fort Shirley, now Shirleysburg, in Huntingdon county, August 29, 1756, and reached Kittanning with his little force of 300 men September 7th at night. The town consisted of forty log cabins. A furious attack was made by Armstrong at daybreak, but the Indians fought with great desperation and maintained their position until Armstrong had the buildings set on fire. The whole town was destroyed and many Indians killed, including Captain Jacobs and his family, and a large amount of provisions and ammunition furnished by the French was consumed. Eleven English prisoners were released. Armstrong lost sixteen killed, twelve wounded and eighteen missing. Captain Hugh Mercer was among the wounded and left behind, and as from Braddock's battle was obliged to make his way back to the settlements. He lived to return with Forbes two years later.

Some accounts of these years of terror are to be found in the Pennsylvania Archives and Colonial Records. To quote Bradley here:⁷

There was now a tremendous outcry and a general panic. The Indians, hounded on by the French, and swarming in from the north and west, frequently led, too, by Canadian partisans, threw themselves upon the almost defenceless frontier of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania, and rolled it back amid an orgie of blood and fire and

⁷"Fight with France," pp. 104-105.

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tears; while Washington in command of 1,000 ill-disciplined and badly officered militiamen, was set the hopeless task of defending a line of nearly 400 miles in length.

He was only three and twenty, but was regarded as the natural protector of the colonies now threatened, and his letters from the western settlements of Virginia throughout this autumn, winter and spring give a harrowing picture of the Indian terror that he was endeavoring to combat. From the thrifty settlements of the Scotch Irishmen, and the more adventurous among the Germans which were thickly sprinkled along the eastern trough of the Alleghenies, came flying in crowds, horse, foot and wagons, through the mountain passes. "They came through by the fifties at a time," writes Washington, "and talk of surrendering to the French if no help comes from below." Braddock's road from the Ohio he speaks of as being beaten hard with moccasined feet, as if an army had been over it, while all the Western forests were alive with Indians. In Maryland, a little later, he counted 300 wagons in three days hurrying from the wasted settlements. From North Carolina to Western New York men were scalped and murdered by hundreds, and women and children in still greater numbers either treated in like fashion or driven into captivity behind the Alleghenies. The tears and supplications of the refugees were a daily torment to this at once tender and brave-hearted young leader of men, who chafed at the impotence to which he was consigned by bad and inefficient soldiers, worse officers, and a lack of everything but scurrilous abuse.

Regarding the question of precedence, Irving states in his "Life of Washington," Knickerbocker Edn., Vol. I, pp. 287-288:

February 4, 1756, Washington set out for Boston, to consult with Major-general Shirley, who had succeeded Braddock in the general command of the colonies. In those days the conveniences of traveling, even between our main cities, were few, and the roads execrable. The party, therefore, traveled in Virginia style, on horseback, attended by their black servants in livery. In this way they accomplished a journey of five hundred miles in the depth of winter, stopping for some days at Philadelphia and New York. Those cities were then comparatively small, and the arrival of a party of young Southern officers attracted attention. The last disastrous battle was still the theme of every tongue, and the honorable way in which these young officers had acquitted themselves in it made them objects of universal interest. Washington's fame, especially, had gone before him, having been spread by the officers who had served with him, and by the public honors decreed him by the Virginia Legislature. "Your name," wrote his former fellow-campaigner, Gist, in a letter dated in the preceding autumn, "is more talked of in Philadelphia than that of any other person in the army, and everybody seems willing to venture under your command."

Ford says:

Washington remained ten days in Boston, attending with great interest the meetings of the Massachusetts Legislature, in which the plan of military operations was ably discussed. After receiving the most hospitable attentions from the polite and intelligent society of the place, he returned to Virginia, for the French had made another sortie from Fort Duquesne, accompanied by a band of savages, and were spreading terror and desolation through the country. Horrors accumulated at Winchester. Every hour brought its tale of terror, true or false, of houses burnt, families massacred, or beleaguered and famishing in stockade forts. The danger approached. A scouting party had been attacked in the Warm Spring Mountain, about twenty miles distant, by a large body of French and Indians, mostly on horseback. The captain of the scouting party and several of his men had been slain, and the rest put to flight.

An attack on Winchester was apprehended, and the terrors of the people rose to agony. They turned to Washington as their main hope. The women surrounded him, holding up their children, and imploring him with tears and cries to save them from the savages. The youthful commander looked around on the suppliant crowd with a countenance beaming with pity, and a heart wrung with anguish. A letter to Governor Dinwiddie shows the conflict of his feelings.

"I am too little acquainted with pathetic language to attempt a description of these people's distresses. But what can I do? I see their situation; I know their danger, and participate in their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief than uncertain promises." "The supplicating tears of the women, and moving

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petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy provided that would contribute to the people's case."

The unstudied eloquence of this letter drew from the governor an instant order for a militia force from the upper countries to his assistance. The Legislature, too, began, at length to act, but timidly and inefficiently. "The country knows her danger," writes one of the members, "but such is her parsimony that she is willing to wait for the rains to wet the powder, and the rats to eat the bowstrings of the enemy, rather than attempt to drive them from her frontiers."

The historian Bradley draws a sorry picture of the indifference of the aristocracy of Virginia and the character of the troops recruited for border service. The utter apathy of the landed gentry was appalling. The region about Fort Duquesne was claimed by Virginia. The incursions of the red marauders began at that French fort and extended to the Carolinas. The scenes of horror depicted in the accounts were the same on all parts of the frontier. The French while in control of the Upper Ohio region brought as great horrors upon Virginia as Pennsylvania. The four years of French control were absolutely years of horror. One may quote the incisive Bradley again:

He had now been over two years at the frontier village of Winchester, in the valley of Virginia, eating his heart out in vain endeavors to stem the hordes of Indians led by Frenchmen, who swarmed across the stricken borders of the middle colonies. "I have been posted," he wrote in the preceding spring, "for more than twenty months on our cold and barren frontiers to perform, I think I may say, an impossibility; that is, to protect from the cruel incursions of a crafty savage enemy, a line of inhabitants more than three hundred and fifty miles in extent, with a force inadequate to the task." He was still only twenty-five, but a head and shoulders above any colonial soldier outside of New England. He had no chance of gain or glory with his thousand or so "poor whites," ill-paid and discontented, and recruited with infinite difficulty. His officers were often of no better discipline. One of them, he tells us, sent word on being ordered to his post, that he could not come as his wife, his family and his corn crop, all required his attention. "Such," says Washington, "such the behavior of the men, and upon such circumstances the safety of this country depends." Three colonies, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, with some half-million whites, to say nothing of rude and populous North Carolina, could only wring from this large population a wretched, half-hearted militia of 2,000 men, recruited largely from the burnt-out victims of the frontier. Where, one may well ask, were the squires of Virginia and Maryland, who swarmed along the eastern counties of both provinces, and whose comfortable homesteads reached to within a hundred miles of the scene of this bloody war, of their fellow-countrymen's long agony, and of the impudent invasion of their country? To mention a dozen or two young men of this class who rallied to Washington, would only be to aggravate the case, if such were possible, in the face of these statistics. Men of substance and education, accustomed to horse and gun, "outdoor" men in fact or nothing, were quietly staying at home by the thousands, unstirred by feelings of patriotism or vengeance, and apparently untouched by the clash of arms and the ordinary martial instincts of youth. Their grandfathers had fought; their sons were to fight; their descendants were in the last civil war to be among the bravest of the brave. What was this generation doing at such a moment? Washington, whose local patriotism no one will dispute and whose example shone like a beacon light amid the gloom, cursed them often and soundly in his letters for doing nothing. It was fortunate for these colonies that Pitt came forward to save them.

Washington was giving up a life of ease and comfort, neglecting an estate to whose

⁸⁴"Writings of George Washington;" W. C. Ford, Vol. I, p. 248.

⁸⁵"Life of Washington;" Irving, Vol. I, pp. 226-229.

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management he was greatly attached, and those field sports, which, next to fighting, were the passion of his life. Here, however, on this shaggy blood-stained frontier, without means to fight effectively, neither glory nor even thanks were to be gained. He lost his temper more than once, and wrote incontrovertible but imprudent letters to the Virginia authorities at Williamsburg, falling thereby into the bad books of the gentlemen who regarded the State of the frontier with such prodigious equanimity.¹⁰

The groundwork for the account of Forbes' expedition that follows will be found in that admirable work of Francis Parkman, to which reference may be had.

The plans of Pitt to drive the French from their American possessions designed to capture Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, Forts Ticonderoga and Duquesne. Louisburg fell, Ticonderoga was saved by the skill of Montcalm. Frontenac, however, fell also, and with its fall Duquesne was untenable. Far off in the wilderness it was cut off from its base of supplies and the garrison could not live off the country. Forbes found that out later.

As to Forbes, properly a few words of biography are in order. He was born in Pittincrief, Fifeshire, Scotland, in 1710. He was educated for a physician, but preferring a military life entered the British army, and in 1745 had advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, serving in the Scots Greys. He served under the Duke of Cumberland as acting quartermaster-general and late in 1757 came to America a brigadier-general. He had seen hard service in the continental wars. April, 1758, found Forbes still in Philadelphia, as yet without an army. The provincials were yet to be enlisted and the Highlanders had not arrived. It was about this time that the general was attacked with the painful and dangerous malady which would have disabled a less resolute man, and which ultimately caused his death.

The forces as made up for Forbes' little army consisted of provincials from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, the Highlanders, 1,200 in number, and a detachment of Royal Americans, amounting in all, says Parkman, to between 6,000 and 7,000 men. Other historians estimate the force at 8,000 men. Parkman's estimate includes the wagoners and camp followers.

These were crude material, unruly and recalcitrant to discipline. They brought a mass of worthless stuff to the rendezvous at Carlisle. Old provincial muskets, the locks of many tied on with strings, fowling pieces, now known as shot guns; some carried only walking

¹⁰"Fight With France for North America;" pp. 203-206.

sticks, and not a few had never fired a gun in their lives. Except a few of the officers, and these of the higher ranks, Forbes characterized the whole body of officers to Pitt as "an extremely bad collection of broken innkeepers, horse jockeys and Indian traders." Forbes was no more flattering toward the men. It was a strangely heterogeneous body that came under his command; but in the end "they were moulded into an efficient organization."¹¹

One can read with tender feeling the extracts from Forbes' letters en route. Restoring order at Carlisle, in suffering he writes: "I have been and still am poorly, today with a cursed flux, but shall move day after tomorrow." But he did not. It was August 9th when he wrote again: "I am now able to write after three weeks of the most violent and tormenting distemper, which, thank God, seems now abated as to pain, but has left me as weak as a new-born infant. However, I hope to have strength enough to set out from this place on Friday next." Forbes' malady was an inflammation of the stomach, involving other vital organs. When Forbes should have been in bed with complete repose, he was disturbed, yea, distressed, with the details and worries of an extremely arduous campaign for which he was in no wise physically competent.

The delays and vexations that wearied the staunch Scotch commander have taken up pages of history. Indeed, the whole story of Forbes' expedition has had adequate treatment by able writers. Francis Parkman, John Fiske, Justin Winsor, Isaac D. Rupp, Albert Bushnell Hart—what historian has not been impressed with the story of the "Head of Iron" and the capture of Fort Duquesne without a blow?

One thing commendable in Forbes was his method of marching—not encumbered like Braddock with immense trains in the wilderness. When finally Forbes had got under way he pushed on by slow stages and "did not hesitate," says Parkman, "to embrace heresies which would have driven Braddock to fury."

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Bouquet, a brave and accomplished Swiss, commanded one of the battalions of the Royal Americans, a new organization containing many Pennsylvania Germans. Early in June, Bouquet, with the advance guard, encamped at Raystown, where he built Fort Bedford.

¹¹See "Expedition of Gen. Forbes Against Fort Duquesne;" Publications Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, 1908, and "Letters of Gen. Forbes;" *Ibid.*, Feb.-May, 1909.

Dinwiddie had been superseded as governor of Virginia by Lieutenant-Governor Francis Fauquier, a friend of Washington, to whom Dinwiddie had taken a violent dislike and treated the country's future father with contempt.

Washington prepared to join Forbes' expedition against Fort Duquesne although his intention had been to abandon a military life. He proceeded to gather his scattered regiments at Winchester and found the assembling forces destitute of everything needful. This necessitated the journey of the youthful colonel to Williamsburg and it was on this journey that he met the fair young widow, best known in history as Martha Washington.

Washington proceeded with his force to Fort Cumberland on the Potomac, arriving there July 2, 1758, and then proceeded to open a road, a distance of thirty miles, to Raystown, now Bedford, Pennsylvania, where Col. Bouquet was stationed.

The fate of Braddock had impressed itself deeply on the British commanders. It inspired a caution that was necessary. Washington, skilled in frontier service, at once became a valuable aid and adviser to both Bouquet and Forbes.

Forbes, who relied greatly on Bouquet, liked also Colonel James Burd. He treated Washington with consideration and respect. He expressed disgust for Sir John Sinclair, who had been Braddock's quartermaster-general, and his inefficiency. He was justly displeased with his provincial troops.

August 11th, Forbes left Carlisle, carried on a kind of a litter made of a hurdle slung between two horses. No wonder he was compelled to stop at Shippensburg complaining that the journey had raised his disorder and pains to such a degree that they became intolerable. He lay helpless in Shippensburg until late in September, writing anon of his weak state and excruciating pains and his sufferings both of body and mind. His letters are pathetic in the full sense of the word. He unjustly condemns Washington in the dispute that arose as to the route, Washington in the interest of Virginia favoring the Braddock road, necessitating the march of the army to Fort Cumberland at Wills Creek on the Potomac to make the start. Forbes, however, made his own road, which has gone into history under his name.

Few people think of Pittsburgh as the scene of a battle, yet many

of us tread daily a battle ground unthinkingly. Forbes was then on his way to Raystown, arriving at the Loyalhanna, October 5th.

October 14, 1758, the rear division was marching on Loyalhanna and the advance party there had been attacked two days previously by a force of 1,700 French and two hundred Indians, the engagement lasting from 11 a. m. until 3 p. m., when the enemy drew off. They returned to the attack at night, but were repulsed. Here the casualties of Forbes' troops were twelve killed, seventeen wounded and thirty-one missing. Grant had lost two hundred and seventy killed, forty-two wounded and some prisoners. The founding of Pittsburgh it will be noted, was not altogether without bloodshed. It was not until November 18th that Forbes, with the rear division, was able to advance. He arrived at the Forks on the night of the 25th. His feelings of joy may be imagined. His toils and his sufferings had won reward. Neither were over. There was the return to civilization, and the increase in pain with each day to be reckoned with. The bare facts of history in the march and victory of Forbes are thrilling enough. When we include the human interest side, our feelings are swayed by the grandeur of the man and the pathos of his condition.

* * *

It was not an exultant army that came over the rugged Alleghenies in the winter, whose bloodless victory under their intrepid, invalid commander won for England a magnificent point of vantage and struck a mortal blow to French power in America.

It was not a cheerful occasion for the founding of a great city. We can see a weary, half starved body of once hardy men in the bleakness of that November day looking only on desolation and solitude. The inspiration of their dying chief must have been supreme. His iron will and unconquerable spirit must have strongly appealed to these men. It buoyed them up; it raised their hopes. Undoubtedly they communed with each other saying: "If our suffering general can stand it, why not we?" They too were brave spirits of their stormy times.

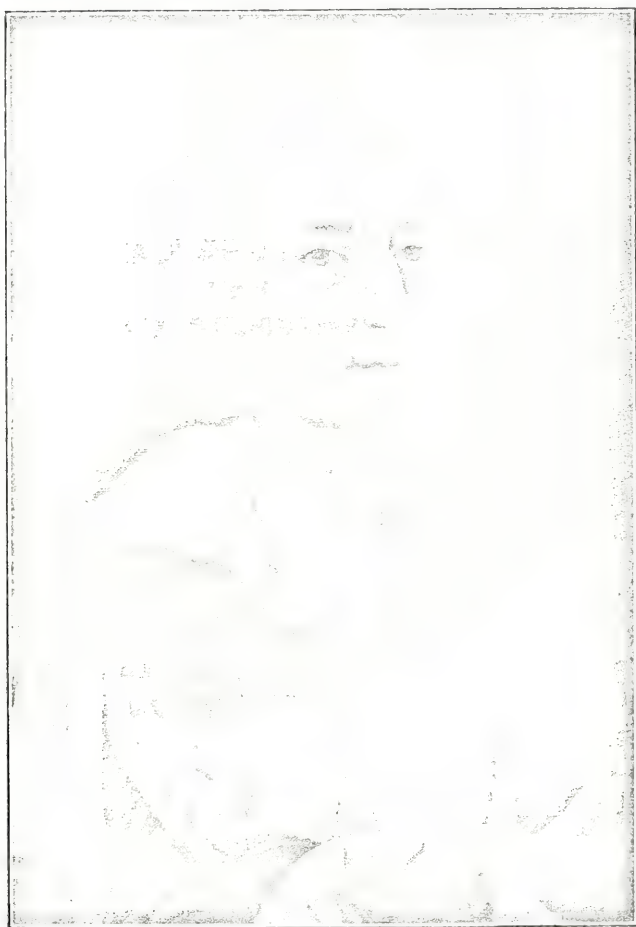
Inauspicious as the birth of our city is shown to have been, in the story of its founding we read courage, devotion, success, triumph. Had not the French retreated, what the battle the intrepid Forbes had waged? Retreat he could not. It was victory or death. No wonder in his lurid language the great leader so vehemently ex-

pressed himself. He knew the peril, the extreme peril, of his position. He must show no shadow of doubt—fear he could not. It was not in him.

We may well believe that Forbes saw the advantage of the Forks of the Ohio as a military situation and that he knew in the new land of America the fortification became the nucleus of the town that soon grew around it. Washington five years previously had made a note of the topography and carefully examined it. (Journal 1753, November 23rd). Forbes not only named the fort he ordered to be built immediately, but doubly honored the great Premier by bestowing it upon the place also, and then and there Forbes gave our city its name, spelling the name as it is authoritatively spelled. In a letter to Governor Denny of Pennsylvania on November 26th, the day after the capture, he says: "I have called the place Pittsburgh."

Eight days later Bouquet, in the minutes of a conference with the Delaware, signed them: "At Pitts-bourgh, December 4, 1758."

In stern justice, Forbes could have honored or had himself honored in the name Forbesburg, and the whole British nation would have applauded. But the heroic soul was modest, so he honored the great Commoner, with keen appreciation of the master mind of William Pitt. So Pittsburgh it has ever been, and we of Pittsburgh, sensible of the appropriateness, and recognizing the self-sacrifice and modesty of the suffering hero, have been ever proud of the name and mindful that it commemorates one of the world's greatest characters—the brilliant, eloquent, popular prime minister of Great Britain, in later years the Earl of Chatham, friend of the colonists of the British Empire in North America, who when he became the first minister of the realm saw with enlightened vision the policy of treating those colonies with generosity and confidence, thus gaining their affections and bringing such generous support to the government in the war with the French and Indians that the conquest of Canada was achieved and French dominion in North America utterly destroyed. Within the city's limits that bears the name of Pitt, the first staggering blow was struck by the indomitable Forbes and the French dream—passion for empire—first began to fade away. In the founding of that city there were few formalities and these military in character. Practically the name Pittsburgh preceded the birth, for the first physical act was the erection of the small fort for the garrison, necessary to hold the place. It will ap-



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pear that here again the fates were kind, for the winter that ensued was of such rare severity that the French and Indians could not return to drive Mercer and his little band away, or capture them.

The founding of the city as usually regarded was by the occupation of the peninsula between the two rivers by Forbes' army. Then too, the sovereignty of the region changed. A new king exercised power, the Hanoverian soldier, George the Second, destined to reign but two years longer, and then his grandson, George the Third. In the promulgation of the change of sovereignty a new standard was raised—it was the royal standard of St. George. *A bas* then the *fleur-de-lis*, marking an end of French intrigue and French power forever. Exit the Gaul and all things Gallie. Enter a virile race, and a new regime begins; to last seventeen years.

The inclination to dwell upon this historic scene is strong. It is possible to dress it in garments of rich imagery. We of Pittsburgh, familiar with the locality, passing our lives within easy reach of it, knowing well the weather conditions of the late season and the November skies when dusk has come and night is coming on, can readily call up the bleakness of the hour and see the driving eddies as the snow falls briskly on the dismal bivouac of Forbes' men. We can hear the swish of the rapid waters of the Allegheny as they sweep past—as we have heard them many a time and oft. We know well the wide expanse of waters where the more sluggish and less clear Monongahela joins to form the Beautiful River; we know the background now, and may picture its appearance then—the rugged, wooded hills with an extensive flat extending towards the rivers, and interspersed with morass and ponds. We can ponder on the solemnity of the ceremony; the formal taking possession. We may ascribe deep thankfulness in Forbes' heart and can believe he murmured to himself: "Now I can die content. I have given my life to King and country, and in the last of my slowly ebbing days I have won a long sought goal. I have earned fame, too; God has been kind to me. My name will live."

A Pittsburgh historian pictures the scene aptly: "As a wild snow-storm was deepening the dusk into black night, the banner of England was hoisted over one of the ruined bastions by Colonel Armstrong; and the 'Iron Head' christened the place anew. Bearing in mind the great statesman who brought about the change of flags, and had honored him by making him the instrument for its attainment, Forbes called the collection of ruined cabins PITTSBURGH."

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"Long as the Monongahela and the Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the Gateway of the West."¹²

The march of Forbes and his little army was exhausting in the extreme and only the grim determination of the commander brought success. Bradley, an Englishman, writing of the weather conditions of the season, says:

Autumn on the Atlantic slope of North America is of all seasons the most stimulating and delightful. Rain, as a rule, falls sparingly, or in short spells, and nature decked in a raiment gorgeous beyond dreams, and rarely ruffled by storm or tempest, slumbers in balmy silence beneath an azure sky. Poor Forbes, like Washington, upon nearly the same ground four years earlier, encountered, and in an even worse degree, one of those climatic exceptions that prove the rule. Rain fell persistently, and fell in torrents, while premature snow storms filled his cup of misery to the brim. On the lower grounds the new-made road was impassable with liquid mud; on the mountain slopes the torrents swept it away as fast as it was made. Forage began to get scarce and the horses became poor and weak. The prospect lately so hopeful, seemed now well-nigh desperate. Bouquet labored hard, against the warring elements, the miry swamps, the torrent-riven mountains, and with transport horses growing daily weaker. Forbes, whose indomitable will, rather than improving health, had forced him on to the soaking misery of Loyalhanna, still gave his orders in person. Tortured with pain, and scarce able to stand, he would listen to no suggestions of abandoning in the attempt or of himself returning to those comforts which were his only chance of life.

On the return to Philadelphia, through all the wilderness part of the march, the men each day built a rude hut in which they placed a stone fireplace for the comfort of the dying general. One night, through some mishap, the suffering Forbes became insensible through long waiting in the bitter cold, before fire and shelter could be provided. It took some time to bring him to by applications of cordials and other stimulants. However, the return march was not made with the gloom of the march out. Forbes left here December 3, 1758, as Post records in his Journal, and reached Philadelphia on his return January 14, 1759. His condition was pitiful in the extreme. The terrible journey of about five hundred miles in winter, carried all the way, is unimaginable. Great enthusiasm greeted him in the city. He had completed his task and all was well but himself. He survived two months only, dying on March 9th, having drawn the breath of pain and anguish for many days. No one has a better title to honor and remembrance than he. We have Forbes street in his commemoration. It is slight enough.

In the building of the first Fort Pitt or the fort temporarily used

¹²"1758—Being a Sketch of the Founding of Pittsburgh;" by Charles W. Dahlinger, 1908, p. 17. "History United States;" Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 495.

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the first winter of the English occupation, Forbes had but little part. He remained at the site of Fort Duquesne but eight days. When the fort was under way he left. It was a matter of extreme doubt whether or not his faithful men would not carry him into Philadelphia a corpse.

Craig says that: "Mr. Ross used to relate a story that had come down by tradition. The disease which proved fatal to Forbes increased so rapidly on the march, that in approaching Fort Duquesne he had to be carried on a litter. This excited remark and derision among the Indians. To counteract unfavorable impressions, it was stated that the British chief had a temper so impetuous and irascible and combative that it was not thought safe to trust him at large, even among his own people, but that the practice was to let him out on the eve of battle."¹³ This assertion of Forbes' irascibility has been ascribed to Conrad Weiser, always politic and a diplomat by instinct and intuition.

Craig has furnished us these items, from Franklin's newspaper, headed, "Death of General Forbes:"

Extract from the Pennsylvania Gazette, published at Philadelphia on the 18th of January, 1759.

Last night General Forbes arrived in town, when the guns were fired and bells rung.

The following notice of the death of General Forbes is from the same paper of the 15th of March, 1759:

"On Sunday, last, died of a tedious illness, John Forbes, Esq., in the 49th year of his age, son to — Forbes, Esq., of Pittencrief, in the Shire of Fife, in Scotland, Brigadier General, Colonel of the 17th Regiment of Foot, and Commander of his Majesty's troops in the Southern Provinces of North America; a gentleman generally known and esteemed, and almost sincerely and universally regretted. In his younger days he was bred to the profession of physic, but, early ambitious of the military character, he purchased into the Regiment of Scot's Grey Dragoons, where, by repeated purchases and faithful services, he arrived to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. His superior abilities soon recommended him to the protection of General Campbell, of Earl of Stair, Duke of Bedford, Lord Ligonier, and other distinguished characters in the army: with some them as an aid; with the rest in the familiarity of a family man. During the last war he had the honor to be employed in the post of Quarter-Master General, in the army under his Royal Highness, the Duke, which he discharged with accuracy, dignity and dispatch. His services in America are well known. By a steady pursuit of well concerted measures, in defiance of disease and numberless obstructions, he brought to a happy issue a most extraordinary campaign, and made a willing sacrifice of his own life to what he valued more—the interests of his king and country. As a man he was just and without prejudice; brave without ostentation; uncommonly warm in his friendships, and incapable of flattery; acquainted with the world and mankind, he was well bred, but absolutely impatient of formality and affectation. As an officer, he was quick to discern useful men and useful measures, generally seeing both at first view, according to their real qualities; steady in his measures, and open to information and council; in command he had dignity without superciliousness; and though perfectly master of the forms, never hesitated to drop them, when the spirit and more essential parts of the service required it.

"Yesterday (14th) he was interred in the Chancel of Christ's Church in this city."¹⁴

¹³"Olden Time;" Vol. I, p. 265. Senator James Ross, of Pittsburgh, is most probably referred to.

¹⁴"Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 189-190.

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Most graphically Dahlinger describes the arrival of Forbes in Pittsburgh:

In the morning the entire army moved forward, eagerly but cautiously. The commander would not allow haste for fear of running into some unknown danger. During the last three miles of the march, the army passed the scattered bodies of those who had fallen two months before, at the defeat of Grant. The route fell into a long open race-path, where the savages had been wont to pass their prisoners through the ordeal of the gauntlet. On either side, a long row of naked stakes was planted in the ground, on each of which, grinned in decaying ghastliness, the severed head of a Highlander, while beneath was exhibited his kilt. This was the Indians' way of displaying their contempt for the "petticoat warriors" who had run away at the time of Grant's rout.

The early winter dusk was stealing on when the army emerged from the leafless woods and reached the height where Grant had been so terribly punished. Here a short halt was ordered. Before them, on the level plain below, were the smoking ruins of the fort. Thirty chimneys rose naked above the ashes of as many houses. Not a Frenchman was to be seen. After the commands had been reformed, with flags flying, drums beating and bagpipes playing, the army marched down the elevation to the plain and onward to the fort. The southern Indians were in advance; after them Colonel Washington and Colonel Armstrong, at the head of the provincials led the way. Of the provincials, Washington's Virginians in their hunting shirts and Indian blankets came first; then followed the Pennsylvanians in green uniforms turned up with buff. Most of the other provincials marched in the dress, now torn and ragged, that they had worn when leaving their usual vocations; interspersed were frontiersmen dressed in buckskins with fringed hunting shirts, leggins and moccasins, and wearing coon-skin caps. Then came General Forbes, now terribly wasted, reclining on his own litter, but with bright eyes and eager interest, directing the march. Colonel Bouquet rode in front of the Royal Americans, who followed the provincials. Their three-cornered hats, and dark scarlet uniforms faced with blue, contrasted markedly with the diversely-clad provincials. The Highlanders, in bonnets and kilts and belted plaids, in a long picturesque line, under their colonel, Montgomery, brought up the rear. Not a spectator was there to observe that imposing martial array but a few vagabond Indians, who had remained to tell of the departure of the Frenchmen.¹⁵

Washington was present alongside of Forbes and Bouquet and John Armstrong and Hugh Mercer and other noted soldiers of the time at the occupation of the site of Fort Duquesne, November 25, 1758. Of the fort but some smoking ruins of the stockade remained. In a letter to Governor Fauquier of Virginia, dated "Camp at Fort Duquesne, 28 November, 1758," Washington writes:

Sir:—I have the pleasure to inform you that Fort Du Quesne, or the ground rather on which it stood was possessed by his Majesty's troops on the 25th instant. The enemy after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burned the Fort, and ran away by the light of it, at night, going down the Ohio by water to the number of about five hundred men, according to our best information. This possession of the Fort has been a matter of surprise to the whole army, and we cannot attribute it to more probable causes than the weakness of the enemy, want of provisions, and the defection of the Indians.

Of these circumstances we were luckily informed by three prisoners, who providentially fell into our hands at Loyal Hanna, where we despaired of proceeding further.

A council of war determined that it was not advisable to advance this season beyond that place but the above information caused us to march on without tents or baggage, and with only a light train of artillery. We have thus happily succeeded. It would be tedious, and I think unnecessary, to relate every trivial circumstance that has happened since my last. To do this, if needful, shall be the employment of a leisure hour when I shall have the pleasure to pay my respects to Your Honor.

¹⁵"1758—Being a Sketch of the Founding of Pittsburgh, etc;" C. W. Dahlinger, pp. 16-17.

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The general intends to wait here a few days to settle matters with the Indians, and then all the troops except a sufficient garrison to secure the place, will march to their respective governments.

Note that Pittsburgh was founded at the time by mere chance—the capture of the prisoners who gave the information that pushed the tired and hungry troops the fifty miles that lay between them and the fort. Of the fatiguing character of the expedition Washington reminds the governor in these words:

I cannot help premising in this place, of the hardships they (the Virginia troops) have undergone, and of their naked condition that you may judge if it is not essential for them to have some little recess from fatigue and time to provide themselves with necessities. At present they are destitute of every comfort of life. If I do not get your orders to the contrary, I shall march the troops under my command directly to Winchester. They may then be disposed of as you shall afterwards direct.

Washington is here hopeful of lasting results. He urges the maintenance of a strong garrison at the "Forks" and urges that Virginia should not neglect any means in her power to hold the place. This was Washington's second visit to the Forks of the Ohio, the first in 1753 with Gist, coming down the Monongahela from Frazier's cabin at Turtle Creek.

About five hundred French retreated, part going down the Ohio, and some overland with the French commander, De Lignery, to Presque Isle and Venango. The fort at the latter place was called by the French Machault. Bancroft's description is pertinent. He says:

As Armstrong's own hand raised the British flag over the ruined bastions of the fortress, as the banners of England floated over the waters, the place at the suggestion of Forbes was with one voice called Pittsburgh.

It is the most enduring monument to William Pitt. America raised to his name statues that have been wrongfully broken and piles of granite of which not one pile remains upon another, but as long as the Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, as long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom, in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the gateway of the West.

John Burk, followed by Irving, says Washington raised the flag over the ruins. Burk should have known. He lived in Virginia in Washington's years and had opportunity to learn the fact. Historians generally ascribe the flag raising to Col. John Armstrong, hero of Kittanning.¹⁶

Bradley tells well the story of subsequent events:

¹⁶"History of the United States;" Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 495. Irving's "Washington;" Vol. I, p. 288, and "History of Virginia;" Burk, Vol. III, p. 236, where we read: "A short time after the explosion, Colonel Washington, with the advanced guard, entered the fortress amidst the ruins still smoking, and planted the British flag; but the enemy were beyond reach of attack, having dropt down to their settlement at Presque'-isle and Venango."

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It now only remained to make the fort good for the reception of a winter garrison, and to re-name it. The heroic Forbes had entirely collapsed from the fatigue of the march, and for some days his life was hanging in the balance. Once again, however, the strong will conquered and he was carried out among his men to superintend their operations. A new and suitable name for the conquered fortress was not hard to find, and Duquesne became Fort Pitt, after the great minister whose spirit had here, as everywhere, been the source of British triumph. Colonel Mercer, with some Virginians and Pennsylvanians, was left in charge of the fort, and towards the close of December, Forbes stretched upon his litter, was borne feet foremost in the midst of his remaining troops on the weary homeward journey through the freezing forests. Though his weakness and his suffering grew worse rather than better, his mind at last, was now at ease. His task was accomplished and Ticonderoga was the only failure of the year. The French were driven from the West, their connections between Canada and Louisiana severed, their prestige with the Indians broken, and the demon of Indian warfare on the Allegheny frontier apparently laid. That all this might have been achieved the next year, or the year after, is no answer to the decisive nature of Forbes' work. There might have been no next year, or year after, for military achievements in America. Peace in Europe was at any moment possible. Events there might take a sudden turn that would make boundary lines on the American wilderness appear to most men a secondary matter. Pitt cherished no such illusions now; his intentions to drive the French from America were fixed and clear. But circumstances at home might weaken his arm; or he might die, for his life was none of the best, and it was of vital import that every stroke should be driven home before a general peace was made. A French garrison anywhere in America would have been hard to move by diplomatic means when once the sword was sheathed."

The little garrison left by General Forbes to hold the now historic Forks of the Ohio had much to do. Their first duties were sad in the extreme. The bodies of those who had fallen in the fatal engagement on Grant's Hill yet lay scattered on the field, scalped and mutilated. These were gathered and given Christian interment. Then burial parties went to Braddock's battleground and gathered the whitened bones of those sacrificed there, and these were also committed to soldiers' graves. The capture of Fort Duquesne was hailed everywhere throughout the colonies as a harbinger of better days. The ambitious views of the French in extending their settlements to the Mississippi had been frustrated; the friendship of the Indians had been regained. They were no longer the allies of the French and herein is the story of the daring and suffering of Christian Frederick Post. Conferences were immediately held at the site of Duquesne and the Delawares were the first to sue for peace. This conference was held by Colonel Bouquet, with George Croghan, deputy under Sir William Johnson, commissioner of Indian affairs, present, and Col. John Armstrong and other officers also, with Capt. Henry Montour interpreter.

Subsequent conferences were held at the new Fort Pitt, participated in by Colonel Mercer, Croghan, Trent and Thomas McKee, assistants to Croghan, with Montour, "Joe" Hickman and other inter-

"Fight with France for North America;" pp. 283-284.

preters. All the tribes that ranged the region seem to have participated and everything went along nicely until Pontiac decreed otherwise.

The French had occupied their stronghold here and the key to the West but a short time comparatively. Four years and eight months in all, but in that time an appalling amount of suffering and bloodshed had fallen upon the English. It was a period memorable for the terrors and cruelties of unsparing warfare from the time Ensign Edward Ward had been foiled at the approach of the formidable and motley-manned flotilla of Contrecoeur, leaving the unfinished fortification upon which rose Fort Duquesne, and happy indeed was the day when the proud flag of England floated in triumph from its fire-scathed walls.

Dr. Cyrus Townsend Brady esteems Forbes a hero if ever there was one. He calls attention to the fact that there is no mention of him in the "Encyclopedia Britannica" and none in a monumental work entitled "The Dictionary of National Biography." Brady says Forbes was "a man of liberal and enlightened views, courteous in his bearing, and tactful in his methods, but determined—terribly resolute. By his generous and kindly manner, he attached to himself those whom Braddock and his officers had alienated by their contempt. The general was in himself a host."

Parkman says: "If Forbes' achievement was not brilliant, its solid value was above price. It opened the great West to English enterprise, took from France half her savage allies and relieved the Western borders from the scourge of Indian war. The frontier population had cause to bless the memory of the steadfast and all-enduring soldier."

It was the beginning of the end of New France in America, the passing of that strange civilization Parkman has so beautifully described when in reverie, to him:

Again their ghostly camp-fires seem to burn, and the fitful light is cast around on lord and vassal and black-robed priest, mingled with wild forms of savage warriors, knit in close fellowship on the same stern errand. A boundless vision grows upon us, an untamed continent; vast wastes of forest verdure; mountains silent in primeval sleep; river, lake, and glimmering pool; wilderness oceans mingling with the sky. Such was the domain which France conquered for civilization. Plumed helmets gleamed in the shade of its forests, priestly vestments in its dens and fastnesses of ancient barbarism. Men steeped in antique learning, pale with the close breath of the cloister, here spent the noon and evening of their lives, ruled savage hordes with a mild hand, parental sway, and stood serene before the direst shapes of death. Men of courtly nurture, heirs to the polish of a far-reaching ancestry, here, with their dauntless hardihood, put to shame the boldest sons of toil.

"I HAVE CALLED THE PLACE PITTSBURGH"

It all passed, and in its stead there came that civilization that grew out of the march of the pioneers, whose emblem, an axe, was the symbol of progress. One highway of the marchers was through Pittsburgh and Pittsburgh grew apace thereby. Speaking of the Valley of the Mississippi a recent historian says:

The valley heard, as I have said, hardly a sound of the Seven Years' War, the "Old French War" as Parkman called it. Only on its border was there the slightest bloodshed. All it knew was that the *fleur-de-lis* flag no longer waved along its river and that after a few years men came with axes and plows through the passes in the mountains carrying an emblem that had never grown in European fields—a new flag among national banners. They were bearing, to be sure, a constitution and institutions strange to France, but only less to England, and perhaps no less strange to other nations of Europe.

I emphasize this because our great debt to the English antecedents has obscured the fact that the great physical heritage between the mountains, consecrated of Gallic spirit, came, in effect, directly from the hands that won its first title, the French, into the hands of American settlers, at the moment when a "separate and individual people" were "springing into national life."

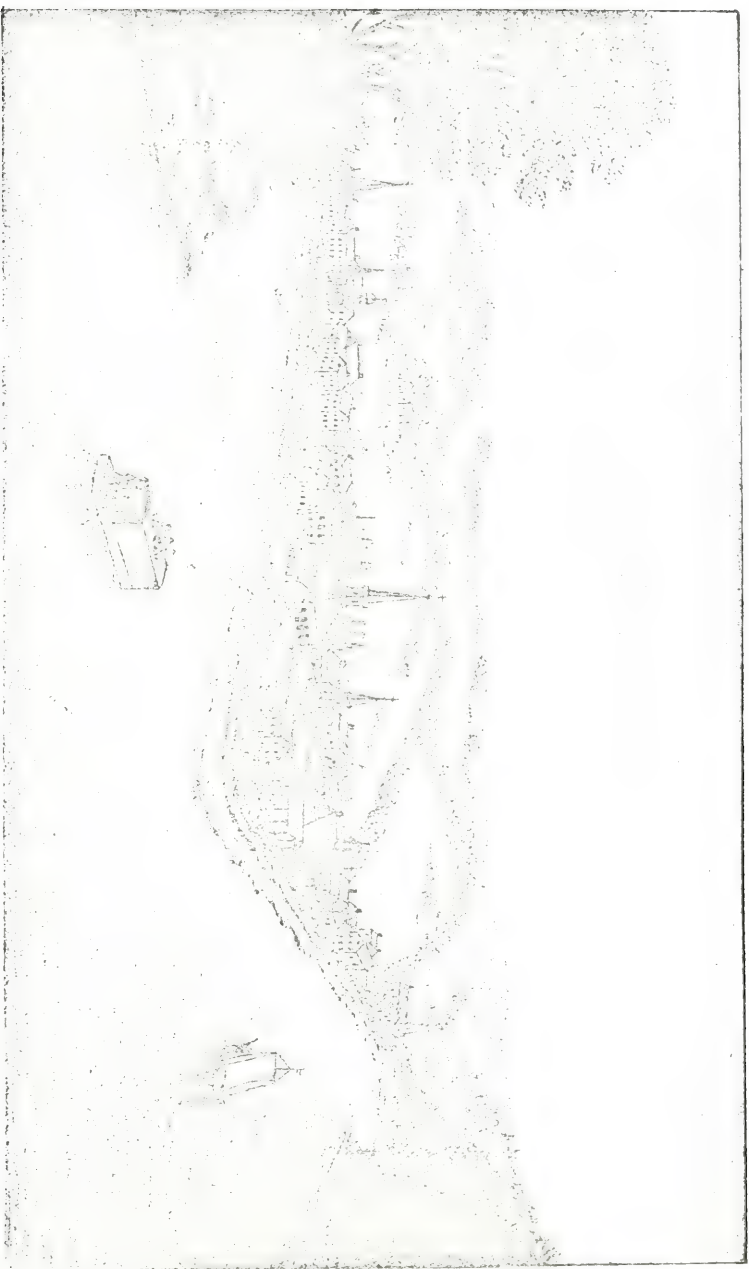
But this is the story of the "Winning of the West," in which Pittsburgh had its full share.

* * *

General Forbes and his army left Pittsburgh on December 3, 1758, and arrived in Philadelphia on January 17, 1759. The winter having set in, there was no possibility of erecting a permanent fort at the Forks, not alone by reason of weather conditions but for lack of workmen and materials. It was the firm intention of the British Government to hold the place at all hazards, for as it had been a vantage point for the French, it was to be likewise for the new power in control. Accordingly Forbes' men had immediately set to work to build a temporary fortification, the site slightly southeast of the ruins of Fort Duquesne. The cabins that had stood around the French fort were mostly destroyed, and as there had been much ground cleared about it, there was no delay in preparing a site for the new work. This was a square stockade with a bastion at each angle, and was erected on the banks of the Monongahela between what is now Liberty and West streets. The Map of Pittsburgh in 1795 shows that the eastern bastion crossed West street, and the western bastion extended to within 125 feet of the southerly line of Liberty street. From the plan obtained by William G. Johnston, the distance from one stockade to the opposite was 290 feet.¹⁸

Craig in his history states that it is not known precisely when this temporary work was completed; most probably about January 1,

¹⁸"Life and Reminiscences," W. G. Johnston. See plan opposite his p. 22.



PITTSBURGH IN 1817

From a Sketch by Mrs. E. C. Gibson, Wife of James Gibson, Esq., of Philadelphia

1759, for Colonel Hugh Mercer, who was left in command, wrote on January 8th: "This garrison now consists of 280 men and is capable of some defense though huddled up in a very hasty manner, the weather being extremely severe."

A letter from William Pitt to Governor Denny, of Pennsylvania, shows that Fort Pitt was built by special orders from the King. The letter is dated Whitehall, January 23, 1759. An extract reads:

Sir: I am now to acquaint you that the King has been pleased, immediately upon receiving the account of the Success of his Arms on the River Ohio, to direct the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America, and Brigadier-General Forbes to lose no time in Concerting the properest and speediest means for completely restoring, if possible, the ruined Fort Duquesne to a defensible and respectable State, or for erecting another in the Room of it, of Sufficient Strength and every Way adequate to the great importance of the several objects of maintaining His Majesty's Subjects on the undisputed Possession of the Ohio; of Effectually cutting off all Trade and Communication this Way, between Canada and the Western and Southern Indians; of protecting the British Colonies from the Incursions to which they have been exposed since the French built the above Fort, and thereby made themselves Masters of the Navigation of the Ohio; and of fixing again the Several Indian Nations in their Alliance with and dependance upon His Majesty's Government."

The fort at Redstone creek was called Fort Burd. After Forbes' successful campaign it became necessary to establish more intimate and accessible communication between the little settlement around Redstone "Old Fort" and the new Fort Pitt, "and also the establishment of others appurtenant to prevent predatory incursions of the savages into the settled parts of the territory," wrote James L. Bowman, of Brownsville, in his sketch of that place.

Colonel Burd was dispatched with 200 men to cut a road from Braddock's road to the Monongahela so as to secure a more direct communication with Fort Pitt. This road of Burd's was selected by the commissioners in laying out the route of the National road from Brownsville, and but slight deviation made from it and Braddock's road. Traders and hunters continued for some years to call Fort Burd the "Old Fort," which, according to Veech, stood on the site of the new work. Burd had been instructed by Bouquet to march from Carlisle with the battalion of the King's troops, and when his work was completed to garrison the fort with an officer and 25 men and march the remainder of his battalion to Fort Pitt. Fort Burd was erected in accordance with the science of backwoods fortifications of the times, with bastions, ditch and draw-bridge, built wholly of earth and wood. The bastions and central "house" were of timbers laid horizontally, and the "curtains" were of logs set vertically

¹⁹"Colonial Records;" Vol. VIII, p. 315.

in the ground, like posts in close contact; thus forming a stockade or palisadoes. The plans of Fort Burd can be seen in the "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, Vol. XII, p. 347. Joseph Shippen, who accompanied Colonel Burd, was the engineer. The log house in the center, to contain the women and children, was 39 feet square. The curtains were 97½ feet, the flanks 16, the faces of the bastions 30 feet. The ditch between the bastions was 24 feet wide, and opposite the faces 12 feet. The gate was six feet wide and eight feet high. The width of the drawbridge has not been recorded, probably wide enough for a wagon to cross, or artillery. This fort became famous, and one of the best known in the Western region. For a time during Pontiac's war the fort was abandoned for want of men to garrison it.

With Fort Ligonier, Fort Burd was a main place of refuge on the lines of communication from Fort Pitt. Each figured extensively in our frontier history. As Mercer stated, the greater part of his battalion was kept employed keeping up communication, and the two forts were of urgent need. While Burd was employed at old Redstone, work was going on apace at the new Fort Pitt, as Stanwix's letters testify. On October 18th, Stanwix wrote Denny as follows:

We are proceeding here to establish a good post by erecting a respectable fort. Our advancements are far unequal to my wishes, beginning so very late as the 10th of September which was as soon as I got up working tools, and have continued as many troops here as I can feed for the work, to have been often brought to eight days' provisions. It is this that must bound every enterprise of every sort in this so distant a country, and all land carriages. The troops in the garrison, and on the communication, suffered greatly by death and desertions, although they were then paid to the first of October, and now only to the first of August.

Stanwix wrote Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, who had succeeded Denny, a letter dated "Camp at Pittsburgh, 8th December, 1759," in which he stated that:

The works here are now carried on to that degree of defence which was at first prepared for this year, so that I am now forming a winter garrison which is to consist of 300 provincials, one half Pennsylvanians, the other Virginians, and 400 of the first battalion of the Royal American Regiment, the whole to be under the command of Major Tulikens when I leave it. These I hope I shall be able to cover well under good barracks, and feed likewise, for six months from the first of January; besides artillery officers and batteaux men, Indians must be fed and they are not a few that come and go and trade here and will expect provisions from us, in which at least at present they must not be disappointed.

Craig wrote: "The work, erected by Gen. Stanwix, was five sided, though not all equal, as Washington erroneously stated in his journal in 1770." Washington said in 1770:

"I HAVE CALLED THE PLACE PITTSBURGH"

The fort is built on the point near the rivers Allegheny and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Du Quesne stood. It is five sided and regular, two of which near the land are of brick; the others stockade. A moat encompasses it. The garrison consists of two companies of Royal Irish commanded by Captain Edmondstone.

Charles Edmonstone was a captain in the 18th Regiment of Foot, the Royal Irish; his commission as captain dated May 27, 1758. Edmondstone was promoted steadily, for the records show that he was lieutenant-colonel of the 18th from 1768-1773. Craig alludes to him as Major Edmonstone in 1772, when orders came from Gage, then commander-in-chief in North America, to abandon Fort Pitt, which orders Edmonstone carried out. Craig had some recollections of what remained of Fort Pitt in his boyhood. His father, Maj. Isaac Craig, and his grandfather, Gen. John Neville, could describe it accurately to him. Craig said:

The earth around the proposed work was dug and thrown up so as to enclose the selected position with a rampart of earth. One of the two sides facing the country was supported by what the military men call a revetment,—a brick work, nearly perpendicular, supporting the rampart on the outside, and thus presenting an obstacle to the enemy, not easily overcome. On the other three sides, the earth in the rampart had no support, and, of course, it presented a more inclined surface to the enemy—one which could readily be ascended. To remedy, in some degree, this defect in the work, a line of pickets was fixed on the outside of the foot of the slope of the rampart. Around the whole work was a wide ditch which would, of course, be filled with water when the river was at a moderate stage. In the summer, however, when the river was low, the ditch was dry and perfectly smooth, so that the officers and men had a bail-alley in the ditch, and against the revetments. This ditch extended from the salient angle of the north bastion—that is, the point of the fort which approached nearest Marbury Street, back of the South end of Hoke's Row—down to the Allegheny where Marbury Street strikes it. This part of the ditch, during our boyhood, and even since, called Butler's Gut, from the circumstance of Gen. Richard Butler and Col. Wm. Butler resided nearest it,—their houses being the same which now stand at the corner on the south side of Penn and east side of Marbury.²⁰ Another to Barbeau.

part of the ditch extended to the Monongahela, a little west of West Street, and a third debouche into the river was made just about the end of Penn Street.

The redoubt, which still remains near the Point, the last relic of British labor at this place, was not erected until 1764. The other redoubt, which stood at the mouth of Redoubt Alley, was erected by Col. Wm. Grant; and our recollection is, that the year mentioned on the stone tablet was 1765, but we are not positive of that point. Judge Brackenridge, in a communication in the first number of the Pittsburgh Gazette, on the 29th of July, 1786, stated that this fort cost the British Government sixty thousand pounds sterling.²¹

There has been much discussion concerning Brackenridge's estimate of the cost of Fort Pitt. Many have believed that a typographical error was made making Brackenridge say £60,000, when he wrote £6,000, which seemed more reasonable. That Brackenridge meant the greater figures, there can be no doubt. His communications to "The Gazette" beginning with the first issue, ran weekly

²⁰In 1868 Marbury street was numbered Third, in 1910 this designation was changed

²¹"History of Pittsburgh;" Craig (Edition 1917), pp. 71-72. "Olden Time;" Vol. I, pp. 196-197.

until September, and he had ample opportunity for correcting any errors. He is discredited in this respect, however, for his extravagant statement regarding the population of the town in 1786, made in these communications—100 houses in which there dwelt 1,500 people. As the houses were mostly log cabins, it will be readily acknowledged that fifteen people to a house must have crowded them to some degree.²² Brackenridge, who came to Pittsburgh in 1781, could easily describe Fort Pitt as he found it and knew it for more than ten years, indeed until its complete demolition. In his "Gazette" stories in 1786, under the heading "On the Situation of the Town of Pittsburgh and the State of Society at that place," he records:

On this point stood the old French fort known by the name of Fort Duquesne, which was evacuated and blown up by the French in the campaign of the British under Gen. Forbes. The appearance of the ditch and mound, with the salient angle and bastions, still remain so as to prevent that perfect level of the ground which otherwise would exist. It has been long overgrown with the finest verdure, and depastured on by cattle; but since the town has been laid out it has been enclosed and buildings are erected.

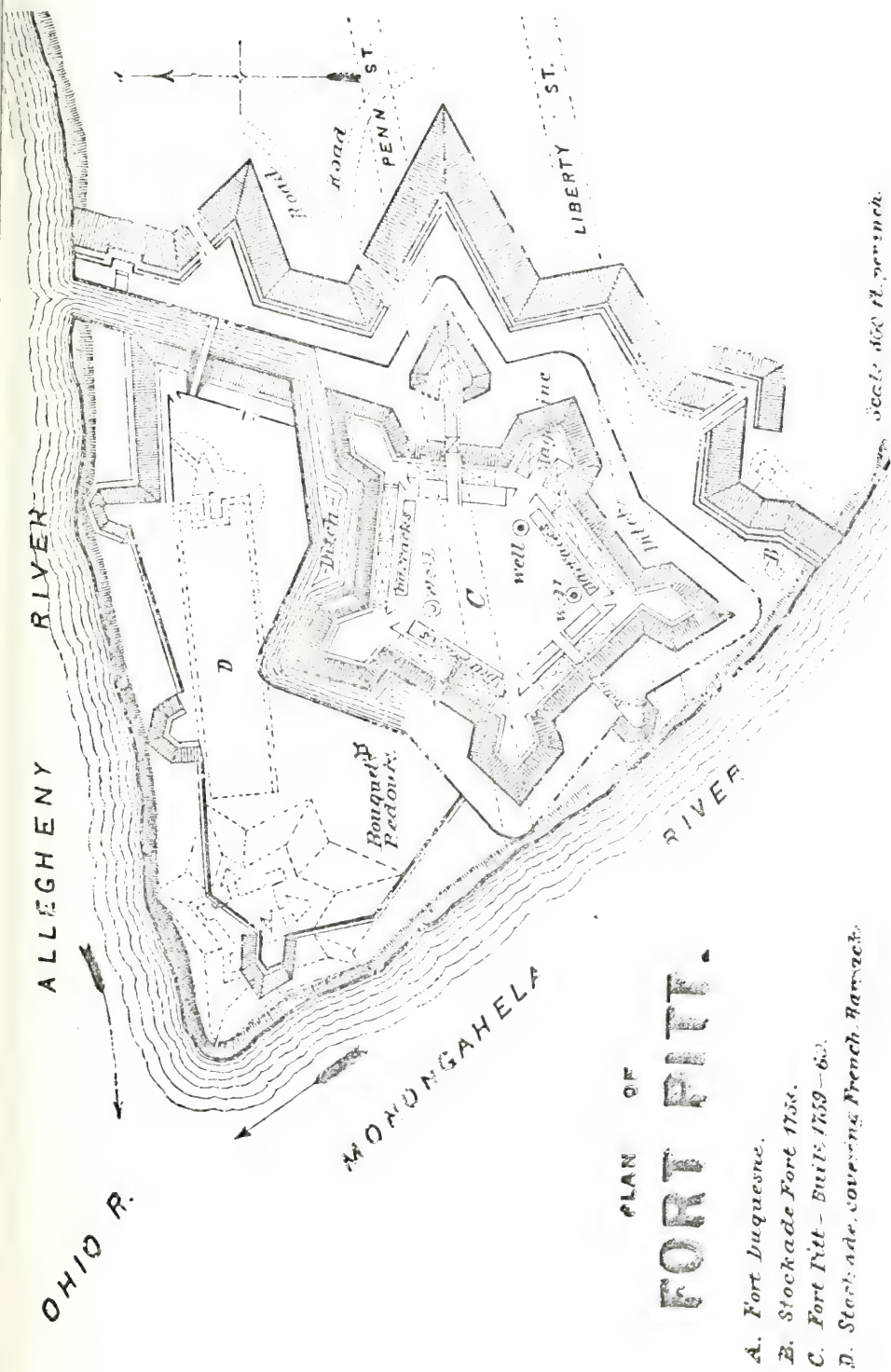
Just above these works is the present garrison, built by Gen. Stanwix, and is said to have cost the Crown of Britain £60,000. Be that as it may it has been a work of great labor and of little use—for, situated on a plain, it is commanded by heights and rising ground on every side, and some, at less than the distance of a mile. The fortification is regular, constructed to the rules of art, and about three years ago put into good repair by Gen. Irwin, who commanded at this post. It has the advantage of an excellent magazine built of stone, but the time is come and it is hoped will not again return, when the use of this garrison is at an end.²³

Although Brackenridge's estimate of the cost of Fort Pitt has been controverted, it has never been refuted, for no reliable evidence has been produced to refute it. Per contra, we have Arthur Lee's estimate, which in comparison is ridiculous: Lee says: "Fort Pitt is regularly built, cost the Crown £600, and is commanded by cannon from the opposite bank of the Monongahela and from a hill above the town called Grant's Hill from the catastrophe that befell General Grant at that place."²⁴ Either Lee left out a cipher, or Brackenridge added one; so most writers of history are inclined to compromise on £6,000 as the cost of famous Fort Pitt. Brackenridge's reference to "Gen. Irwin" is to be taken to mean Gen. Wil-

²²"History of Pittsburgh;" Craig (Edition 1917), pp. 187-188.

²³"History of Pittsburgh;" Craig (Edition 1917), pp. 181-182. "Annals of the West;" J. R. Albach, pp. 423-424. "History of Allegheny County;" Warner & Co., p. 498. "History of Pittsburgh;" S. H. Killikelly, p. 94. "History Western Pennsylvania," etc.; App., p. 310. After his removal to Carlisle, Brackenridge's contributions to the first issues of the "Pittsburgh Gazette" were published in book form, under the title "Gazette Publications"—now very rare. The full title to these articles as it appeared in the first number of the Gazette is: "Observations on the Country at the Head of the Ohio River, with Digressions on Various Subjects, July 29th, 1786."

²⁴"Journal of Arthur Lee;" Dec. 17, 1784. Reproduced in the "Olden Time;" Vol. II, p. 334, *et seq.*



A. Fort Duquesne.

B. Stockade Fort 1754.

C. Fort Pitt - Built 1759-60.

D. Stockade, covering French Ramparts.

PLAN OF THE NEW FORT AT PITTSBURGH, NOVEMBER, 1759

Second or Permanent Fort Pitt

liam Irvine; Lee's to General Grant was correct at the time Lee wrote. On Grant's Hill, in 1758, Grant's rank was major. Lee could have said that the fort was commanded also by a hill on the north side of the Allegheny as close to the fort as Grant's Hill—Seminary Hill, first called The Hogback, and since 1870, Monument Hill. Fort Pitt, however, was never subjected to artillery fire. Such fire from the many heights would have quickly reduced it to a heap of ruins. It was a defence against enemies who would come against it by water and without heavy artillery, or with slight ordnance, if any. A batteau would convey nothing heavier than a four-pound gun. A return of the artillery at Fort Pitt, April 4, 1759, shows that there were mounted "2 royal hoitsters [howitzers], 6 cohorns, and a proportion of shott and grape shott and shells." This report was signed "Hugh Mereer, Col. of ye Pa. Rt."²⁵

The fort was designed for a garrison of one thousand men, and could mount eighteen pieces of artillery. That it did protect many hundreds will be apparent in the account of the siege by GUYASUTHA in 1763.

Day, in his history of Allegheny county, in his "Collections," has inserted several pages of Craig's writings, introducing them with the paragraph: "The following extracts are taken from three numbers published by Neville B. Craig in the 'Pittsburgh Gazette' for 1841." In describing the first fort here, Day quotes: "The first Fort Pitt, a slight work, composed of pickets, with a shallow and narrow ditch, was hastily thrown up for the reception of 220 men. That work was intended for a temporary purpose, and in the summer of 1759 Gen. Stanwix arrived and commenced the erection of Fort Pitt. The draught of that work was made by R. Rutzer, who probably superintended the work as engineer."²⁶

Day inserted the well-known and oft-published plan of the second work, with references, and proceeded to say: "The preceding plan is a reduced copy of the draught made by Engineer Rutzer in 1761

²⁵"Pennsylvania Archives;" First Series, p. 581.

²⁶The author of the work from which this chapter is taken (Mr. Fleming) added the following explanatory note:

"Since this was put in type the author has had access to a work entitled "A Regimental Chronicle and List of Officers of the 60th, or King's Royal Rifle Corps," by N. B. Wallace, published in London in 1879, in which Bernard Ratzer is registered as a lieutenant from 1756. It is evident that "Rutzer" is the misspelling of Ratzer. On the authority of Wallace, Ratzer did draw the plan. See his book, pp. 74, 95-106, and "Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine," January, 1922, Charles W. Dahlinger's article, "Fort Pitt," Chapter II. and insert plan.

and afterwards given to George III., and by George IV. presented to the British Museum. From the original a copy was made for the Hon. Richard Biddle, of Pittsburgh, during his visit to London in 1830. In the southeast bastion Mr. Rutzer places two magazines marked 'dd' on his plan. Within a few years past a single stone magazine stood in that place, erected it is said, by Maj. Isaac Craig, in 1781."²⁷ In a copy of Day's book (p. 78) once owned by Judge James Veech, now in the Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Veech has a pencil annotation: "It was Harry Gordon, Engineer, and not Rutzer." Gordon will be remembered as one of Braddock's engineers, and wounded in Braddock's battle. Gordon was in Pittsburgh as late as September, 1765, having been sent there by Gage to accompany Croghan to the West, proceeding down the Ohio to Fort Chartres. Gordon kept a journal of this trip.²⁸

There is no doubt that Gordon designed and superintended the erection of the second Fort Pitt. The "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania" attest his arrival, as Mercer reported. Rutzer must have made the plan in London, and nearly two years after the completion of the fort. Craig has nothing of Rutzer in his "History," or the "Olden Time." Day may be wrong in the date of Craig's history in the "Pittsburgh Gazette." That it was 1841 cannot be verified for there is no complete file of the "Gazette" for that year, and none for 1842. "This draft gives us reliable data of the fort", but not the only data, for there are Craig's recollections of it in his "History." Rutzer could not have been one of Gordon's detail on the work, for his name as an officer is not on the army registers. Gordon is down in the army records of officers serving in America as engineer in ordinary and captain from January 4, 1758. He was a lieutenant-colonel of the line in 1777. This is Sargent's footnote in his "History of Braddock's Expedition" (page 364). It was the custom in the British army to confer rank in the army as well as in the regiment. Gordon was a lieutenant in the 62d Regiment of Foot from February 12, 1756, and captain in the 60th from April 16, 1759, according to Ford's records.⁴² The 62d Regiment was commanded by John, the Earl of Loudon, to 1756, January 1st, when Stanwix succeeded him.⁴³ The 60th Regiment served in America from 1758-1763 under Abercrombie first, and from 1759 under Am-

²⁷"Historical Collections of Pennsylvania," Sherman Day, 1843, pp. 76, 78; Craig's "Pittsburgh," Edn. 1917, p. 270; "American Pioneer," Vol. I, p. 237.

²⁸"The Wilderness Trail," Hanna, Vol. II, pp. 40-55.



THE BLOCK HOUSE IN 1872

From a Wood Cut made by Jacob Beeson in John W. Pittock's Leader Almanac

herst. It was previously numbered the 62d. Amherst succeeded Abercrombie when the latter was promoted to lieutenant-general." There is always a distinction to be noted between officers of the regular establishment or those commissioned by the King, and those of the provincial militia or levies. Mercer and Burd were colonial officers in the Pennsylvania service, although Mercer was a Virginian. There were colonials in the regular service, notably Horatio Gates, and Thomas Hutchins as noted *ante*. Gates, however, was a native of England, and though with Braddock as a colonial, served in the British army before coming to America.

That a collection of log huts arose immediately around Fort Pitt, there can be no doubt. The traders who came to the locality, the purveyors to the army, and the camp followers, could not be provided for within the limited quarters provided for the troops. Necessarily they were compelled to furnish their own quarters. The name of the town was contemporary with the fort. The first authentic mention of the town as a place of permanent habitation will be found in Colonel Burd's journal. Burd, in command of his battalion, arrived in Pittsburgh on Sunday, July 6, 1760, and remained on duty here with his command until the following November. His command is often referred to as the Augusta Regiment. He recorded in his journal two weeks after his arrival:

21st. Monday.—To-day numbered the houses at Pittsburgh, and made a return of the number of people—men, women and children—that do not belong to the army:

Number of houses, 146; number of unfinished houses, 19; number of huts, 36; total, 201.

Number of men, 88; number of women, 29; number of male children, 14; number of female children, 18; total, 149.

Under his tabulation, Burd has this footnote: "N.B.—The above houses exclusive of those in the Fort: in the Fort five long barricks and a long casimitt"—by this last word he evidently meant a casement.

Colonel Bouquet came back to Pittsburgh as Burd records in his journal: "Sunday, 6th July, 1760—This day arrived with the Pennsylvania Regt. at Pittsburgh, Col. Bouquet, to march tomorrow to Presqueel, with a Detachmt. of 400 Royal Americans, 100 Virginians."

* * *

To make clear the history of the three forts at the Forks of the Ohio, the following resumé is appended:

Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt as terms are used interchangeably by some historians—however, never by real historians. Even the block house erected by Col. Henry Bouquet has been made to serve as both forts as occasion or whim demanded.

To get at the facts in proper order, let us always remember that Fort Duquesne was built by the French forces under Contrecoeur, who surprised and captured Ensign Edward Ward, second in command of a small Virginia detachment under Capt. William Trent, April 17, 1754. The French fort that arose in place of the little work begun by the Virginians was named in honor of Duquesne de Menneville, then governor-general at Quebec. It was burned November 24, 1758, when the army under Gen. John Forbes was within a day's march of the Forks of the Ohio, or while at Turtle Creek on the just completed Forbes road. The smoke of the fort apparent, the army hastened its footsteps to find the fort a ruin.

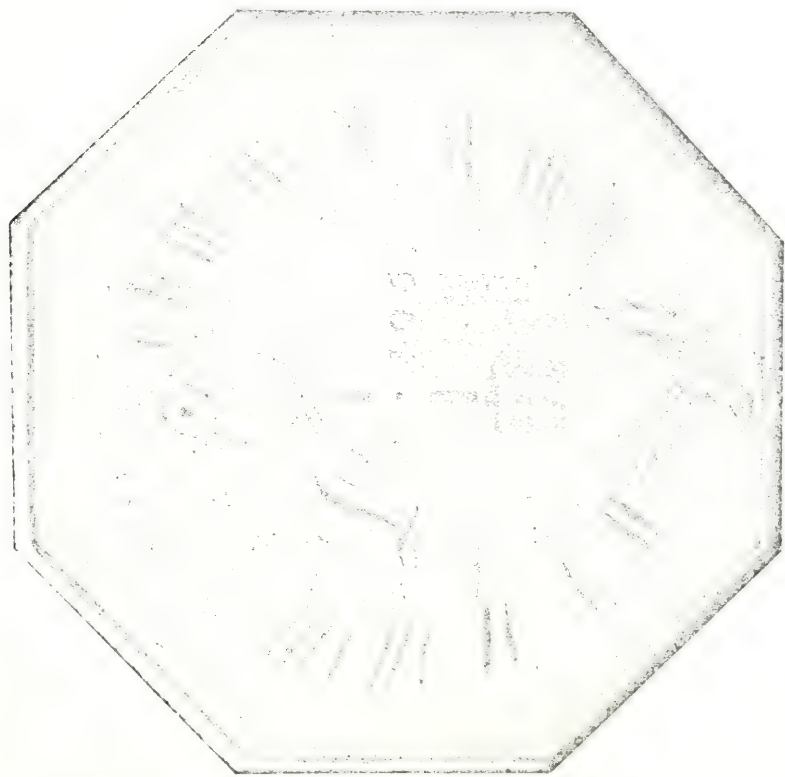
Then arose the first Fort Pitt in December, 1758, the command of which was given to that gallant Virginian, Colonel Hugh Mercer. This fort was about four hundred yards from Fort Duquesne, that is to say, the site of that fortification or its remains.

The next year there was built by the orders of the British ministry by General John Stanwix who came here, the second, or permanent Fort Pitt, which lasted until 1791. It was a really formidable work for a wilderness fort. Bouquet, who was at the taking of Fort Duquesne, or what remained of it, November 25, 1758, was here again with his succoring force fresh from his great victory over Guyasutha at Bushy Run, August 5, 1763. The next year, before his departure on the expedition to the Muskingum country, he had erected outside the main walls of Fort Pitt the pentagon shaped little blockhouse that has remained to us. It was intended as an outpost for riflemen to prevent surprise by any enemies entering within the outer fortifications by reason of low water in the rivers and the draining of the ditches. The original rifle holes may be seen in the building. Fort Pitt was five sided, necessitating the block house likewise. In the wall of the block house Bouquet placed the stone tablet that is now seen there, reading: "A. D. 1764, Coll Bouquet." The abbreviation is with two ls, an old time form, and after the A and D are stars. After the date and the abbreviation, "Coll." is a sign that resembles the letter S on its side.

This tablet fully establishes the date of erection and the builder.



ALLEGHENY ARSENAL IN CIVIL WAR



SUN DIAL, FORT PITT

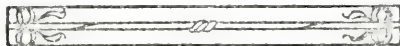
We now come to the query: "How can a small brick block house, sixteen feet front, figure as a formidable earthwork that was blown up six years previous to the erection of the block house?" Similarly: "How can Fort Pitt, the second fortress, be confounded with the French Fort Duquesne which passed out of existence at least ten months before any work was done on Pitt?"

In fact, these forts had nothing in common save that they were built for a similar purpose: each was intended to further and perpetuate the sovereignty of the nation whose flag it flew. The close proximity of their sites has confused many, especially those who "did not stop to think."

* * *

It will not be denied that Bouquet's name is a household word in Pittsburgh, the city he helped to found, and which he preserved by his valor and military skill. In our little relic of British sovereignty here, Bouquet's Block House, built by him in 1764 within the walls of Fort Pitt, we behold the only monument of that sovereignty, and also of the gallant Swiss officer whose memory it perpetuates. That we have opportunity to behold is due to the persistent and successful efforts of Mrs. Edith Darlington Ammon, daughter of Mary Carson Darlington, who died in 1920, and the Pittsburgh Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. These patriotic women secured from Mrs. Schenley, who owned the Block House, a deed of it, and then under Mrs. Ammon's direction and efforts an act of Assembly was passed forbidding the operation of the law of eminent domain against historical landmarks in Pennsylvania. Ecuyer has no commemoration here; nor has Haldiman.

Thanks are indeed due to the Daughters of the American Revolution for preserving Bouquet's blockhouse, the oldest work of man in or about Pittsburgh, and the last remaining vestige of British dominion in Western Pennsylvania.



American Physicians in the Field of Literature

BY CHARLES A. INGRAHAM, M.D., CAMBRIDGE, NEW YORK.

T would be interesting to learn definitely concerning the proportion of eminent literary names to be found respectively in the professions of law, medicine and theology; a cursory investigation seems to indicate that clergymen are far in the lead, with lawyers and doctors about evenly divided. There is difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, however, owing to the difference of opinion as to what literature consists of. Practically every professional man is competent to prepare essays upon subjects belonging to his own vocation, but such writings of a medical character are not to be much considered here, only such authors, with a few exceptions, being introduced as are litterateurs of a non-professional and high standard. Legal, medical and theological books, magazines and pamphlets, are constantly appearing to swell the vast aggregation of former years; but, while able and useful, they are technical, and hence have little or no literary appeal. Nevertheless, the writer confesses that he has found it somewhat difficult in certain instances to draw a distinct line of demarcation between didactic and purely literary material, and has therefore allowed himself considerable latitude in the selection and treatment of certain cases.

Though one at first thought might conclude otherwise, the study and practice of medicine is not conducive to the literary mind and attitude. That the chastening effect of observing so much suffering and the acquirement of so intimate a knowledge of character should well equip a physician for the task of literary work, while having a degree of reason, is not a valid contention. In fact, the very elements which are essential for the successful writer—sympathetic appreciation and a sensitiveness to all phases of the humanities—disqualify the doctor for the most effective practice of his profession. For he should be, first of all, a scientific man, and though an admixture of a fair measure of solicitude and amiability is desirable in him, if he really enters into the discomforts and pains



DR. WILLIAM J. MACNEVEN

of his patients, as a great writer does into the experiences of his characters, he will become nerve-racked and unfitted to minister to the sick. Hence, it is rare to find a successful physician or surgeon who is a sentimentalist. In all the medical works which the writer has perused, nothing but a dry, concise statement of scientific facts has been found, and the same may be said of the lecture courses which he attended in the medical college. The only exception was the reciting of a poem, "Lines to a Skeleton," by Professor James H. Armsby, of the Albany Medical College. He was lecturing on the bones of the skull, and with a ghastly-grinning skeleton before him, paused and repeated the verses from memory. The manuscript of the poem, evidently the work of some literary celebrity of its day, was found a great many years ago in the Royal College of Surgeons, London, and near a skeleton. Though a liberal reward was offered for the name of the author, his identity was never ascertained. The poem follows:

•

LINES TO A SKELETON.

Behold this ruin! 'Twas a skull,
Once of ethereal spirit full.
This narrow cell was life's retreat,
This space was thought's mysterious seat.
What beauteous visions filled this spot,
What dreams of pleasure long forgot?
Nor hope, nor joy, nor love, nor fear,
Have left one trace of record here.

Beneath this moldering canopy
Once shone the bright and busy eye;
But start not at the dismal void;
If social love that eye employed,
If with no lawless fire it gleamed
But through the dews of kindness beamed,—
That eye shall be forever bright
When stars and sun are sunk in night.

Within this hollow cavern hung
The ready, swift and tuneful tongue;
If falsehood's honey it disdained,
And when it could not praise was chained;
If bold in virtue's cause it spoke,
Yet gentle concord never broke,—
This silent tongue shall plead for thee
When Time unveils Eternity!

Say, did these fingers delve the mine,
Or with the envied rubies shine?
To hew the rock or wear the gem
Can little now avail to them.
But if the page of truth they sought,
Or comfort to the mourner brought,
These hands a richer meed shall claim
Than all that wait on wealth and fame.

Avails it whether bare or shod
 These feet the paths of duty trod?
 If from the bowers of ease they fled,
 To seek affliction's humble shed;
 If grandeur's guilty bribe they spurned,
 And home to virtue's cot returned,—
 These feet with angel wings shall vie,
 And tread the palace of the sky.

The medical men who are listed in this discussion are such as have been selected, not as embracing every star of literature in the American profession, but as being all that could be accommodated in the limits of this paper. It is quite probable, too, that persons more deserving than some of those whose names appear, have been omitted; but, while the list is not comprehensive, it is perhaps fairly illustrative from colonial times of what our physicians have accomplished in the realm of letters.

It is a singular fact that the first medical degree conferred in this country was upon a foreigner and non-resident, viz., Daniel Turner, of England. An able physician and prolific writer on medical subjects, he yet was unable to obtain more than a licentiate's recognition in his own country. He therefore sent a gift of a small collection of books, including several of his own authorship, to Yale College, naively adding as a postscript to his accompanying letter, that a diploma conferring upon him the doctoral degree would be acceptable. Yale, being then young and impecunious, granted Dr. Turner the coveted honor in the following year, 1723. His letter, written in Latin, together with the larger part of the original volumes which he donated, and his portrait, are preserved in the Library of Yale University. He was worthy of the honor bestowed upon him, and ever after proudly appended "M.D." to his name.

The first woman in the United States to obtain the degree of Doctor of Medicine was Elizabeth Blackwell. She was English by birth, coming to this country when at the age of ten years. At that time the prospect of the conferring of a medical degree upon a woman, to say nothing of woman suffrage, appeared as remote as the millennium. But Elizabeth had ambition and perseverance, and, though she vainly sought admission to one medical college after another, was finally received as a student in the Geneva (New York) Medical School, from which she graduated in 1849. Her life from thenceforward was actively employed in the practice of her profession and in affiliated literary pursuits in this country and in England, to which land she finally returned. The New York City Infirmary

for Women and Children, and the organization of a Woman's Medical College in that city, the first of its kind in the world, were the rewards of her efforts.

She was an accomplished and high-minded woman, and it is a pleasant reflection that this talented young person, who loved the healing art and believed in her right to a medical education, found at last an open door at Geneva. The medical colleges of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and nine other schools had turned her away, but here the faculty and students received her cordially, maintaining toward her throughout her two years course of study a respectful and courteous attitude. She finished her preparation for practice by clinical studies in the hospitals of Philadelphia, Paris and London, thus evidencing her enterprising spirit and the high estimation in which she held her chosen profession.

The name of Nathaniel Ames (1708-1764) of Massachusetts, a physician who was once known and admired throughout New England as a learned and witty writer, has been quite forgotten. He won fame through the almanac which he wrote and issued annually for many years, wherein he exhibited ability as an astronomer and rare gifts as a humorist. Dr. Ames' almanac had been running for six years when Franklin began the publication of his "Poor Richard's Almanac," which was issued for a period of twenty-five years; but the Ames annual was published for a much longer time, no less than forty-nine years. In those days of few books and periodicals, the almanac was an important source of instruction and entertainment in every family, and the editors of the more popular ones became widely famed and influential. But by far the greatest contribution of Dr. Ames to the world was his son, Fisher Ames, (1758-1808), one of the greatest orators the country has produced, a man of original and brilliant intellect, of extraordinary eloquence, and of ingenious, sparkling humor, which gifts he inherited from his father.

One of the most widely known, useful and influential men of his day was Dr. Benjamin Rush, (1745-1813) of Philadelphia. Unlike the most of the physicians of his time, he was a highly educated man, had received his doctoral degree in Edinburgh, and profited by practical experience in the hospitals of London and Paris. He was a many-sided person and of untiring energy, devoting his highly trained intellect to medical, political and philanthropic enterprises of every kind. He wrote voluminously and on a great variety of

subjects, from maple sugar to deep ethical topics. He was never idle. His pamphlet, "An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits Upon the Human Body and Mind," was the opening gun of the modern temperance movement which has culminated in national prohibition, and this essay was, perhaps, the most influential of all his writings. Though he was of a mild disposition, with a mind teeming with diversified ideas, he was yet a man of steady, persevering application, never forgetting his appointments or neglecting his patients. Numerous honors came to him, some of them from foreign lands, and his name is inscribed among those distinguished patriots who signed the Declaration of Independence.

Another eminent medical man and writer of Revolutionary days was Dr. David Ramsay (1749-1815). He served in the war as a surgeon, and afterwards as member of Congress, besides being engaged from time to time in other pursuits of a public character. Dr. Ramsay was a prolific writer of works on American history, though actively engaged in a successful practice in his home town of Charleston, South Carolina. That he should have so much time to devote to literary work is explained by the fact that his limit of sleep was confined to but four out of the twenty-four hours. The circumstances connected with his death were very tragic; he was assassinated by a man whom he had professionally declared to be of unsound kind.

In order to forestall a criticism that these earlier physicians whom we are considering were not really literary characters, attention is called to the fact that the writings of those primitive years in our history were confined almost entirely to political, medical and religious topics. American literature was yet unborn, for the people, engaged in the arduous employments of developing a wilderness country, had little time or inclination to entertain ideal thoughts and sentiments. The small number of our population who appreciated the higher and more liberal class of books, secured them from England, from whence we borrowed our *belles lettres* for many years, even as Rome purloined her art, science and literature from Greece.

One of the most prominent physicians of the first half of the nineteenth century in New York was William James Macneven. He was born in County Galway, Ireland, on March 21, 1763, and was a nephew of Baron William O'Kelly Macneven, court physician to the

Empress Maria Teresa of Austria, who sent him to Prague, where he received a good classical education and entered upon medical studies. He was graduated in medicine from the University of Vienna in his twentieth year and began practice in Dublin, Ireland. He took part in the political revolution of 1798 as an associate of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and Thomas Addis Emmet, and made several fiery speeches, which activities resulted in his being confined to jail for nearly four years. During this period he gave evidence of his fine literary abilities, occupying his time in translating fragments of Ossian from the original Gaelic, and instructing Emmet and others of his captive companions in the French language, using a grammar of his own compilation. Released in 1802, he spent two years traveling through the Continent and writing his "Rambles Through Switzerland." In the belief that Napoleon was planning an invasion of Ireland, he enlisted in the French army and became a captain in the Irish Brigade. In 1804, in an interview with the Emperor and Talleyrand, he learned that there was no such purpose and, resigning his commission, embarked for the United States, arriving in New York on July 4th, in the midst of the celebration in commemoration of the Declaration of Independence, in which he heartily joined, and delivered a stirring speech. He soon attracted attention in professional circles and almost immediately entered upon active work as an instructor.

After other faculty appointments in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, he became Professor of Chemistry and filled this chair for many years. Among his frequent writings was "An Exposition of the Atomic Theory," one of the earliest serious contributions on the subject of chemistry made in America, the first to be noticed in Europe, and reprinted in the "French Annals of Chemistry." His annotated edition of "Brandes' Chemistry" was used as a text book in many medical schools of the country for several years afterward. Dr. Macneven was a close personal friend and professional associate of Mott, Francis, Hosack, and Goodman, and with them organized the Duane Street Medical School. With Drs. David Hosack and Hugh Williamson he promoted the organization of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, and in association with Dr. Benjamin DeWitt edited the "New York Medical and Philosophical Journal." In addition to various professional works, in 1807 he published "Pieces of Irish History." He was a man of genial per-

sonality and warm benevolence. He took a deep interest in Irish immigrants, in whose interest he prepared a pamphlet of directions, and founded an agency to provide employment for Irish girls. Dr. Macneven died in New York City, July 12, 1841. One of the loftiest monuments in Trinity Churchyard in that city is an enduring testimonial to his ability and worth.

The name of Dr. John Shaw is without the garnish of fame; even cyclopedias do not list him, for though he lacked not the merit or the usefulness to entitle him to a modest degree of renown, he was wanting in that self-assertion which operates even beyond the grave to illuminate a career. This is true of medical men generally, and explains why the eminent physicians who are being discussed are so little known and credited for the good they accomplished. For the most part, the character of their occupation precludes publicity; while the lawyer, finding an easy path to the rostrum and to legislative halls, and the minister, ever living and speaking before the people, are favorably circumstanced for achieving distinction. But the doctor is necessarily forever a student, and his dealings with men is with but one at a time, thus rendering his prospects for rising into prominence not propitious. The professional experiences of a doctor's life tend to render him a conservative, uncommunicative and retiring person.

Dr. Shaw was born at Annapolis, Maryland, in 1778; he was educated at St. John's College, in his native village, and here he began the study of medicine. During these years he was an intimate friend of the poet, Francis Scott Key, from whom he no doubt derived encouragement for his own poetic tastes. He had been attending medical lectures at the University of Pennsylvania but a month when he engaged himself as a surgeon of a fleet bound for Algiers. He was a fluent and interesting letter writer, and having been left by the squadron to serve as a consul, he became physician to the Bey of Tunis, and wrote realistic letters to his friends at home of his interesting experiences. Dr. Shaw was a brilliant scholar, a fine linguist, and possessed marked ability as a poet. His travels in Europe served to expand and cultivate his gifts, so that after taking a medical course in Edinburgh he developed into a young man of uncommon literary and professional parts. After practicing for a time in St. John's Island, Upper Canada, he returned to Annapolis and opened an office in that office. Having married and settled in

Baltimore, Dr. Shaw, identifying himself with a movement for the establishment there of a medical college to become the first in the State of Maryland, was made a regent of the school and became one of its professors. His chair was that of chemistry, to which he enthusiastically devoted himself, and it was through exposure to cold while experimenting in this science that the seeds of tuberculosis were developed, of which he died in the thirty-first year of his age. Cut off in the opening of what promised to be a very brilliant and useful career, he yet left a high record in the annals of medicine, and sheafs of entertaining letters and meritorious poems. The latter were collected by a friend and published in a volume in the year following his death.

William Paul Crillon Barton, M.D., was a man who at the time of his death in 1856 was widely known as a scholarly, able and highly influential medical officer of the American Navy. Yet, when recently it was desired to visit his grave in Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia, it was necessary to enlist the aid of a descendant, for no monument marks his last resting-place.

Dr. Barton was born in Philadelphia, in 1786, was graduated at Princeton, and received his medical degree in 1808. A year later he was appointed surgeon in the navy, having been recommended by Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, and from that time throughout his career he devoted himself principally to that department of the public service. While not, strictly speaking, a man of letters, he was an able writer of works on naval medical affairs, an author of botanical books and a lecturer on this science in the University of Pennsylvania and at the Jefferson Medical College. But to even enumerate all his professional labors in the navy, the medical and sanitary reforms he effected therein and his innumerable and incessant activities, would be too long a task.

Personally, Dr. Barton was a very interesting man; highly educated and accomplished, a fine flutist and violinist, and an enthusiastic collector of rare musical instruments. He was of a friendly, amiable disposition, and made friends of those associated in any way with him. In his dress he was very fastidious and affected a dandified, Beau Brummel apparel, but those who judged his intellectual equipment by his foppish appearance found that beneath his butterfly exterior there dwelt the bone and sinew of a profound and practical mind. His portrait depicts a handsome, middle-aged man,

clean shaven, and arrayed in antique, rich and showy garments. His hair, parted in the middle, falls over his shoulders in beautiful, waving tresses, and altogether he makes a unique and pleasing picture.

John Wakefield Francis, M.D., LL.D., was a man highly gifted both as a medical man and as a general student and writer. His trained and active intellect penetrated into almost every domain of learning and literature, and whatever he dealt with he adorned with his scholarship, graceful style and pleasing humor. Born in New York City in 1789, he was a graduate of Columbia College and of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, his degree from the latter institution being the first that was awarded by that medical school. His life was spent in New York City, where he was ever busily employed as a lecturer in medical colleges, editing medical journals, practicing his profession, and in literary pursuits. Besides all this, he encouraged and aided various philanthropic enterprises and devoted himself to the promotion of historical, scientific and art studies. His activities outside his professional field introduced him to many or most of the great writers of his day, at home and in Great Britain; James Fenimore Cooper, Daniel Webster, Philip Freneau, Walter Scott and many other distinguished persons were among his acquaintances and friends.

Dr. Francis had a taste for local old-time memorials and reminiscences, and had treasured up a large fund of interesting data concerning the early residents and history of the city of New York. Many of such names and events are vividly reproduced in his delightful book, "Old New York," published in 1858, but of the great variety of topics which it includes, it will be appropriate to speak only of the physicians whom he considers. Concerning David Hosack, M.D., LL.D., with whom he was associated as a partner in medical practice and as a collaborator in authorship, he says:

"The lofty aspirations of Hosack were further evinced by his whole career as a citizen. Surrounded by his large and costly library, his house was the resort of the learned and enlightened from every part of the world. No traveller from abroad rested satisfied without a personal interview with him; and, at his evening soirées, the literati, the philosopher, the statesman, the skillful in natural science, and the explorer of new regions, the archaeologist and the theologian, met together, participators in the recreation of familiar intercourse."

In those old days the doctor and the minister were much more influential in civil affairs than at the present, for their learning lent them a dignity and prestige which the now generally higher level of intelligence has in a great measure rendered nugatory. It has been said concerning the time which we are considering, that three men ruled New York City, a physician, a politician and a clergyman, viz: Dr. David Hosack, DeWitt Clinton and Bishop John H. Hobart. They were called collectively the "memorable trio," and "the tripod on which our city stood." Moreover, the professional men of that period were leaders in literary, scientific and aesthetic affairs, and, indeed, in every field of knowledge, culture and philanthropic enterprise. Such were the characteristics of Dr. Francis and of the leading New York physicians of whom he wrote.

Another of these gifted men was Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, once United States Senator, whose astonishing erudition Dr. Francis sets forth as follows:

"He enjoyed universal praise in almost every part of the globe where science is cultivated. His knowledge was diverse and most extensive, if not always profound. Like most of our sex, he was married; but, as Old Fuller would say, the only issues of his body were the products of his brain. He advanced the scientific reputation of New York by his early promulgation of the Lavoisierian system of chemistry. . . . His mineralogical survey of New York, in 1797, gave Volney many hints: his analysis of the Saratoga waters enhanced the importance of those mineral springs. . . . His numerous papers on natural history enriched the annals of the Lyceum. His researches on the ethnological characteristics of the red man of America betrayed the benevolence of his nature. . . . He increased our knowledge of the vegetable materia medica of the United States. He cheered Fulton when dejected; encouraged Livingston in appropriation; awakened new zeal in Wilson, the ornithologist, when the Governor, Tompkins, had nigh paralyzed him by his frigid and unfeeling reception; and, with Pintard and Colden, was a zealous promoter of that system of internal improvement which has stamped immortality on the name of Clinton."

Much more is cited to illustrate Dr. Mitchell's wonderful diversity and extent of scholarship, and in view of which it is not surprising that in his day he was called "The Nestor of American Science."

Dr. Nicholas Romaine, also, was a contemporary in New York of Dr. Francis. He, too, was endowed with a phenomenal fund of heterogeneous knowledge. Of a wide and profound culture ac-

quired at home and in foreign institutions of learning, he early became a lecturer on medical subjects in New York, was made a trustee of King's College, and in 1807 was honored with the presidency of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Dr. Francis says of him:

"He would rise in his place and deliver a lecture on the aphorisms of Hippocrates, unfold the structure of the brain, expound the philosophy of paludal diseases, or discourse on the plant which Clusius cherished. He was indeed clever in every acceptation of the word. . . . Romaine was of huge bulk, of regular proportion, and of an agreeable and intelligent expression of countenance, with a gray eye of deep penetration. It was almost a phenomenon to witness the light, gracious and facile step of a man surpassing some three hundred pounds in weight, and at all times assiduous in civic pursuits and closest studies. He was unwearied in toil, and of mighty energy. He was goaded by a strong ambition to excel in whatever he undertook, and he generally secured the object of his desire, at least professionally. He was temperate in all his drinks, but his gastric powers were of inordinate capabilities. I should incur displeasure were I to record the material of a single meal; he sat down with right good earnest and exclusive devotion at his repast. His auricular power seemed now suspended. Dr. Mitchell long ago had said that the stomach had no ears. In charity I have conjectured that he must have labored under a species of bulimia, which pathologists affirm will often pervert the moral faculties. His kind friend, the late Rev. Dr. M'Leod, tells us that though many of his acts were crooked, yet that Romaine died in the consolations of the Christian religion. . . . He made a great study of man; he was dexterous with legislative bodies, and at one period of his career was vested with almost all the honors the medical profession among us can bestow."

In this easy and informal manner Dr. Francis dwells fondly and lingeringly upon the gifts, habits and idiosyncrasies of these old medical worthies whom he knew so well and admired so unreservedly. They were truly great men, and that despite the limitations of their opportunities for culture, for schools, and colleges in their day were of a primitive character compared with the elaborate teachings of our time. But it is easy to discover that the power of these men lay not in any slavishly acquired erudition, prescribed, artificial and moribund, but that it dwelt primarily in their own unique, brilliant and humanitarian individualities.

Joseph Rodman Drake, a young physician of New York, born there in 1795, was one of the first writers to place American literature on the world stage of acknowledged excellence. His early life

was one of deprivation and difficulty, and it is probable that he took up the study of medicine more for the prospect which the profession offered as a means of support than from a real love of the healing art. He seems, however, to have practiced but little, for soon after his graduation from the medical college he married a wealthy bride, and thenceforth devoted himself to travel in Europe and to desultory literary work. He died four years after his marriage, in 1820, of consumption, aged twenty-five years. A contemporary and friend of Irving, Cooper, and other prominent writers of the day who removed from our literature the reproach of provincialism, he left a collection of poems which, though small, is a work of genius and of original American atmosphere. "The Culprit Fay," an unsubstantial and fantastic poem having its setting in the Hudson Valley, is his most important composition, but his verses on "The American Flag," beginning

"When Freedom from her mountain height
Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of night,
And set the stars of glory there,"—

excel, perhaps, anything else he wrote, in their original conception, vivid imagination and splendid diction.

Dr. Drake was a kindly young man, with a faculty for making friends; he loved the outdoor life and rural scenes. Between him and Fitz Green Halleck there existed a warm and lasting friendship; this kindred spirit and gifted poet was with him when he died, and wrote in his honor that beautiful commemorative poem wherein are the familiar opening lines—

"Green be the turf above thee,
Friend of my better days!
None knew thee but to love thee,
Nor named thee but to praise."

The early death of Dr. Drake is a sad instance of a brilliant career cut off at the dawn of its greatness,—like a promising day with sunshine, blue skies and song-birds, but soon overcast with black clouds and deluged with rain. He lived not to realize the fame which awaited him, and it was not till sixteen years after his death that his daughter published his poems in book form and thus insured their preservation. His grave was in a cemetery in the Bronx, New York.

Concerning the birth of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1809, that author says: "I remember that

week well, for something happened to me once at that time; namely, I was born." His father, however, seems not to have been particularly impressed by the event, for he made memorandum of it by merely writing in the almanac at August 29, "Son b." Dr. Holmes was a rare instance of a man rising to eminence as a writer on and teacher of medical subjects, as a practitioner, and as a literary character of very high distinction. During a period of thirty-five years he was a professor in the Harvard Medical College, at the same time devoting himself to a literary career entirely outside and beyond the scientific life which he was outwardly leading. While he is everywhere known as a man of letters, he enjoyed professional fame from his learned contributions to the medical press of his day. His profession, he said, was his vocation, and literature his avocation.

One of his earliest poems was "Old Ironsides," on the United States frigate *Constitution*. Learning that the ship had been condemned to be dismantled, he wrote on the spur of the moment the stirring verses which, traveling over the country, awoke so strong a sentiment that the order was countermanded, and the historic vessel saved. Thus, as it frequently happens, the spontaneous word or action is that which is most just and influential. But so well known are the works of Dr. Holmes that it is unnecessary to discuss them. Who has not many times read and admired the stately beauty of "The Chambered Nautilus," and laughed at the droll story in rhyme of "The One-Hoss Shay!" Then there are the unconventional, kindly pages of "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," with its diversified attractions; the psychological interest of his novel, "Elsie Venner," all adorned with the easy grace of style, sunny humor, and masterly literary craftsmanship of the author.

Thomas Dunn English, (1819-1902), was born in Philadelphia, and graduated from the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. He seems to have practiced his profession but for a brief season, beginning the occupation of an attorney three years after completing his medical course. He served in the Legislature of New Jersey and as member of Congress from that State. The chief pillar of his fame is, perhaps, his song, "Ben Bolt," though his "Battle Lyrics" have an assured place in American literature. While these war poems do not constitute a very high order of verse, they have an attractive lilt, vivid descriptive qualities, and disclose

a clear and comprehensive grasp of revolutionary times, characters and battles. Dr. English was well known as a magazine editor and contributor, and he also wrote three novels, which, however, have been forgotten.

Like many a successful career, that of Dr. Josiah Gilbert Holland was not reached with a single bound, but through years of discouraging, disciplinary experiences. Graduating at the Berkshire Medical College, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in 1844, he followed the practice of medicine for three years, but with indifferent success. He then devoted himself to an adventurous life of teaching small country schools, and to wandering about as a writing master. He was for a time an itinerant daguerreotypist, wrote for newspapers, and began the publication of a shortlived sheet called "The Bay State Courier." Still another of his occupations was as superintendent of public schools at Vicksburg, Mississippi, a position which he held for one year.

In 1849 he became associated with Samuel Bowles, of "The Springfield (Mass.) Republican," and in the editorship of that journal and by his contributions to its columns did much to promote its prosperity and to widen the sphere of its influence. The ethical note was ever prominent in his writings, which were many and in both poetry and prose; while every topic to which he devoted his pen derived the rich and peculiar charm of his gifted personality. He was the founder of "Scribner's Magazine," and was editor of that periodical and of "The Century" till his death. Few literary men have enjoyed so successful, useful and distinguished a life as Dr. Holland. Though prevented from obtaining even a high school education, he yet by his native gifts and energetic ambition attained to high and influential places. During his later years he served as chairman of the board of trustees of the College of the City of New York and as president of the Board of Education.

Dr. Holland's father was a poor man, wandering from place to place in hope of bettering his circumstances, and lacked an ability to get on in the world, a deficiency which was inherited by his gifted son. In vain did he endeavor to make his way till he found the sphere of work for which he was adapted. He held his father's memory, however, in deep affection, and his beautiful poem, "Daniel Gray," describes and commemorates him in homely but loving words:

"A practical old man, and yet a dreamer,
He thought that in some strange, unlooked-for way
His mighty Friend in heaven, the great Redeemer,
Would honor him with wealth some golden day.

"So, if I ever win the home in heaven
For whose sweet rest I humbly hope and pray,
In the great company of the forgiven
I shall be sure to find old Daniel Gray."

His sonnet, "Wanted," and beginning with, "God give us men!" is one of the most classically phrased, powerfully expressed and fearlessly proclaimed poems in the language; and these lines are of themselves sufficient to carry the fame of Dr. Holland to remote generations.

In the year 1873, Dr. Silas Weir Mitchell published a book entitled, "Wear and Tear; or Hints to the Overworked," a work which, in view of his many medical and literary writings, he must have frequently consulted. Born in Philadelphia in 1829, his father being a medical lecturer and author, he came naturally into the fields of the healing art and of literature. In both these spheres he became an original and influential factor, acquiring a worthy and lasting renown. During the Civil War he was at the head of a government hospital in Philadelphia, one ward of which was devoted to cases of nervous diseases and injuries of the nervous system, and here he made valuable clinical discoveries which have been of value to medical science. He introduced the "rest cure" for nervous affections, and in many ways contributed to an increased knowledge and improved treatment of ailments of the nervous system, ever writing prolifically on such topics.

As a poet and novelist, Dr. Mitchell takes a high rank, and is to be classified in the old-school of American writers who flourished in the days of Emerson, Hawthorne and Whittier. Among the twelve or more volumes of his works his preëminent book is, perhaps, his historical novel, "Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker," a romantic tale of American Revolutionary days. Personally, Dr. Mitchell was a plain, dignified and typically American gentleman, characteristics which are reflected in his books.

Very few outside of the medical profession are acquainted, even superficially, with the biography of Dr. William Osler, yet his is one of the greatest and best loved names of his fraternity. Many, however, have heard of Osler as the term comes to us linked with the unpopular idea of "Oslerism," and know of him only in this connec-

tion. The unfortunate circumstance which thus brought Dr. Osler into wide and unfavorable prominence was the misstatement of a portion of one of his addresses by newspaper reporters. The occasion was a farewell demonstration in Baltimore in 1904, when, having resigned his professorship in the Johns Hopkins Medical School, he was about to assume the Regius professorship of Physic at Oxford, England. The offensive remark attributed to him, that men arrive at their best estate at or before the age of sixty, and if living after that limitation should be chloroformed, was merely a quotation. It was derived from Anthony Trollope's novel, "The Fixed Period," and was not intended by Dr. Osler to be seriously received, a contention of his friends which is borne out by the Doctor's life-record of kindness and courtesy. But he never attempted to remove this slur upon his reputation, for he was a man wholly absorbed and occupied in his immediate professional employments, his family and his friends. He is claimed to have been the greatest physician of his day.

Dr. Osler was the son of a clergyman, and was born in Canada in 1849. He was an alumnus of Trinity College, Toronto, and of the Medical Department of McGill University. Having spent two years of additional study in Europe, he became Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the college from which he had gained his medical degree. From 1884 to 1904 he was a professor in the Johns Hopkins Medical School, from whence he was invited to a chair at Oxford, in the occupancy of which he died at the age of seventy years. It is believed that his end was hastened through grief over the loss of his son and only child, who fell mortally wounded in the Ypres salient. He was truly a great man, personally, professionally and as a litterateur; he was famed among scholars on both sides of the Atlantic, while so highly was he appreciated in Great Britain that the honor of knighthood was conferred upon him by the King. Sir Thomas Browne, he said, was his "life-long mentor." While Dr. Osler's fecundity as an author was mainly along medical lines, his work possesses ever the quality, so rare in technical writings, of a charming personal touch. Thus, his "Text-book of Medicine," a subject which under almost any other pen would prove a monotonous, tiresome treatise, has adorning its pages an amiable literary atmosphere which has made it perhaps the most read and translated of any work of its kind. Of the 730 titles of his books, essays and

addresses, however, a considerable number are devoted to purely literary subjects.

In closing this paper, it seems fitting that the last sketch should deal with a man of thorough American extraction, and also that it should concern a person who, without the advantages of a classical education, was able through natural ability alone to arrive at a very high distinction in the medical profession and as a writer. Such a physician was Dr. Daniel Drake, said to have been "the greatest physician of the West, and one of the most picturesque figures in American medicine." He was born at Plainfield, New Jersey, in 1785, and grew up in Mason county, Kentucky, midst poverty and ignorance. After gaining a little learning from roving and incompetent teachers, he entered the office of Dr. William Goforth, of Cincinnati. He displayed an aptitude to acquire medical teachings, and advancing rapidly, was graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, and a year later became a professor in the Lexington (Kentucky) Medical School. His life was largely occupied as a lecturer in the medical colleges of the West, seven different changes having been made by him in such professorships, while his fame as a physician spread throughout the Mississippi Valley and ultimately over the entire country. He wrote many valuable medical papers and established a medical magazine, but the work which gave him his greatest reputation was a two-volume publication entitled "A Systematic Treatise, Historical, Etiological and Practical, on the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America, as they appear in the Caucasian, African, Indian and Esquimaux Varieties of its Population." This was a monumental and encyclopedic work, embracing not only diseases and their treatment, but every other topic in any way related to such—climate, topography, geography, plants, animals, etc. It stands alone in the history of the world's medical literature, and, though now antiquated, remains a lasting memorial to its author. Dr. Drake, besides the literary talent displayed in this work, wrote at least two other books, his first volume being called, "Pictures of Cincinnati," and the other, "Pioneer Life in Kentucky," and he was also the author of many essays, among which were "The Evils of City Life," "Mesmerism," etc. Few lives better illustrate the possibilities of American youth than the brilliant and useful career of Dr. Daniel Drake, of Kentucky.

The great purpose of biographical studies is not to marshal facts and dates in imposing arrays, but to derive instruction and inspiration from the gifted and devoted souls of the past, and to communicate it to others. The story is told of Dr. Benjamin Rush, that when a young man and sojourning in the country, he made the acquaintance of a young lady there, and together they frequently strolled through the fields, enjoying the beauties of nature. Years after, when he was practicing in Philadelphia, he was called to visit a patient, ill with typhus fever, who proved to be the girl-friend of his youth. She lay in a profound lethargy, neither hearing or seeing anything; but Dr. Rush, remembering that one of their favorite strolls in the happy old days was to observe an eagle's nest which was beautifully located, grasped her hand and said cheerily, "Here we are again! there's the eagle's nest!" His well-remembered voice and the pleasant association referred to penetrated the thick mist that enveloped her intellect; she immediately recovered consciousness, and went steadily on to recovery. Thus when, under the soporific influence of monotonous duties, we are introduced into the presence of such men as we have been considering, we arouse from our habitually comatose condition. For these physicians, in the words of Dr. Holland, were men of

"Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;

Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking."

Principal references:—"An Introduction to the History of Medicine," by Fielding H. Garrison, M. D., Philadelphia and London, 1917. "Annals of Medical History," New York. Vol. II. (1919) contains elaborate papers on Drs. Barton, Turner and Osler. Vol. III. No. 3. (Sept., 1921) has a fine article on Dr. Shaw. "Old New York," by John W. Francis, M. D., New York, 1858; contains interesting reminiscences of Drs. Hosack, Mitchill, and other New York physicians. Warner's "Library of World's Best Literature."



Battle of Monmouth

BY FRANK R. HOLMES, NEW YORK CITY



THE story of the Battle of Monmouth, fought on Sunday, June 28, 1778, between the American forces, commanded by General Washington in person, and the British army under Sir Henry Clinton, and considered one of the decisive battles of the Revolution, should be measurably familiar to all students of our country's history. The number of troops in each army has been variously estimated; but probably there were about the same number on each side, or 22,000 in all.

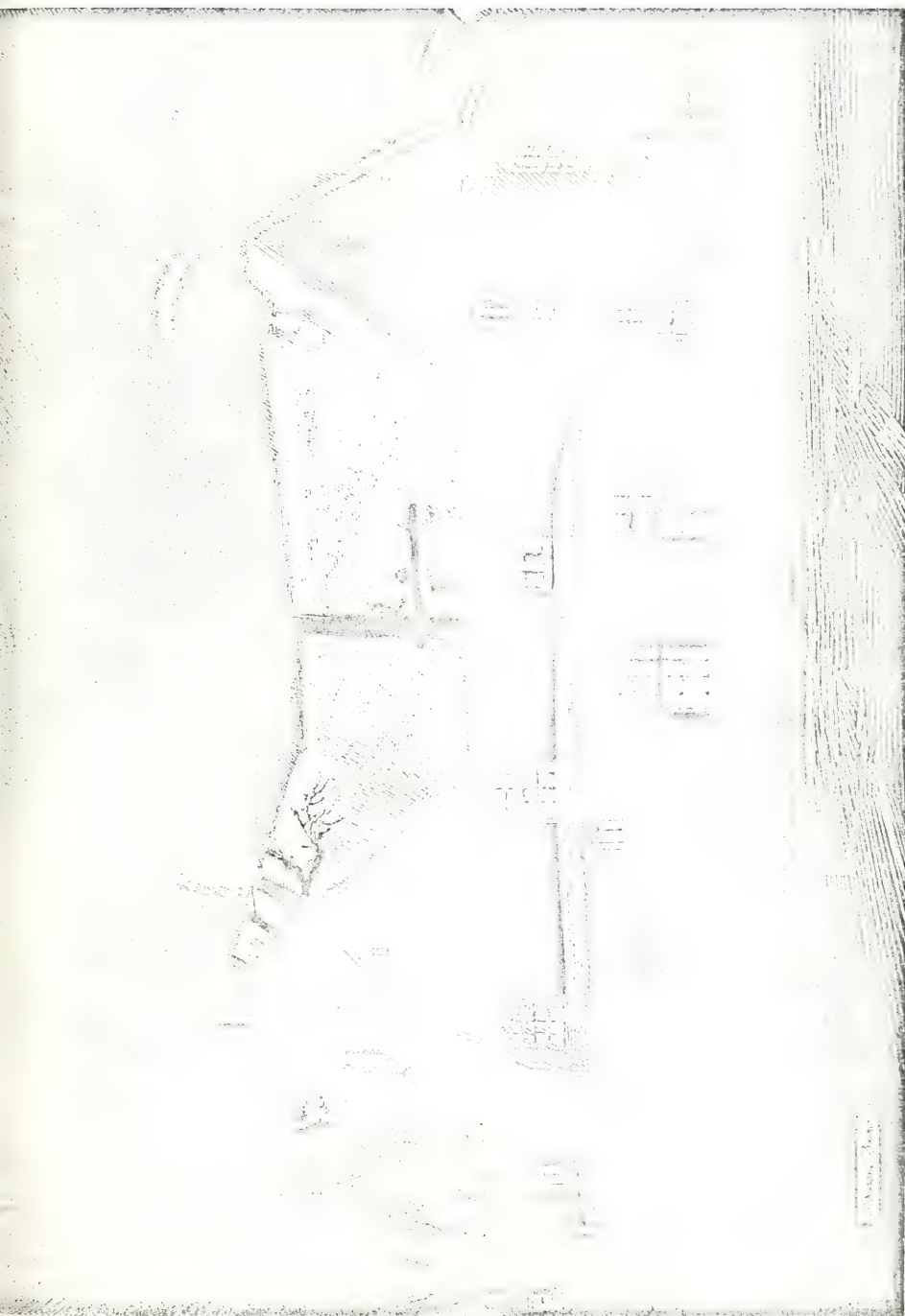
In order to augment respect for his army and the cause for which it was fighting, and come to open battle with the enemy, if need be, General Washington started his army from Valley Forge, crossed the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry, near Lambertville, and reached Hopewell, Mercer county, where a council of war was held, attended by Generals Washington, Charles Lee, Greene, Lafayette, Baron Steuben, Knox, Wayne, Poor, Woodford, Patterson and Scott. The opinion of the officers was almost unanimous in advising a strong demonstration against the enemy, even if it eventuated in a battle; and accordingly the march was continued to Kingston, Cranbury and nearly to Englishtown, which was reached on June 27th.

The military issue between the two commanders was in some respects unequal. Clinton had nothing to hope from a battle; encumbered by a heavy baggage train which restricted his operations, his ultimate object was to gain a clear path to Sandy Hook. Washington, however, could not have shrunk from attacking the retreating army, which would be to have acknowledged their invincibility and would have sacrificed the impetus which the offensive position imparted to his command and would have made every subsequent issue of the war more hopeless or uncertain. It would have canceled the memory of Trenton and Princeton and would have stultified the movement which made Germantown a pledge that the American

NOTE—This narrative is taken from "History of Monmouth County, New Jersey," now in press. (Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York, Chicago).



BRITISH FLEET OFF SANDY HOOK



THE OLD INN, NOW THE VILLAGE HOUSE, AT ENGLISHTOWN, WHERE WASHINGTON STAYED

From a drawing by Franklin Booth, Courtesy of American Radiator Co., (C) Arco, 1922

commander-in-chief was ready at all times to seize opportunity and to do real fighting.

General Washington had sent on in advance several detachments, at different times to harass the British, and these troops, with General Charles Lee commanding, were sent forward with instructions to arrange for an attack. On Saturday afternoon the Americans prepared for an engagement on the following morning, and the position of the British troops was changed to be in readiness for it. Sunday, the 28th, proved to be a day of sultry and enervating heat; but the armies were moving early. The battle was preceded by a number of skirmishes of increasing severity, near the Court House, until the Americans reached the rear of the British line on its attempted march to Middletown and the shore.

At this point the Americans gradually began to fall back before the British, who had changed their rear guard into an advancing front. This backward movement confused and irritated the American officers, who did not understand the reason for it. There was disappointment and confusion, but no panic; the under-officers and soldiers were perplexed, but not demoralized. The British continued to advance, the Americans retiring stubbornly through the woods and down the road leading from Freehold to the old Tennent Church.

Meanwhile the cannonading during the forenoon induced General Washington, who was at Englishtown, to press forward with the main army. Passing about one hundred yards in front of the church door he began to meet men returning on the road, and upon inquiring the reason of their flight could scarcely believe the story of the retreat until he came into the midst of the disordered regiments. Greatly surprised, disappointed and exasperated, he met General Lee near the bridge over the brook that crosses the road near the old church, and sternly rebuked him; and it is said that it is the only occasion that the great man was ever known to have used profane language. He quickly checked the retreat, reforming the line and bringing the fresh troops into position. The sight of their general, riding down the lines on the splendid horse just presented to him by Governor William Livingston, excited the enthusiasm of the troops, who cheered him to the echo.

He selected the regiments of Stewart, Ramsey and Livingston to check the British advance, and placed the batteries in advantageous

THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH

positions. With General (Lord) Stirling in command of the left wing, and General Greene of the right, General Washington took command of the centre, with General Wayne in front, and the battle raged with the combatants face to face, and often hand to hand. The British repeatedly attacked both wings and the center, only to be hurled back with a great loss of officers and men. Finally the struggle was ended at the close of day, by a victorious charge led by General Wayne, while the British grenadiers vainly tried to rescue the body of their commander, Lieutenant Colonel Monekton.

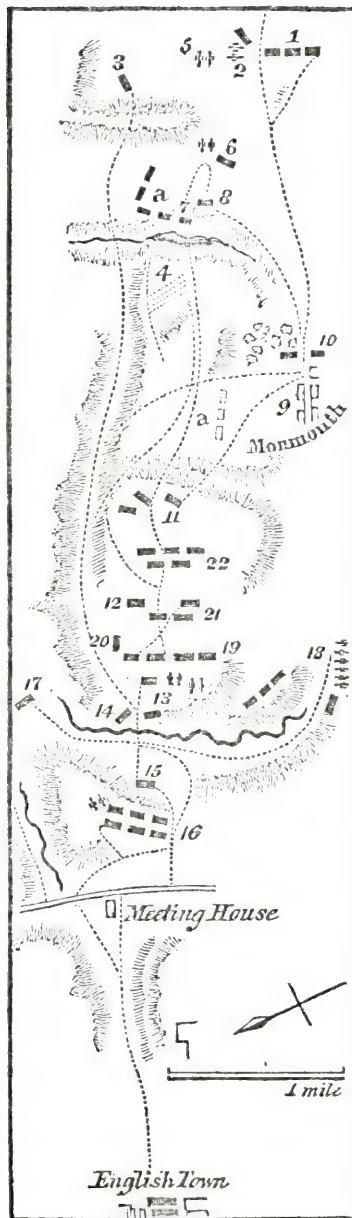
Both armies, worn out with fighting and the extreme heat, threw themselves upon the ground, and both camps were soon sleeping quietly upon the same field where a few hours before had raged a bitter conflict. Washington, wrapped in his cloak, slept among his soldiers, intending to renew the struggle in the morning; but, during the night, General Clinton's troops abandoned the field, and by morning were well on their march toward the Navesink Highlands, and Washington deemed it impracticable to pursue. The sudden retirement of the British from the battlefield made the American victory more pronounced, and also strengthened and encouraged the Colonies in their struggle for independence. The Americans lost eight officers and sixty-one non-commissioned officers and privates killed; and eighteen officers and one-hundred and forty-two non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. The loss of the British has never been correctly ascertained, but is estimated as follows: Four officers and sixty-one non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 59 died from fatigue; fifteen officers and 155 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded, and 68 missing. A number of American and British soldiers were buried on the battlefield.

General Charles Lee was tried by a court-martial at New Brunswick on August 8, 1778, and found guilty of disobedience to orders in not attacking the enemy as ordered on June 28th, and of misbehaviour on the battlefield by making an unnecessary and disorderly retreat. He was sentenced to suspension from all office in the United States Army for the space of twelve months. He retired to Philadelphia, where he died four years later, never having been called upon to rejoin the army.

One of the most thrilling stories about the battle is that of "Sergeant" Molly Pitcher. She was of German descent, her name being Mary Ludwig, and born on a farm between Princeton and Tren-

PLAN
OF
THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH,
*Where General Washington commanded the
American army, and General Clinton the
English army,*
June 28th, 1778.

- a Position occupied by the English on the eve of the battle.
- 1 English column deploying itself to the left, from which were detached the dragoons, to take a position on the right of the American columns, which were debouching (or emerging) from the woods.
- 2 First battery of the English, which discharged while deploying.
- 3 Debouchement of the 1st brigade of the detachment of Gen. Lee, stationed in the woods, where the rest of the detachment debouched in four columns.
- 4 Debouchement of the four columns.
- 5 Second battery of the English.
- 6-7 First and second batteries of the Americans.
- 8 Troops formed at the right of the batteries 6 and 7, which were ordered to retire without discharging.
- 9 Village of Monmouth, containing the courthouse.
- 10 Troops formed before Monmouth, which withdrew without waiting for the enemy.
- 11 First position occupied by all the troops under command of Gen. Lee, where they did not wait for the attack, and from which they threw themselves into the woods on the left.
- 12 Fierce attack of the English on the troops thrown into the woods during the retreat from position 11.
- 13 Second position occupied by the rest of the troops, and from which they withdrew when charged by the English dragoons, which were afterwards dispersed by Col. Stuart.
- 14 Point from which debouched a body of English, having fired on the rest of the troops which still occupied position 13.
- 15 Position taken by the troops on retiring from point 13, and from which Gen. Washington took them behind the line which he had just formed at point 16.
- 16 Position which Gen. Washington occupied by the troops which came to support Gen. Lee's detachment.
- 17 English column which advanced to attack the left, and withdrew after reconnoitering.
- 18* Battery of six pieces, commanded by Chevalier du Pleissis Mauduit, and supported by 500 men.
- 19 Position occupied by the English troops withdrawn from points 14 and 17, and from which they were repulsed with great loss.
- 20 Station occupied by the English after having been driven from point 19.
- 21 New position taken by the English when Washington attacked them, and from which also they were repulsed.
- 22 Final position of the English, where they passed the night.



ton. She married John Hays, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, who became a gunner in the Continental army, and Mary went home to her parents. When the army came across the State she visited her husband, and was with him on the Sunday of the battle. During the fighting she was of great assistance to the gunners of General Knox's batteries by carrying water to the thirsty men, who in pleasantry called her "Molly Pitcher." Her husband, overcome by heat and fatigue, dropped swooning by the cannon, when his wife sprang forward and assisted in loading and firing the gun during the remainder of the engagement.

General Greene presented her to General Washington on the morning after the battle and, in thanking her, he declared that, having done a soldier's duty, she was entitled to a soldier's reward and rank, and ordered that her name be enrolled as a sergeant in the army roster. General Lafayette and other officers publicly complimented her, and Congress voted her an annuity of \$40. After the death of her husband she married a man named McCauley. She died in January, 1833, and was buried at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where on July 4, 1876, the citizens of Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, placed a handsome marble monument over her grave. She was not a coarse camp-follower, as has been said; but a patriotic, industrious and kind-hearted woman. Mrs. Isabella (Crater) McGeorge wrote an excellent article concerning the heroic woman, published in the "American Monthly Magazine" of November, 1900.

Lieutenant Colonel Henry Monckton, a gallant officer, commanding the Second Battalion, British Grenadiers, was killed while leading his men in a fierce charge against the troops of General Wayne, near the parsonage of Tennent church. There was a desperate struggle for his body until the Americans finally gained possession of it, and subsequently buried it a few feet from the southwest corner of the old church. The grave remained unmarked for about a half-century, when William R. Wilson, a Scotchman, and a school-teacher in the county, set up a board over the grave, bearing the officer's name and date of his death. Several years after Samuel Freyer, of Highstown, erected a marble headstone, with a suitable inscription, over the grave.

The first celebration of the battle of Monmouth on the field where the conflict took place, was held on the semi-centennial anniversary of the great event, June 28, 1828. The principal attraction was a

THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH

sham fight in imitation of the battle. The facts in regard to this celebration are meagre, and neither the number of troops engaged or other particulars are available. The seventy-sixth anniversary of this important event in the national history of the country took place June 28, 1854. The celebration was mainly a military affair, the local companies—a cavalry corps under the command of Captain Truex, in connection with an infantry company under Captain James S. Yard, received the visiting delegations. These consisted of the Independent Continentals and Company C of the American Rifles, from New York; the Jersey Continentals; the Montgomery Guards and Meagher Republican Guards from Jersey City; the Washington Volunteers and Greenville Guards from Bergen; the National Guards and Hoboken Rifles from Hoboken; the Lafayette Guards from Newark; the Kearny Guards from Amboy; and two companies of the Fourteenth Regiment from Brooklyn.

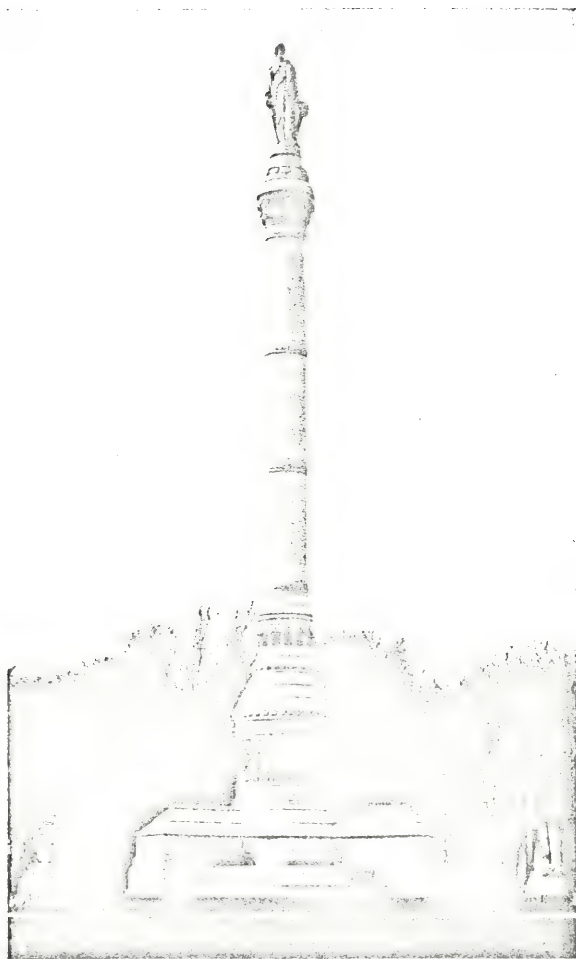
Governor Rodman M. Price, with his military staff, was present, besides other civil and military dignitaries. The military marched through the streets of Freehold in gallant array to the music of two superb bands. At an early hour on the morning of June 28th, military companies arrived from Trenton, and the line of march was taken to the railroad depot, where cars were ready to convey the soldiers to the battle ground. Upon arrival on the ground, the companies to represent the British forces took a position on the hill, while those representing the Americans were posted on the low ground. Governor Price reviewed the military. Though the people waited patiently for the commencement of the sham battle, it was finally decided that owing to the danger of the soldiers being affected by sunstroke, it was prudent to postpone that feature of the entertainment. The troops were formed in three sides of a hollow square, and were addressed by Adjutant-General Cadwallader in a brief but appropriate speech. The festivities were marred by an accident in firing a salute in honor of the governor upon his arrival on the ground. It was caused by air being injected while the charge was being rammed; Abraham Coles, of the Lafayette Guards of Newark, had his left hand so shattered that it had to be amputated, and James S. Johnson, of the same company, was badly burned about the face and arms.

As the centennial anniversary of the battle of Monmouth approached, Governor Joel Parker, then a resident of Freehold,

realized that if no effort was made at that time to lay the corner stone of a monument to commemorate the event, it would never in any future time be accomplished. At commencement exercises of the Freehold Institute held a year preceding the anniversary, Governor Parker was invited to address the students. In the course of his remarks, he referred to the approaching centennial and suggested that a monument be erected and dedicated on the centennial anniversary of the battle. At his suggestions, editors of the newspapers, in connection with the clergymen and judges of the county, were appointed a committee to raise the funds to erect a monument. To the committee were added Governors Joel Parker and William A. Newell. The former was chosen president of the organization which became known as the Monmouth Battle Monument Association. The other officers chosen were Major James S. Yard, secretary and John B. Conover, treasurer. Numerous meetings of the Association were held in the fall and spring of 1877-78, but it soon became evident that sufficient funds could not be raised to erect a suitable monument on the centennial anniversary day. A site had been donated by Mrs. Mary A. Schanck, containing three and one-quarter acres, in the shape of a triangle, with roads on the three sides. Early in the spring of 1878 a committee of one from each township was appointed, to act in conjunction with a committee of citizens of Freehold, to make arrangements for the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the battle. It also became apparent that in order to hold real estate the Association should be incorporated, therefore an act was framed by Governor Parker and passed by the Legislature, March 19, 1878, and a certificate of incorporation was filed in the clerk's office of the county of Monmouth, May 23, 1878. Provision was made by the Association for procuring a corner-stone, and placing it in proper position on the one hundredth anniversary of the battle. The amount deemed necessary for the erection of the monument was ten thousand dollars, of which less than three thousand had been collected. To increase this amount, five thousand medals of white metal and one hundred of bronze were manufactured, to be sold on the day of the celebration. The corner stone was laid on the day appointed, with appropriate ceremonies. Freehold presented a gala appearance; on every side floated the Stars and Stripes, the houses of both rich and poor being adorned with the national colors. The crowd was swelled by visitors from towns within a radius of fifty miles, numbering over twenty thousand of happy

sight-seers. A military parade marched through the streets of the little village, headed by the Second Brigade, National Guard of New Jersey. After the military contingent came Masonic societies in their full regalia, followed by a long line of carriages containing prominent citizens of New Jersey. Next in order was Company A, Washington Centennial Guards of Princeton, in the uniform worn in the days of the Revolution. Then followed the Joel Parker Association of Newark, presenting a creditable appearance, one hundred strong, clad in dark clothing and wearing high white felt hats. The rear of the line was brought up by the Delaware Hose Company of Bordentown; dragging their machine were thirty men in white shirts and wearing black helmet hats. The procession after moving over the prescribed route reached Monument Park, where a stand had been erected, and the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone took place a little after one o'clock. The stone was laid in accordance with Masonic form and usage, after conclusion of which ceremonies addresses were made by Governor Parker and other prominent citizens, the troops then reformed and were reviewed by Governor George B. McClellan. This concluded the festivities of the day, which in every way had been brilliant, successful, and creditable in the highest degree.

The first meeting of the Monument Association after the centennial celebration was February 22, 1879. The treasurer reported there was on hand \$3,624.78 towards the erection of a monument; by the following June 28 the receipts had increased over \$1200. The Association was now in a position to receive the deed for the site, as one of the stipulations of the gift was that \$5000 would be raised for the building of the monument before a deed would be executed. The fund continued to increase gradually but slowly, and on July 10, 1880, the treasurer reported the amount was nearly \$7,000. It now became apparent that \$10,000 would soon be reached. This was finally accomplished through the exertions of Governor Parker, Major James S. Yard and James T. Burtis. The active promoters of the project began to think that a monument of sufficient dimensions worthy of so memorable an event could not be erected for the amount subscribed, and application was made to the Legislature of the State for an appropriation equal to the amount already obtained. This was granted, and \$20,000 was appropriated by the national government; thus the fund had increased from less than \$3,000 when the corner-stone was laid to over \$40,000. The contract for the monu-



MONMOUTH BATTLE MONUMENT

ment was awarded to Maurice J. Power, of the National Fine Art Foundry of New York City, for the sum of \$36,000. The design was executed by Emelin T. Littell and Douglas Smythe, and J. E. Kelly was the sculptor.

The work of construction was delayed so that it became impossible to unveil the monument on the anniversary of the battle, and November 13, 1884, was fixed upon as the day of its dedication. The base of the monument is in the form of an equilateral triangle, with a cannon at each angle. Three spurs of granite form the base of the shaft, surmounted at the point of contact by a large drum-shaped block on which are five bronze reliefs illustrative of the battle. Above the tablets and around the shaft are the coats-of-arms of the thirteen original States, in bronze, festooned with laurel wreaths. Rising above is the shaft proper, consisting of three sections joined by rings of bay leaves. The shaft is surmounted by a composite capital on which is a statue of Columbia Triumphant. The monument is of New England granite, ninety-four feet in height. The tablets, five feet high and six feet in width, represent five scenes in the Monmouth battle—Ramsey defending his guns; Washington rallying the troops; Molly Pitcher; Council of War at Hopewell; and Wayne's charge.

The day of the dedication was duly celebrated, the sky was cloudless, the weather temperate, the atmosphere clear and invigorating, and the breeze unfolded the thousand flags that floated over Monument Park and Freehold. The military parade, while there were not as many troops present as at former celebrations, was impressive in character; it consisted of the First, Third, Fourth and Seventh regiments of the National Guard under the command of Brevet Major-General William J. Sewell. As soon as the procession reached Monument Park, the ceremonies of unveiling were opened with an invocation of the Divine blessing by Right Reverend Bishop Scarborough. Then followed the formal delivery of the monument to the State of New Jersey, the presentation being responded to by Governor Leon Abbett. The orator of the day was Judge Parker, and on the finish of his oration the ceremonies were concluded by a benediction by Rev. George C. Maddock, and the firing of a national salute by the artillery. The throng of people was estimated between fifteen and twenty thousand. The ceremonies and parades which had been held in this commemoration of the battle of Monmouth must ever remain as the most memorable.

The Edgar Family

BY WINFIELD S. DOWNS, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

Arms—Per pale, 1st, sable, dexter a lion rampant and sinister a garb argent, a bordure invected or; 2nd, gules, a fess between three bugle horns stringed or, a bordure ingrailed argent.

Crest—A dagger and quill in saltire proper.

Motto—*Potius ingenio, quam vi.* (Rather by skill than by force).

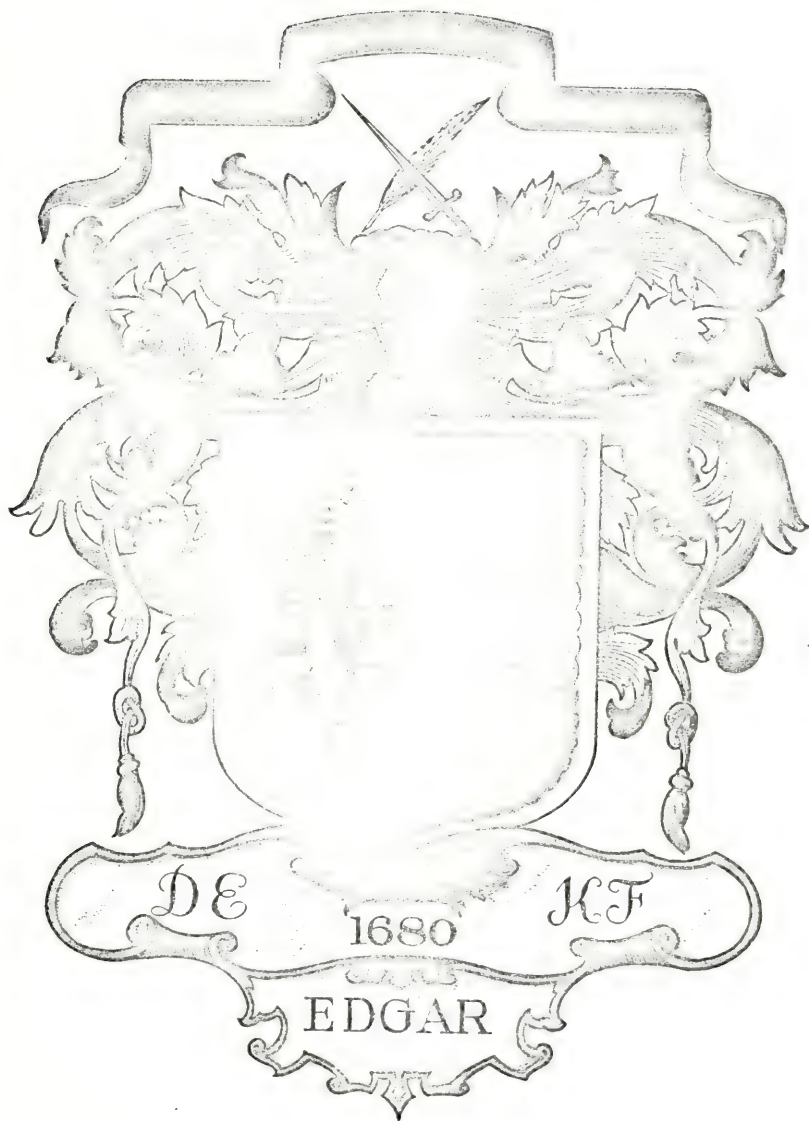


WITH its roots deep in antiquity, the family of Edgar, noted in Scottish history in several branches, has in its American home qualified for membership in the aristocracy of democracy, whose badges and insignia are the marks and evidences of service. It is a family which in numerical strength has dwindled, but which in influence and accomplishment has held to the high standards and worth of an early day.

Edgar is an old and peculiar surname. One might suppose that even at the present day it would be common, at any rate about large cities, and in those districts whose characteristics are still, to a certain extent, more especially Saxon. When, however, we come to inquire narrowly, and refer to directories, we find it of rare occurrence. For example, if we take the diocese of Winchester, and run over the index of wills in its Probate Court from 1498 down to the present time, or, at least to the close of the last century, among numerous Saxon names that of Edgar occurs but thrice, and in two of these wills, oddly enough, we meet with the same corrupt spelling of the name which, in the contemporaneous registers of the northern kingdom, was so prevalent. In England, an ancient family of the name settled in Berkshire at an early period. That and the Edgar family in Suffolk may have had a common ancestor, and it may not be saying too much to suggest their descent from one or other of the Edgars who appear in the pedigrees of the Saxon Earls of Northumbria.

A few persons named Edgar seem to have been in attendance upon, or connected with, the courts of several of the ancient kings of Scotland. One named "Gilbert, son of Edgar," was witness to the execution of a charter by William the Lion about 1176. Another, named "Edgar, son of Henry," was witness to a charter by King David about 1208. Another, "Gilbert, son of Edgar," was witness to a charter in 1200; and "Walter, son of Edgar," was witness to a charter of the lands of Scrogges in 1208.

In Rymer's "Foedera" three notices of this name are to be found.



1. In the 24th Edward I. (1296),—"Walterus Edger persona de Penicock, vicecomiti de Edenburgh." 2. 1st Edward II. (1303),—"De vadiis prisonibus Scotiae," &c., "habere facias Galfrido Edger . . . in castro nostro Ebor." 3. 7th Edward II. (1314) . . . "quod Isabella de Brus in Castro praedicto sub custodia vestra, de mandato nostro, jam existens, habeat secum, ut de familia suâ Elenam Edger, Johannem de Claydon, Samuelem de Lynford et Willielmum de Preston," &c., &c.

Besides these, we find a notice of a Sir Patrick Edgar, ("Ric de Barneby Domino Patricio Edgar Milite") in 1272, in the *Chronicle of Lanercost*; and in the reign of King John (Abbrev. Placit.) "Edgar avuncul. Comitis Waldeni patris comit Patricii fuit seisit in Dnico suo sicut de feudo de Villa de Bewie," &c.

"In the shire of Berwick," says Nisbet, besides the Homes there were other ancient families of different surnames who carried lions rampant in variation of tinctures from the old Earls of Dunbar and March; whether upon the account of descent from that eminent family, or, as vassals, carried lions in imitation of those of their patrons I shall not be positive, as the Hepburns, Rentons, and of the name of Edgar who held their lands of the old Earls of Dunbar.

"The principal family of the name of Edgar there is Edgar of Wadderlie, yet extant, who carried for their proper arms—Sable, a lion rampant argent.

"As for the antiquity of the name, I shall here vouch a charter of Earl Patrick, son of Waldeve, Earl of Dunbar, who grants to the monks of Durham the church and lands of Edram for prayers to be said for the soul of his father and mother, of King Malcolm, his sons, King Edgar, King Alexander, King David, and his son Earl Henry, and King Malcolm, and for the safety of his brother David, and for himself, wife, and children. The charter has no date, but is granted in the reign of King William, and in it are many witnesses, among whom are many barons in the shire of Berwick, as 'Stephen Papedie, Robert de Bonaire, Gilbert de Hume, Henric de Prenderghest, Edward de Aldcambus, Alan de Suyntoun, Willielm de Nesbit, and Willielm filius *Edgari*.'

"The last-mentioned William, son of Edgar, I take to be one of the progenitors of Edgar of Wadderlie.

"The aforesaid principal charter is fully repeated in the charter of confirmation of King Robert the Bruce, dated at Berwick, the 15th day of November, the 21st year of his reign.

"Richard Edgar, in the reign of King Robert the Bruce, married the eldest daughter and coheir of Ross of Sanquhar, and William Crichton married the other sister. . . . King Robert confirms to Richard and his son Donald Edgar, the half of the lands of Sanquhar, with the manor place as the charter bears:—"De capitali mannerio in Baronia de Sanquhar cum medi[eta]te ejusdem Barronie ad ipsum mannerium pertinen.' It appears that Edgar of Wedderlie is descended of this Richard.

"I have seen a resignation in the custody of Edgar of Wedderlie, by Richard Edgar, son of Richard Edgar of the lands of Wedderlie, in favour of Robert Edgar Dominus de Wedderlie, in the year 1376, and confirmed to his son, John Edgar of Wedderlie, 1384.

"And beside the Arms of Wedderlie are quartered with figures like to these of Ross of Sanquhar—three water budgets *or*, much defaced, as on an old stone on the house of Wedderlie, supported by two greyhounds, and for crest, a dexter hand holding a dagger, point downwards. Motto: 'Man do it,' and on a compartment below, 'Salutem disponit Deus.'

"It has been remarked, with reference to the origin of our Peerage, that two great Houses, one English, one Scottish, sprang from the best Saxon aristocracy. Of the old Earls of Northumberland, one named Cospatrick left England after the Conquest, and settled in Scotland. He was ancestor of the Earls of Dunbar, of whom the Homes, and we believe the Edgars, are cadets. From him the Nevilles of Raby, in England, are also descended."

According to Douglas ("Peerage of Scotland:" ed. Wood, ii. 107) the descent is stated thus:

I. Cospatrck, son of Maldred by Algetha, daughter and heiress of Uchtred, Prince of Northumbria, by Elgiva, daughter of Etheldred, King of England, was father of Dolfin and,—

II. Cospatrck, 1st Earl of Dunbar, whose son,—

III. Cospatrck, 2nd Earl, died in 1147, leaving children: 1. Cospatrck (Third Earl). 2. Edward. 3. Edgar ("who appears to have been ancestor of those of the surname Edgar.") 4. Uchtred.

In Surtees' "Durham," we find, with many other collateral descents, the following:

Waltheof (circa A.D. 969) father of Uchtred, who was thrice married, and had by his second wife, Elgiva, a daughter, Aldgetha, who married Maldred, and was mother of Cospatrck, whose issue follows: 1. Cospatrck, father of Cospatrck and Patrick. 2. Dolfin (viv. 1120). 3. Waldeve. 4. Edgar (Nothus). 5. Gunil, who married Orme, and had Cospatrck, Dominus de Workington, father of Thomas (ob. 1152), father of Patrick.

Waltheof (circa 969), by his third wife, Sigen, had Cospatrck, the father of Uchtred, father of Dolfin (1131), father of Maldred and Patrick. This Maldred was father of five children, viz.: 1. Robert, who married Isabella, daughter of G. de Neville. 2. Gilbert. 3. John. 4. Gilbert. 5. Richard.

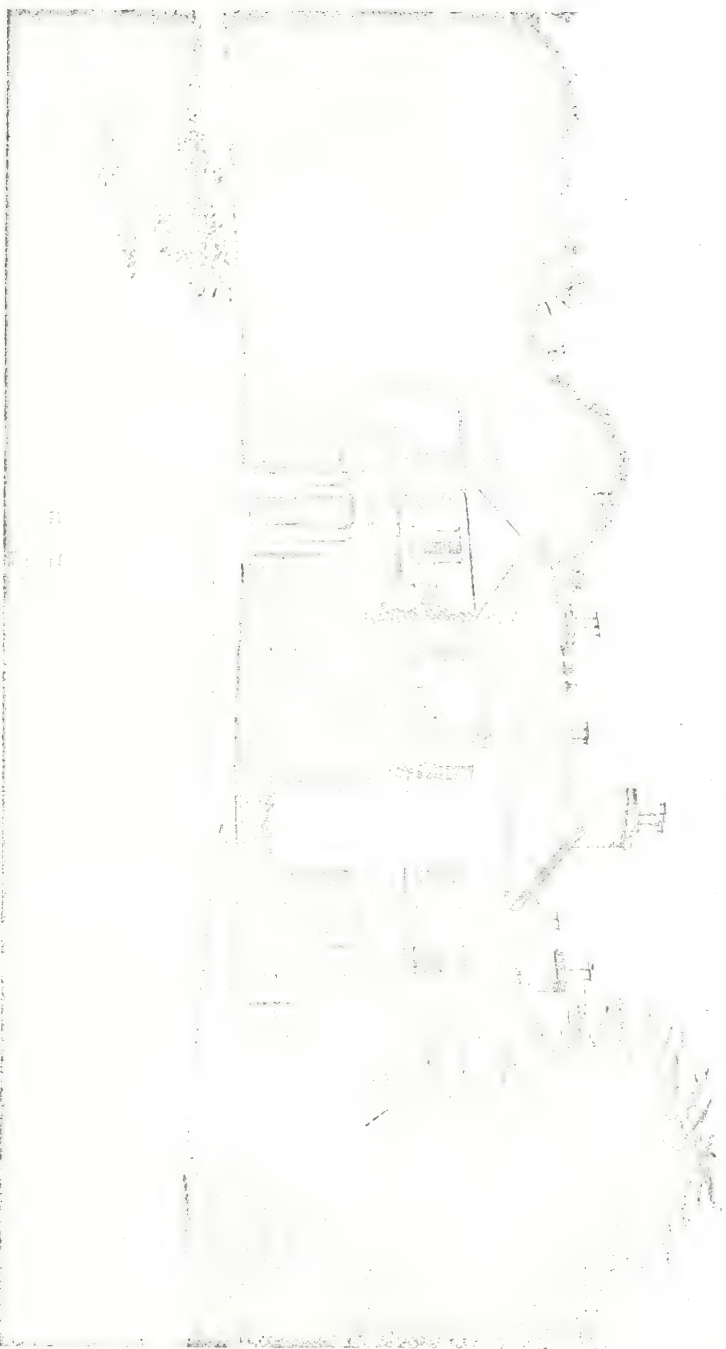
In his version of the pedigree of the House of Dunbar, etc., many references are given by the author to the sources of his information; it contains likewise the name of Siward, the giant Earl of Northumberland, who is stated to have married Aelfled, the great-granddaughter of Waltheof, the founder (?) of these families.

The territory once in possession of the Wedderlie family appears to have extended in a broken chain from the coast of Berwickshire to the Solway Firth. Yet many small landowners bearing the name, who were settled under a peculiar tenure in the royal patrimony at Lochmaben, may have had no distinct nor legitimate connection with the chief House, but at the same time it is probable there was but one family of the name. It is probable that in the fourteenth century the House of Wedderlie was more powerfully represented in Nithsdale than it its native county; and it is a question whether the representation of the family early in the seventeenth century did not revert to the head of the House settled in the former locality.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century an Edgar, Laird of Wedderlie, appears to have been married to a Countess of Home; and immediately afterwards, the fortune of this House seems to have reached the summit of its prosperity, in the reign of King Robert the Bruce, at whose marriage Richard de Edgar was a witness. One of the latter's four sons was placed by David Bruce at the head of the Clan McGowan, and Wedderlie itself seems to have been resigned to a younger brother,—probably the king's godson.

The Laird of Wedderlie, as co-representative of Robert de Ros, Lord of Sanquhar,—through his wife, a daughter of the latter,—was allied to the family of one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland in 1292. Thus his position must have been among the foremost.

THE EDGAR ANCESTRAL MANOR IN SCOTLAND



Yet it seems strange, that when a distinction came gradually to be made between territorial and titular barons, an Edgar should have acquired the latter rank, thus losing for his descendants a nominal status, which, like many powerful barons, they perhaps undervalued, during the season of material prosperity, and before the encroachments of men inferior by birth, but more ambitious—had reduced, by taking advantage of their inaptitude for war or business, or by marriage with their daughters, the once noble possessions of the family to comparatively a few acres.

Moreover, "they were among the few families who disobeyed the act of 1672, c 21, in not having their arms matriculated in the Lyon Register then established." Then again, the direct succession seems to have been more than once broken; and, like certain other families of cognate origin, there is a period of obscurity midway in the descent, and though it is incontrovertible, that even during the most troublous times Wedderlie never was held but by an Edgar, still the then laird may have been self sufficient and short-sighted, or ignorant of the intention of the act referred to, and content to thus proceed on the stagnating principle of "leaving well alone."

Of the Edgars of Wedderlie, in the fifteenth century, little is known, although it is evident that they must have continued to maintain considerable influence in their native county. In the following century, it is probable, that cadets of the House established themselves at Edinburgh. The heads of the family seem to have been turbulent in the seventeenth century. The Laird of Wedderlie was in 1679 a rebel. In 1661, George Edgar, of Newtown, was proceeded against, in the Court of Session, for oppressing Ker of Mersington and his servants, and preventing them cultivating their lands, and attending to peaceful occupations. Toward the close of the seventeenth century, the irregularities of another laird brought him into frequent bad odour with the rigid Presbyterians of his parish, whose interference he resisted for a while, but he was obliged to yield to them eventually.

In this century flourished the Edgars, of Peffermyln (an interesting ancient fortalice near Craigmillar), and the Edgars, of Keithhock, etc. The former was of the Nithsdale line of Wedderlie. The lands of Wedderlie continued in the possession of the Edgar family until 1733-36, when they passed by sale to Robert Lord Blantyre. As late, however, as the 25th July, 1736, John Edgar, the last in possession, marked the exodus of his race from their ancient patrimony by the gift to his native parish of Westruther, of a Bible "bound in blue Turkey leather, for which the Session appoints the minister, Mr. Scott, to return thanks to Wadderlie."

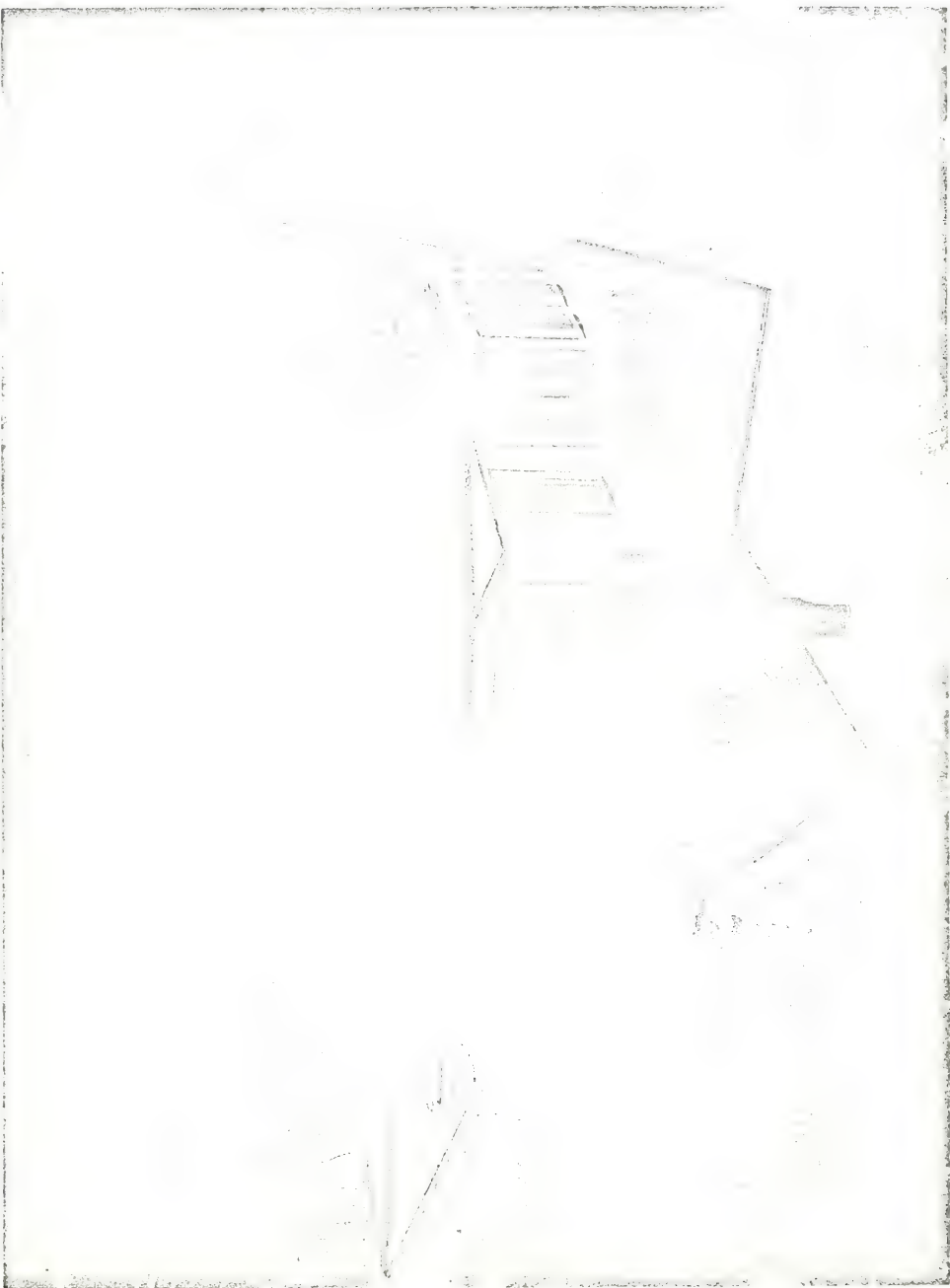
From a reference to the title deeds it would appear that the older muniments have either perished or gone astray among other col-

lections, for the earliest is a crown charter granted in the year 1619 to John Edgar, eldest son of Robert Edgar, of Wedderlie. This is a curious coincidence, inasmuch as the collateral succession of this Robert Edgar is one of the obscure links of the pedigree of Wedderlie.

Before the Reformation, the Edgars were buried in their own chapel at Wedderlie; from the Reformation to 1649 at Bassendean, and subsequently at Westruther; all their tombstones, however, have unfortunately disappeared, with one exception, on which the last resident Laird of Wedderlie has left a memorial of himself, in his native parish, which, from its quaintness, seems characteristic of the sad and somewhat sarcastic spirit of its author. An apocryphal story is told of the departure of the Edgars of Wedderlie from their ancient inheritance. The family were fallen and obliged to sell their estates, and in the words of the narrator,—“The auld laird and led-dy drove out in their carriage and four horses at mid-day; but the young laird (their only child) was broken-hearted at the thocht o’ leaving the auld place, and he waited till the darkening; for he said the sun should na shine when he left his hame.” The preserver of this anecdote was a very aged woman, named Eppy Forsyth, who died about 1640. She remembered seeing the young laird riding down the avenue alone, and she said “It was a dark nicht when the last Edgar rode out of Wedderlie.”

The death of the last recognized male heir of Wedderlie is thus recorded, and one of the many examples of the same kind of error is here repeated: “1617, March. . . . In Bedford Street, Bedford Square, London, aged 80, Rear Admiral Alexander Edgar, *the last male descendant of the ancient Scottish family of Edgar of Wedderlie.*” There are no complete pedigrees on record of the various families of Edgar in Scotland, and it would be a somewhat bold assertion to make that there may not, at the present day, be many descendants, in the male line, of the numerous cadets of the house of Wedderlie, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and earlier centuries. It is quite certain, for example, that the branch of the Wedderlie family planted at Newtoun de Birgham, in Berwickshire, flourished there until the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Hunter Edgar, in 1808. But there is a probability of nearer cadets of Wedderlie being in existence. Beside the “Edgars of Evelaw, and of Westruther,” local records show, that at the opening of the eighteenth century, Edgars were still numerous in the neighborhood of Wedderlie, and several families of the name still lived—some as lairds, others as “kindly tenants”—around the chief of their house. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to ascertain their relationship to him, considering that the last Laird of Wedderlie had no fewer than five sons, of whom the Admiral was one; it does seem remarkable that none of them should have left any known male descendants. On a reference

THE HOME OF MRS. CHARLES S. EDGAR, METUCHEN, N. J.



to the records of the Commissariat of Lauder, and of Edinburgh, where the wills of Edgars of, from, or at Wedderlie are recorded, it is at once perceived that there have been extensive offshoots, whose descendants have never been traced.

In the "Bride of Lammermoor" there are a few marked and curious coincidences between the family of Ravenswood and that of Edgar of Wedderlie. Both were of the Merse, and Wedderlie is situated at the foot of the Lammermoor hills. The Master of Ravenswood is named Edgar. Against the "Wolf's Crag" of the Romance we have "Wolfstruther," afterwards Westruther, the parish of Wedderlie. Edgar Ravenswood was related to the Humes and Douglasses; so likewise was Edgar, of Wedderlie; but what is still more remarkable, both families were connected with that of Chiesly, and at the same period. The Ravenswoods were involved in a litigation, in which Chiesly was implicated; while in the Public Records (Decisions of the Court of Session) at the period of the Romance, Edgar, of Wedderlie, had a bitter lawsuit with Chiesly, the tutor of his father's younger children. Edgar, of Wedderlie, was impoverished by his opposition to the Presbyterian church, just as Edgar Ravenswood opposed its minister at his father's funeral. Both families were turbulent, and both were brought to ruin by espousing the losing cause.

The estate of Kethick or Keithock, Forfarshire, a portion of the ancient possessions of the noble house of Lindsay, came into the Edgar family early in the seventeenth century. In January, 1613, Edgar, of Keithock, appears in the tax-roll of the sheriffdom of Forfar, at £44 10s. 4d. The name Edgar is found in the locality at an early period, viz., from 1202 to 1218, when the signatures of Robert and Thomas Edgar were attached to charters of the Bishop of Brechin, in favor of the abbey of Arbroath.

There were two separate families of Edgar, successively lairds of Keithock, in the seventeenth century. The second family purchased the estate from the former, about the year 1680, and thereupon procured a grant of coat armour. The representative of the ex-laird, forty years afterwards, followed their example; he is accordingly styled in the Lyon register as of "Dantzic in Poland," and eldest son of Keithock—that is, of the dispossessed laird.

David Edgar, laird of Keithock, was married (according to his family Bible, which is preserved) to Katherine Forrester, at Dundee, Scotland, by the Rev. William Rait, June 11, 1674. He had a numerous family, the fifth child being Thomas Edgar, the American emigrant. The succession to the estate of Keithock passed, by the law of primogeniture, to the eldest son, Alexander Edgar, born May 21, 1676, who married the eldest daughter of Peter Turnbull, of Smiddyhill, Forfarshire. The property continued in the possession of the Edgar family until 1790, when it was sold. Another son of

David Edgar, and younger brother of Thomas Edgar, the emigrant, was the very noted James Edgar, born at Keithock, July 13, 1688. With another brother, John Edgar, he participated actively in the Stuart rising of 1715. John was taken prisoner and died in captivity in Stirling Castle. James made his way to Keithock, borrowed from a tenant farmer a suit of laborer's clothes, and, thus disguised, escaped to the continent. Becoming secretary to the Chevalier St. George, the famous pretender to the British throne, he served him with the greatest fidelity and distinguished ability. Secretary Edgar died September 24, 1764.

I. Thomas Edgar, fifth child of David Edgar, laird of Keithock, by his wife, Katherine (Forrester) Edgar, was born, as exactly related in the family Bible, on "Wednesday, 19th of October, 1681, and baptized at the College Kirk by Mr. Irving, the 30th of said month." He came to America about 1715, purchased lands in New Jersey, lived near Rahway, and died there in 1759. He married Janet Knox, born in Woodbridge, March 16, 1689. They were the parents of seven children, of whom David was the ancestor of the Short Hill branch; Alexander, ancestor of the Woodbridge branch; and William, ancestor of the Rahway branch.

II. Alexander Edgar, son of Thomas and Janet (Knox) Edgar, was born in 1722, and died in 1763.

III. James Edgar, son of Alexander Edgar.

IV. Thomas (2) Edgar, son of James Edgar, married Mary Freeman and had eleven children, as follows: James, Albert, Benjamin, Freeman, Isabelle, Eliza, Caroline, Mary, and three who died young.

V. Albert Edgar, son of Thomas and Mary (Freeman) Edgar, was born in Woodbridge, New Jersey, November 27, 1813. He was a farmer, residing near Metuchen, Middlesex county, and was one of the founders, and until his death an elder of the Dutch Reformed church of that community. He died in Woodbridge, New Jersey, October 14, 1877. Albert Edgar married three times. His second wife was Susan (Tappen) Edgar, born February 19, 1813, died September 12, 1855, daughter of William Tappen. The Tappen home at Bonhamtown was once the headquarters of the British army during the Revolution. Afterward a British cannon ball was found in the house and is yet kept by Mrs. Charles S. Edgar as a souvenir. Issue: William Tappen; Charles Smith, of whom further; Milton Albert; Mary Amelia, died at the age of twelve.

VI. Charles Smith Edgar, son of Albert Edgar, was born in Bonhamtown, New Jersey, September 22, 1848, and died in Metuchen, New Jersey, May 15, 1917. He obtained a good education in the district schools, and grew to manhood on the home farm. Later he be-

Charles S. Edgar

Frances Emily Edgar

THE EDGAR FAMILY

came a landowner. A clay bed was found on his property, and he made the mining, washing and production of clays his life's business. The production of his mines was used in the pottery industry. He developed a very profitable enterprise, and secured a fortune through his enterprise and executive ability. He continued in business until his passing. He was a man of sterling character, and was held in high esteem by his townsmen and his business associates. In politics he was a Republican, and in religion a member of the Dutch Reformed church of Metuchen.

Mr. Edgar married, in Metuchen, New Jersey, December 20, 1882, Frances Emily Edgar, born May 22, 1848, daughter of Freeman and Sarah Elizabeth (Martin) Edgar, both parents born in New York City, where her father was a merchant. Sarah Elizabeth Martin was of an old New Jersey family living near Rahway. Mrs. Edgar survives her husband, and continues her residence in Metuchen, her home at No. 31 Graham avenue, a handsome residence built in 1889 by Mr. Edgar. Mrs. Edgar is a member of the Metuchen Dutch Reformed church, as was her husband. She is a lady highly esteemed in the community in which she has so long resided, and has been active in community affairs.

Issue: 1. Albert Charles, born May 27, 1898; attended Rutgers College, New Brunswick, and is now (1921) a student at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York. During the World War he was with the Twenty-eighth Regiment, United States Regular Engineers, and served in France.

References: "Genealogical Collections Concerning the Scottish House of Edgar," by a Committee of the Grampian Club. "Genealogical and Memorial History of the State of New Jersey," by Francis Bazley Lee. Family Data.



Vanrein and Allied Families

BY CECIL G. NEWLING, NEW YORK CITY

Rawdon Arms—Argent on a fesse gules between three pheons sable a lion passant or.
Crest—On a mount vert a wyvern sejant or.



THOMAS RAWDON came from the North of England to America about 1760, and settled in Tolland, Connecticut, where he took charge of a school, teaching writing and English. He had sons: Samuel, died in 1790; Thomas, of whom further; and probably Ezra.

II. Thomas (2) Rawdon, son of Thomas (1) Rawdon, was born December 19, 1719, and died in 1816. He married and had children, among them Erastus, of whom further.

III. Erastus Rawdon, son of Thomas (2) Rawdon, was born December 19, 1771, and died in 1826. He married (first) Lucy Lathrop, born August 31, 1773, died August 31, 1807 (see Lathrop V). He married (second) Mary Toby. Issue by first wife: Ralph, of whom further; Eliakim, born Jan. 15, 1796; Sophronia, born Dec. 23, 1797; Milton, born Jan. 9, 1800; Freeman, born Nov. 9, 1805; Lucy, born August 7, 1807.

Issue by second wife: Milton, born Oct. 3, 1809; Charles, born July 28, 1811; Leverett, born Nov. 17, 1815, died about 1866. He was afflicted with deafness and met an accidental death on the Long Island railroad.

IV. Ralph Rawdon, son of Erastus and Lucy (Lathrop) Rawdon, was born at Tolland, Connecticut, December 19, 1793. The following is an extract from an obituary record:

"On Wednesday evening last, Mr. Ralph Rawdon, one of the oldest bank-note engravers in the United States, died at his residence, No. 72 State street, Brooklyn. Mr. Rawdon was born in Tolland, Conn., on the 10th of December, 1793, and was consequently in his eighty-fourth year at the time of his death. His father, Erastus Rawdon, and his grandfather, Thomas Rawdon, were born in the same place on the 19th of December, 1771, and 1719, respectively. He was apprenticed at an early age to Mr. Abner Reed of East Windsor, Conn., where he rapidly mastered every branch of bank-note engraving. So carefully did he attend to his duties that he succeeded in purchasing the last two years of his apprenticeship. During the war of 1812, he served a short period as private in the East Windsor Guards. About the year 1815 he founded the bank-note company of Balch, Rawdon & Co. at Albany; some years afterward he founded the firm of Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Co. (from which sprang the American Bank Note Co.), from which he finally withdrew and established the banking house of Rawdon, Kellogg & Co. He was also the founder of the Bank Note Co. of New York. "Black Friday" proved disastrous to Mr. Rawdon, as to many others, but he never gave up to the last, manfully breasting the tide of fortune, although swimming against the stream. He leaves a son and daughter. The



Raidon



Robert Rawdon

S. Rawdon

funeral took place from his late residence, 72 State street, Brooklyn, on Saturday. The Rev. W. H. Ingersoll of the Reformed Dutch Church, of which the deceased was a member, officiated, and a large number of friends were present. The remains were taken to Jamaica, L. I., for interment." (They were removed to Maple Grove, in Long Island, in 1903.)

The records of the War Department at Washington show that Ralph Rawdon served as a private in Captain Edward Wolcott's company of Colonel Shepard's regiment of Connecticut State Troops, War of 1812. His service began August 3, 1813, and ended September 16, 1813. He married, September 3, 1815, Susan Arnold, born 1794, at East Haddam, Connecticut. Among their children was Lucy Ann, born February 14, 1817, married, September 10, 1835, Warren S. Kellogg (see Kellogg VI). Susan Arnold's mother was a daughter of J. Spencer, of East Haddam, Connecticut. The family of Spencer is descended from the ancient baronial family of De Spencer, of the time of William the Conqueror, and the members were elevated to the peerage by James I, with the title Lord Spencer of Wormleighton. They were afterward Earls of Sunderland, and obtained the Dukedom of Marlborough by a marriage with Lady Anna, second daughter of John Churchill, the celebrated duke of that name. The origin of the name is supposed to have been "dispenser"—giver of the king's bounty. The American ancestor of the well known Hartford Spencers was Jared Spencer. Arms of the Spencer family:

Arms—Quarterly; first and fourth quarters, argent and gules, in the second and third a fret or, over all on a bend sable three escallops of the first, for Spencer. Second and third, sable, a lion rampant, argent, on a canton of the last, a cross gules, for Churchill.

(The Kellogg Line).

Since all names were originally significant it is easy to account for such names as may have been identified with trades, residences, etc., and for derivation of Kellogg there must first be found the reason which would have caused the adoption by its first bearer. The first record in England is of Nicholas Keylogg, of Debden, Essex county. In 1515 he witnessed the will of William Hall, of the same place. A "log" in olden times was a kind of hobble for hindering live stock from straying, and "Keylogg" would indicate a maker of keys for logs, or manacles for prisoners—in other words a locksmith.

In 1525 Nicholas and William Kellogg, as the name was then spelled, were taxed in Debden. Nicholas Kellogg, born about 1488, married Florence Hall, daughter of William Hall. He was buried in 1558, she in 1571. They lived at Debden, Essex county. He had children, among them William.

William Kellogg, son of Nicholas and Florence (Hall) Kellogg, lived on a farm called "The Roose," was of Debden, and died in February, 1578. His wife Alice died in October, 1587. Among his children was Thomas.

Thomas Kellogg, son of William and Alice Kellogg, resided at "The Mondes" in Debden. Among his children was Phillipe.

Phillipe Kellogg, son of Thomas Kellogg, first appears in 1583 at Bocking, Essex, a parish near Debden. In 1585 he removed to Great Leighs. No record of his death has been found. Issue: Thomas, baptized 1583; Annis, died 1611; Robert, baptized 1585; Mary, baptized 1588; Prudence, baptized 1592; Martin, of whom further; Nathaniel; John; Jane; Rachel.

Martin Kellogg, son of Phillipe Kellogg, was baptized at Great Leighs, November 23, 1595, and died at Braintree, England, between May 20, 1671, and September 20, 1671. He was a weaver by occupation. He married, at St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford, Hertford county, England, October 22, 1621, Prudence Bird, daughter of John Bird; she died before 1671. Issue: John; Nathaniel, baptized 1624; Joseph, of whom further; Sarah, baptized 1628; Daniel, baptized 1630; Samuel; Martin.

I. Lieutenant Joseph Kellogg, the first American ancestor, son of Martin and Prudence (Bird) Kellogg, was baptized at Great Leighs, England, April 1, 1626, and died before February 4, 1708, at Hadley, Massachusetts. It is not known exactly when he came to America. In 1651 he was at Farmington, Connecticut, in 1655 moved to Boston, Massachusetts, and in 1661 to Hadley, where he was one of the proprietors. He kept the ferry between Hadley and Northampton. He was selectman of Hadley, 1665-74-77-79-81-85-92; sergeant of the military company, 1663; ensign, May 8, 1678; lieutenant, October 7, 1678, serving until 1692. In May, 1676, he was in Turner's Falls fight against the Indians. He was an energetic man, of strong, sturdy character, and bore a creditable part in the struggles of the early settlers. When he died his estate was valued at £400, and he had previously given sums to his children.

His first wife, Joanna, whom he probably married in England, died in 1666, and he married (second) Abigail Terry, daughter of Stephen Terry. Issue by first wife: Elizabeth, born in Farmington, 1651; Joseph, born 1653; Nathaniel, born 1654; John, born 1656; Martin, born in Boston, 1658; Edward, born 1660; Samuel, born 1662; Joanna, born 1664; Sarah, born 1666.

Issue by second wife: Stephen, of whom further; Nathaniel, born 1669; Abigail, born 1671; Elizabeth, born 1673; Prudence, born 1675; Ebenezer, born 1677; Jonathan, born 1679; Daniel, born 1682, died 1684; Joseph, born 1684; Daniel, born 1686, died young; Ephraim, born 1687, died young.

II. Ensign Stephen Kellogg, son of Lieutenant Joseph and Abigail (Terry) Kellogg, was born April 9, 1668, and died in Westfield, Massachusetts, June 5, 1722. He married, May 8, 1694, Lydia Belden, daughter of John Belden, of Wethersfield, Connecticut. Issue:

Stephen, born Feb. 3, 1695; Lydia, born Jan. 24, 1697; Moses, born Oct. 20, 1700; Abigail, born Dec. 27, 1702; Daniel, born Dec. 15, 1704; Ephraim, born July 2, 1707; Mercy, born Oct. 30, 1709; Noah, born Feb. 13, 1711; Silas, of whom further; Amos, born Sept. 30, 1716; Aaron.

III. Deacon Silas Kellogg, son of Ensign Stephen and Lydia (Belden) Kellogg, was born in Westfield, Massachusetts, April 7, 1714, and died January 24, 1792, in Sheffield, Massachusetts. He was a farmer and resided in Sheffield, Massachusetts. He was a man of high social and religious character, a delegate to the convention at Stockbridge to consider the right of British Parliament to tax America. He was clerk of land office of proprietors of Sheffield and Great Barrington.

He married, May 10, 1739, Ruth Root, daughter of Joshua Root; she died January 24, 1817, aged ninety-six years. Issue: Ephraim, born Oct. 5, 1740; Enos, born Dec. 24, 1742; Asa, of whom further; Eleanor, born August 21, 1747; Ruth, born Oct. 20, 1749; Rhoda, born Jan. 10, 1753; Miriam, born May 24, 1755; Silas, born August 7, 1757; Ann, born June 23, 1760.

IV. Captain Asa Kellogg, son of Silas and Ruth (Root) Kellogg, was born February 19, 1745, and died June 4, 1820. He settled in Galway, Saratoga county, New York, about the time of the Revolution; was deacon of the Presbyterian church; captain of militia; justice of the peace, and sergeant of Captain Noble's company (Colonel Brown), from June 29 to July 28, 1777.

He married, February 27, 1766, Lucy Powell, of Suffield, who died November 9, 1816. Issue: Frederick, born Sept. 27, 1766; Ezra, born June 27, 1769; Martin, born June 22, 1771; Charles, born Oct. 3, 1773; Warren, born August 11, 1775, died 1782; Asa, of whom further; Lucy, born Nov. 11, 1779; Electa, born Jan. 11, 1782, died same year; Warren, born June 2, 1783; Alexander Cyrus, born June 22, 1785; Electa, born May 6, 1788.

V. Asa (2) Kellogg, son of Captain Asa (1) and Lucy (Powell) Kellogg, was born in Sheffield, Massachusetts, November 12, 1777, and died August 23, 1836. He resided at Troy, New York, and was a hardware merchant for thirty years in company with his brothers, Warren and Alexander C.

He married (first), in June, 1804, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Joseph and Rosana (Barmon) Stewart (see Stewart V). He married (second), April 24, 1820, Anne Stewart (sister of his first wife), born May 15, 1794, died April 17, 1843. Issue by first wife: Eliza, born July 27, 1805, died Sept. 18, 1806; Warren Stewart, of whom further; Edward Asa, born June 15, 1808, died Oct. 20, 1809; Edward, born Jan. 20, 1810; Asa, born July 2, 1811, died 1848, unmarried; Eliza, born August 5, 1813, died Sept. 15, 1815.

Issue by second wife: Margaret Ann, born March 1, 1821; Jane Eliza, born April 22, 1822, died July 15, 1823; Jane Eliza, born Sept. 26, 1823; Mary Stewart, born August 12, 1826; William, born August 25, 1829, died Nov. 15, 1830; Henry, twin of William, born August 25, 1829; Caroline, born May 6, 1833, died Sept. 15, 1835.

VI. Warren Stewart Kellogg, son of Asa (2) and Margaret (Stewart) Kellogg, was born in Milton, New York, March 1, 1807, and died October 3, 1870, in Queens, Long Island. He resided in New York City.

He married, September 10, 1835, Lucy Ann Rawdon (see Rawdon IV.). Issue: 1. Ralph Rawdon, born in New York, June 21, 1836, died August 3, 1838. 2. Edward Hastings, an author and poet, born in New York, Feb. 27, 1838, died Feb. 21, 1898. 3. Lucy Ann, born in New York, June 15, 1840. 4. Margaret Ann, born in New York, August 21, 1843. 5. Leverett Rawdon, born at Rouse Point, New York, Oct. 6, 1845. 6. Warren Stewart, born in New York City, July 17, 1847. 7. Isaac Merritt, born in New York City, Sept. 23, 1849. 8. Susan Arnold, born in Queens, July 21, 1852, died April 29, 1872. 9. Isaac Newton Phelps, born in Queens, Long Island, May 12, 1854. 10. Abigail Wright, of whom further.

VII. Abigail Wright Kellogg, daughter of Warren Stewart and Lucy Ann (Rawdon) Kellogg, was born in Queens, Long Island, April 6, 1860. She married, in Hollis, Long Island, April 29, 1899, Adolph Vanrein (see Vanrein).

(The Stewart Line).

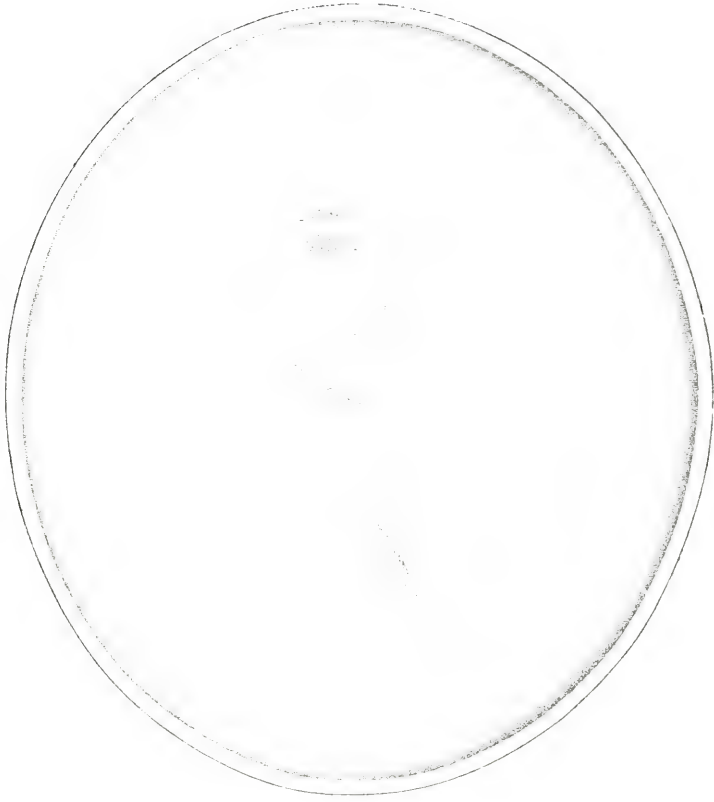
Stewart, Stuart Arms—Or, a fesse chequy azure and argent, within a double tressure flory counterflory gules.

Crest—A demi-lion rampant gules.

Supporters—Dexter, a horse argent, bridled gules; sinister, a stag proper, attired or.

Motto—*Spectemur agendo.*

The Stewarts are of Norman blood. A gentleman by the name of Alan, a Norman, accompanied William the Conqueror into England and obtained by his gift the lands and castle of Oswestry in Shropshire with the title of Lord Oswestry. His eldest son, William, became the ancestor of the Earls of Arundel. His second son, Walter, went to Scotland and became prominent in the service of David I., and had large territorial possessions conferred on him by that monarch, including the Barony of Renfrew, together with the office of Lord High Steward of Scotland. The stewardship became hereditary in his family, and was assumed by his descendants as a surname with the single change of the final letter "d" to "t", so that the proper orthography is not Stuart but Stewart. Mary Queen of Scots is responsible for the change of the original name. She was educated in France and wrote her name in the French lan-



W. S. Kellogg

Lucy Ann Kellogg

guage, in the alphabet of which there is no "w." Stuart is the French orthography of the name. Thus originated the name of Stewart.

I. *Walter Stewart*. Comparatively little information can be found concerning him, but it is said that he belonged to the "House of White Rose," and that his estate lay in Perthshire, Scotland.

II. *Robert Stewart*, born in 1655, married Janette Forsythe, probably daughter of James or William Forsythe. From "History of Windham, New Hampshire":

"He is said to have been one of the Covenanters who took part in Battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679, between troops of Charles II. and the Covenanters led by their ministers, in which the Covenanters were defeated with great loss. In 1685 Charles Second having died, he was immediately succeeded by his brother James Second, the cruel and unrelenting foe of Scotch Presbyterians. The Covenanters were hunted like beasts of prey, and in the very heart of the mountain solitudes they were traced and slain. It was during these fierce persecutions that Robert Stewart sundered the ties of kindred and association and became an unwilling exile. Crossing the North Channel in an open boat he fled to Ireland where many of his clan seemed to have preceded him. He settled in Londonderry, where he was soon joined by his family, but even here they were not safe from tyranny and persecution; the Papists were there. King James's officers in Ireland were mostly of the Catholic faith and determined to advance that cause. The Protestants were disarmed and placed in a defenceless condition. Being surrounded by Catholics they were not safe in life or property, their houses were burned, their cattle stolen and the Catholic soldiers roamed the country, pillaging, maiming and committing all kinds of outrages. Such tyranny of the king awakened fierce alarm in the three kingdoms, and the leading men of England invited William, Prince of Orange, who had married the eldest daughter of James Second to come over from Holland and assume the government. He arrived in England November 5, 1688, and the army, the clergy and the people going over to William, James fled to France, but he resolved not to give up his kingdom without a struggle, and his greatest strength being in his Irish-Catholic adherents, he landed in Ireland March 12, 1689. Here the Protestant communities of the North of Ireland stood in his way. The strongest of these towns was Londonderry, and the now powerful army of King James was bent upon the capture of the city, the siege of which, with its horrors and heroism, is familiar history with the descendants of those sturdy Scotch ancestors who made such a heroic defense and saved Protestantism in the United Kingdom. Peace having been restored and tolerance of religious sentiments allowed, we find our Robert returning to the land he loved, but never having recovered his estate."

He died in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1714. His widow came to America, and is supposed to have died at Colrain, Massachusetts, at an advanced age. She was wont to relate to her descendants the thrilling incidents of her life in connection with the cruel persecutions of the Covenanters in Scotland by James Second. They had four children: John, of whom further; Robert; Julia Ann; Samuel.

III. *John Stewart*, son of Robert and Janette (Forsythe) Stewart, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1682. He seems to have returned in early life to seek his fortune amid the scenes of his boyhood in Ireland, where he married (first) Elizabeth Clark, daughter of John Clark. The Clarks were a Scotch-Irish family. He married (second) Elizabeth Forsythe.

Although the Revolution had subjugated the Papist party, still our Scotch-Irish ancestors experienced many embarrassments. A

tenth of their increase was rigorously exacted to aid in supporting a minister of the established religion. They also held their lands and tenements by lease and not as proprietors of the soil. Morrison's "Among the Scotch-Irish" quotes from an interesting sketch from which we glean the following:

"On a certain September morning, in the year 1718, a cavalcade, in which were women and children, whose dress and bearing bespoke the farming class, might have been seen leaving Aghadowey, by the Derry road. In the cavalcade were a number of old-fashioned wheel cars, with low, solid wheels and broad bottoms, upon which were piled provisions, wearing apparel and household effects. Accompanying the procession, and acting as guide, philosopher, and friend, was a clergyman in the prime of life, and dressed in the simple garb of the Presbyterian ministers of that period. As the cavalcade wends its way along the road, the people are ever and anon casting regretful looks at the waving fields of golden corn, the green valleys and the wooded hills, now assuming an autumnal brown of their native parish. The cavalcade is a band of emigrants of about one hundred families on their way to Londonderry, there to embark for the Western world. Their clergyman is Rev. James McGregor, minister of the Presbyterian congregation of Aghadowey to which all the families belonged, and who accompanied them to America.

"The reasons which induced these people to leave their native land and undertake a voyage across the Atlantic, which in those days was tedious and full of hardships, and to face the uncertain prospects of new settlers, was partly religious and partly agrarian. Being Presbyterians they were subjected to the unjust and insulting provisions of the Test Act, under which it was penal for a person of their persuasion to teach a school or hold the humblest office in the State. Then again, at the time of the Revolution, when a considerable part of the country lay waste, and when the whole framework of society was shattered, land had been let out on lease at very low rents to Presbyterian tenants. About 1717-1718 these leases began to fall in, and the rents were usually doubled and frequently tripled. Hence farmers became discouraged, and a number of them belonging to Aghadowey formed the design of emigrating to America, where they would be able to reap the fruits of their own industry. They landed at Boston on the 14th of October, 1718. In the spring of 1719, sixteen families proceeded to the State of New Hampshire, where they founded a town, which they called Londonderry, in patriotic recollection of the county they had left. Here, too, they organized the first Presbyterian church in New England, of which Mr. McGregor assumed the pastoral charge without ordination."

Among these emigrants, and one of the sixteen settlers, we find our John Stewart with his own and his mother's family, who have left their homes again, this time to better their fortunes in the Western World. John Stewart was a prominent man in the Londonderry settlement. We find from Morrison's "History of Windham, New Hampshire," that he was one of the grantees of the town. His farm was known as the Precept farm or lot, and was of sixty acres. He became dissatisfied and complained of wrong done to him in laying out his land by unjust methods, and in 1728 petitioned to the General Assembly for redress as follows (From "History of Windham, New Hampshire"):

"To the Honourable John Wentworth, Esq. Leutt Governor commander in chieff of Hampshr, and to the Generall Assembly of both houses.

"The humble petition of the subscribers to this Honourable Assembly, wee complean of wrong don to us and grivoos injustice in laying outt our land by unjust methods viz. that a part of our proprietors have taken their chois of all our cummons and we are nott allowed neither lott or chois and rendered unsheur of having our hom lotts made Equal with others, one method Dos nott prevall here to do as they would be done by. Wee the Complamentt Desire and make requeast for a practicable reull that may yealld saiftly to every party and thatt a magor vote may nott cutte any propriator outt of his right by

design or conning which shall further appear by a paper annexed here unto, which will make it appear mor fully to have ben practised hear on propertie hurtttofore another the complanitt seke for redress from this Honorable house and your petitioners shall ever pray.

"May the 15th 1728.

"JOHN STEWART & OTHERS."

The petition was granted and additional land was laid out to him on that part of Londonderry which is now Windham—a long narrow strip of land between Cobbet's pond and Policy pond (now called Canobie lake), a description of which we get from "Willey's Book of Nutfield."

"Londonberry ober 11th 1728. Then laid out to John Stewart thirty-four acres of land which is full for his satisfaction of his amendment and twenty acres addition. Said land lies southerly of Cobbet's Pond (sometimes called Cubages Pond) and is bounded on the west by a maple tree marked, from thence running southeast and bounding on John Barr's land to Policy Pond and bounding northeasterly on said pond to a stake and stones from thence running northwest and bounding on Samuel Allisan's land to a swamp to a dry oak tree marked, from thence running southwesterly to the bounds first mentioned, there being land allowed within said bounds for two cross roads not exceeding six rods wide. Recorded this fourth day Jan. 1728-29. Pr. John McMurphy, Town Clerk, John Wallace, John Archibald, John Mitchell, Committee.

"At a proprietor's meeting held at Londonderry Nov 10th 1728 the return of the aforesaid record was read and approved of by the town for the said John Stewart's use, benefit, and behoof in fee.

"Attest Pr.

"JOHN MC MURPHY,

"Town Clerk."

This land was afterward inherited and occupied by his son, John Stewart, and here his grandson, John Stewart, was born and resided until he removed to Shelburne, Massachusetts, in 1773. It seems it was not always smooth sailing in this little Londonderry settlement. Some of the inhabitants were desirous of forming a new parish in another part of the town a good distance away. To this John Stewart and others were most bitterly opposed, as the following petition shows:

"We the under Subscribers being Inhabitants of L: Derry and province of New Hampshire (viz) living in the Southerly part of sd town, we are informed that there are Sundry of our Neighbors Petitioners your Excelly and Hon for a new parish in sd Town, therefore we wod signify to your Excell and Hon that we hope by the blessing of God in a fue years to be fit to be Erected into a parish or precinct by ourselves therefore we pray your Excell and Hon not to hurt our yong beginnings in setting off a new parish in said town of Londonderry, as witness our hands. Dated at Londonderry aforesaid Feby the 9th 1739-40.

JOHN STEWART and others."

It seems that this petition was not successful, and a new parish was soon after incorporated.

John Stewart (3rd), was a carpenter by trade. He made his will April 3, 1741, died three days later, and is buried in the ancient cemetery at Derry, New Hampshire. The following inscription is copied from his tombstone, a large horizontal slab.

VANREIN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

MEMENTO MORI

Nam cito labitur hora.

Here lyes the interred body of
Mary Stuard, the daughter of
John Stuard and Eliz his wife,
who departed this life November
the 7, 1738 and in the 22
year of her age.

Here lyeth also the body of
John Stuart father of the
aforesaid Mary who departed this
mortal life about the 60 year of
his age and on the 6 day of
April Anno Domini 1741.

His wife died in Colrain, Massachusetts, and was buried in the old cemetery on the hill. The date of her death is unknown, with nothing to mark the spot where her dust reposes.

The children of John Stewart, mostly born in Ireland, are as follows: Charles, born 1705, died 1777; Robert; James; John, born 1711, died March 29, 1761; Mary, born 1716, died Nov. 7, 1738; Samuel; Joseph, of whom further; Margaret, married William Aken; all trace of her lost.

IV. *Joseph Stewart*, son of John and Elizabeth Stewart, was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, January 17, 1721. He married (first), June 1, 1747, Margaret Thompson, who died subsequent to 1770. He married (second) Hannah Hesecock, who died in 1824. Prior to 1752 he removed from Londonderry, New Hampshire, to Colrain, Massachusetts, and came into possession of lot No. 43, upon which he lived. It was located well under the protection of Fort Morrison, to which the family resorted in time of danger from Indian raids, and where he, doubtless, served as defender under Captain Israel Williams in 1756, and again under Captain Samuel Wells in 1759. He was chosen one of the fence viewers in 1756; chosen fence viewer and collector in 1757, in 1760 he was chosen to manage the affairs of the town; March, 1768, he was chosen assessor, but refused to take the oath; in 1757 he sold the south half of lot No. 44 to Alexander Thompson, bounded north by land of John Thompson and south by his own land; in 1762 he sold land in the second division to James Anderson Thompson; March 15, 1770, he sold his homestead, but the family seem to have been living in the vicinity of Colrain until 1773. After this date they seem to be pioneering through the southern towns of Vermont, and we find them at Halifax and Bennington. He served in the Revolution under Colonel Blair, Albany county, New York. In 1800 they appear in Washington county, New York. In 1719 Joseph and Hannah Stewart deed land to Joseph.

The following interesting letters, written by him in the ninety-

seventh and ninety-eighth years of his age, have unveiled so much of the Stewart history, the compiler could not refrain from the impulse to append them as a fitting memoir of this grand old patriarch, who died at White Creek, New York, February 22, 1821, aged one hundred years, one month and five days.

"White Creek, August the 23, 1818.

"I have received your letter and I am sorry to hear of your sickness.
"By all accounts of our descent, we are of the royal house of the Stewarts. My Father was John the eldest son of Robert my Grandfather, who was obliged to fly to Ireland when they were newly married. My Granny was sent to Edinburgh and he was born there. As far as I can learn they belong to the House of White Rose and not altogether separated from the House of Black Hall. My Grandfather's family's names was John and Robert and their sister's name was Juleyan, Samuel, the youngest. My Grandfather had a good estate in Scotland when he fled from it. King William would do nothing about it, neither would Queen Anne, but when King George came to the crown their Uncle Samuel Stewart, by the help of the Duke of Argyle, recovered it. That must be the estate you mention. I was informed that Uncle Samuel died without issue, left no heirs. The way that I came to know of our descent was by old Father James Stewart of Colrain. You may remember young James, who married at last Margaret Anderson your cousin. That descent was from White Rose, for he himself belonged to Black Hall. He had a catalogue of the house of Stewards for many hundred years, but son Alx carried it away with him to Pennsylvania. I did not know all this until after my father's death. This I knew they belonged to the Rose party, by reason of the high esteem they had for Charles the First who had many good properties.

"My father's eldest son Charles who is your uncle, and my Father and your grand Uncle Robert would never own the last pretender or any of the race by reason of his spurious birth. No man dare assail the name of Stewart that was if he would not forfeit his life. It gives you the reach, James the 1st had two sons James and Robert, James the 3d had two sons James and Robert. This is the whole I can give you at present. I am afraid you can't read for since I got that fall at your house I could never hold a pen to write straight. I would beg you would acquaint me of your proceedings therefore I rest

"Your Father

"To John Stewart.

JOHN STEWART."

The following letter was addressed to a person, name unknown, who evidently had written him a letter of inquiry:

"White Creek, March 15, 1819.

"Dear Sir:

"I received yours of the 16th February last, informing me that the heirs of Elizabeth Forsyth that she married a Stewart. My Father's name was John Stewart, the eldest son of Robert Stewart. My mother's name was Elizabeth Forsyth. My grandmother's name was Forsyth, her Christian name forgot. My great-grandfather's name was, as I believe, Walter. My grandfather's name by my mother's side was either William or James, which I cannot tell."

The above letter seems to have been closed abruptly and never received by the person addressed, it being a choice relic now in the possession of Joseph's descendants.

Issue of Joseph and Margaret (Thompson) Stewart: Susan, born May 18, 17—, died 1750; Mary, born July 13, 1750, died 28th of same month; Joseph, of whom further; John, born Feb. 14, 1755; Alexander, born April 10, 1757; Mary, born June 27, 1759; Ann, born Sept. 24, 1761; Jonathan, born May 3, 1765; Solomon (twin), born May 3, 1765.

V. Joseph (2) Stewart, son of Joseph (1) and Margaret (Thomp-

son) Stewart, was born in Colrain, Massachusetts, April 6, 1752. He settled in Halifax, Vermont, and was also at Bennington, Vermont. He moved to the State of New York and settled on a farm where, it is said, the apples that fell from the trees rolled down into Vermont. He was a soldier in the Revolution, serving with his father in Colonel Blair's regiment, Albany county, State of New York troops, and was granted land bounty for his services.

He married, October 3, 1774, Rosana Barmon, born May 17, 1754, died April 25, 1813. Issue: 1. Eunice, born Feb. 26, 1776; married Horace Barnam. Their daughter, Rosana A., born 1817, was a graduate of Mrs. Willard's School for Young Ladies, at Troy, New York, which was so noted in the early years of the last century. She married Abel Wilder, a physician. 2. Joseph, born March 14, 1778; married Sarah Dunton. Joseph Dunton, their son, born in Hartford, New York, in 1811, was a physician in Washington, D. C., and a surgeon in the United States Army. Under the belief that a large estate awaited the Stewart heirs in this country he went to England and made a study of the family. 3. Reuben, born April 9, 1780. He was at one time a resident of Watertown, Mass., and married a daughter of William Johnson, at Hartford, New York. Reuben Stewart died in Delaware, Ohio, August 12, 1838. Children: Sarah, Minerva, and Austin. 4. Rosana, born July 1, 1782, died July 6, 1818; married John Allen. 5. David, born Jan. 20, 1784; married Polly Ashton. 6. Margaret, born April 8, 1786, died January 15, 1819; married Asa Kellogg (see Kellogg V). 7. Mary, born February 20, 1788, died Sept. 12, 1852; married Francis Landerdale. 8. Sylvester, born March 7, 1790, died Feb. 8, 1846. 9. Anne, born May 15, 1794, died April 17, 1843; married, as his second wife, Asa Kellogg. (see Kellogg V). 10. Enos H., born June 18, 1797.

(The Lowthrop-Lathrop Line).

Arms—Gyronny of eight azure and gules, an eagle displayed argent.

Crest—A gamecock proper.

I. Lowthorpe is a small parish in Dickering, East Riding of York. This parish gave name to the family of Lowthrop, Lothrop, Lathrop. The church of the parish, dedicated to St. Martin, had for one of its chaplains, in the reign of Richard II, Robert de Lowthrop. In 1216 Walter de Lowthrope was sheriff of Yorkshire. In 1317 Robert de Lowthrop was appointed to the rectorship of Horningsheath. From this Robert descends John, of whom further.

II. John Lowthrop, of Lowthorpe, early in the sixteenth century was of the manor of Dickering, East Riding of York. He was a gentleman of landed estates in Cherry Burton, about four miles from Lowthorpe. In 1545 he appears on the subsidy roll, assessed twice as much as any other inhabitant of the parish. He left a son, Robert, of whom further.

III. Robert Lowthrop succeeded to the estates of his father in Cherry Burton. He married Ellen ——. He died in 1558. Among his children was Thomas, of whom further.

IV. Thomas Lowthrop was born in Cherry Burton. He married (first) Elizabeth Clark, who died in 1574. His second wife, Mary, died in 1588, and he had a third wife, Jane. About 1576 he removed to Etton, East Riding, York. He died in 1606. By his second wife he had John, baptized December 20, 1584, in Etton, pioneer and founder of the family in America.

(The Family in America).

I. Rev. John Lathrop, son of Thomas Lowthrop, was born at Etton, Yorkshire, England, and baptized there December 20, 1584. He also spelled his name Lothropp. He was educated in Queen's College, Cambridge, graduating in 1605 with the degree of B.A., and taking his master's degree in 1609. He became curate of the parish church in Egerton in the Lower Half Hundred of Calehill, Lathe of Screy, County Kent. He was there as early as 1614, probably in 1611, and as late as the fall of 1619, and it was doubtless his first and only parish as minister of the Church of England. When he could no longer subscribe to the creed of that church he renounced his orders in 1623 and allied himself with the Puritans. In 1624 he was called to succeed Rev. Henry Jacob, an independent minister of the First Independent Church of London, who had resigned to go to Virginia. The worship of this church was illegal and their meetings secret. The church was discovered by a spy named Tomlinson, and forty-one made prisoners, eighteen being allowed to escape, April 22, 1632. The Puritan prisoners were consigned to the old Clink prison in Newgate and in the Gatehouse. In the spring of 1634 all were released on bail except Mr. Lathrop. In the quaint language of Nathaniel Morton in the "New England Memorial" (1669) the story of his further stay in England is briefly told:

"His wife fell sick, of which sickness she died. He procured liberty of the bishop to visit his wife before her death, and commended her to God by prayer, who soon gave up the ghost. At his return to prison his poor children, being many, repaired to the bishop at Lambeth, and made known unto him their miserable condition, by reason of their good father's being continued in close durance, who commiserated their condition so far as to grant him liberty who soon after came over into New England."

The next record is found in Winthrop's Journal, under date September 18, 1634. "The Griffin and another ship now arriving with 200 passengers. Mr. Lathrop and Mr. Sims two Godly ministers coming in the same ship." The following record is in the handwriting of John Lathrop, made in Scituate, where he had settled: "Jann. 19, 1634 att my house, uppon wch day I was chosen Pastour and invested into office."

VANREIN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

"He left his home in Scituate after some disagreement in the church, and with others from Scituate located at Barnstable on Cape Cod, arriving October 11, 1639, bringing with them the crops they had raised in Scituate. Mr. Lathrop fearlessly proclaimed in old and New England the great truth that man is not responsible to his fellowmen in matters of faith and conscience. Differences of opinion he tolerated. During the fourteen years that he was pastor of the Barnstable church, such was his influence over the people, that the power of a civil magistrate was not needed to restrain crime. No pastor was ever more beloved by his people, none ever had a greater influence for good. * * * To become a member of his church no applicant was compelled to sign a creed or confession of faith. He retained his freedom, he professed his faith in God, and promised that it should be his constant endeavor to keep His commandments, to live a pure life and to walk in love with his brethren."

He stood among the Puritans. Morton says: "He was a man of humble and broken hearted spirit, lively in Dispensation of the Word of God, studious of peace, furnished with godly contentment, willing to spend and be spent for the cause of the Church of Christ."

Rev. John Lathrop married, in Scituate, Anna, perhaps daughter of William Hammond, of Watertown. He died in Barnstable, Massachusetts, November 8, 1653. His will was dated August 10, and proved December 6, 1653, bequeathing to son Thomas, the eldest; to son John, who was in England; son Benjamin; daughters Jane and Barbara; to each of the rest of his children, both his and his wife's. Issue: 1. Jane, baptized at Egerton, England, Sept. 29, 1614; married, April 9, 1635, Samuel Fuller. 2. Anne, baptized in Egerton, May 12, 1616, buried there April 30, 1617. 3. John, baptized in Egerton, February 22, 1617-18; died young. 4. Barbara, baptized October 31, 1619; married John Emerson. 5. Thomas, born in England; a prominent citizen at Barnstable. 6. Samuel, born in England; came to Scituate in 1634. 7. Joseph, of whom further. 8. Benjamin, born in England; settled in Charlestown. 9. Barnabas, baptized at Scituate, June 6, 1636; married (first), Dec. 1, 1658, Susanna Clark; (second) Abigail Dodson, widow. 10. Child, born and died July 30, 1638. 11. Abigail, baptized at Barnstable, Nov. 2, 1639. 12. Bathsheba, baptized Feb. 27, 1641; married Alexander Marsh, and lived in Braintree. 13. John, born at Barnstable, Feb. 9, 1644; married (first), January 3, 1671-72, Mary Cobb; (second), Dec. 9, 1695, Hannah Fuller, widow of Dr. John Fuller. 14. Son, born and died same day, buried Jan. 25, 1649.

II. Joseph Lathrop, son of Rev. John Lathrop, was born in England, in 1624, and died in 1702. He came to America with his father in 1634. He settled in Barnstable, and was deputy to the General Court for fifteen years, selectman for twenty-one years, register of Probate Court, constable in 1664, and in 1667 receiver of excise. He was lieutenant and later captain of military organizations of Barnstable. He married, December 11, 1650, Mary Ansell. He had twelve children, among them Hope, of whom further.

III. Hope Lathrop, son of Joseph and Mary (Ansell) Lathrop, was born July 15, 1671, and died October 29, 1736. He settled in



Christopher Landon

Barnstable, removed to Falmouth, Massachusetts, and later to Connecticut, purchasing one hundred and fifty acres in Tolland, Connecticut. He married, November 15, 1696, Elizabeth Lathrop, born 1677, died 1763. He had thirteen children, among them John, of whom further.

IV. John (2) Lathrop, son of Hope and Elizabeth (Lathrop) Lathrop, was born October 3, 1699, and died October 17, 1752. He resided in Tolland, Connecticut, was selectman for five years, justice of the peace, town clerk, 1722, and representative to the State Legislature, 1748-1751. The Christian name of his wife was Ann. Issue: David, born October, 1723; Jonathan, born Sept. 18, 1727; Anna, born March 10, 1730; John, of whom further; Thatcher, born Jan. 26, 1734; Lydia, born June 21, 1736; Elizabeth, born April 22, 1740.

F. John (3) Lathrop, son of John (2) and Ann Lathrop, was born May 6, 1732, and died March 24, 1812. He married, December 10, 1754, Lucy Gray, of Coventry, who died December 25, 1807, aged sixty-six years.

Issue: 1. Desire, born and died Nov. 11, 1755. 2. Anne, born Oct. 19, 1756, died November 23, 1756. (The records above are from autographed family records of John Lathrop, now in possession of Thomas C. Lathrop, of Stafford Springs). 3. Luscilla, born Nov. 23, 1757; married Eliab Ladd. 4. Presinda, born Jan. 30, 1761; married William Huntington; settled in Watertown, New York, and had eight children. 5. John, born April 24, 1763; killed in 1780; served in the Revolutionary War. 6. Elizabeth, born 1765; married Andrew Steele. 7. Elvira, born June 13, 1768, died (family record says) December 5, 1836. 8. Rowland, born May 10, 1771; married Hannah Crafts. 9. Lucy, married Erastus Rawdon (see Rawdon III). 10. Jonathan, born Feb. 17, 1776, died 1766. 11. Molly, born Sept. 12, 1779; married (first) a Woodward, (second) a Torrey, of Vermont.

ADOLPH VANREIN

Adolph Vanrein, one of the brilliant men in the legal profession in Brooklyn, whose death in the spring of 1921 removed from legal circles a mind of rare power, which for many years had been a living force for progress, was a son of Christopher and Sybilla (Kern) Vanrein.

Christopher Vanrein was born in Munich, Germany, and came to the United States in his early manhood, as a specialist in the finer work of piano manufacture. He was connected with the United Piano Company, and lost a considerable fortune through the activities of this concern by refusing to desert his partners in a crisis. He married Sybilla Kern, in New York City, and they were the parents of two children, Adolph, whose name heads this review, and Amelia, deceased.

VANREIN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Adolph Vanrein was born in New York City, September 22, 1856, and died in Brooklyn, May 4, 1921. He received his early education in Public School No. 17, Brooklyn, later taking a preparatory course at Woodruff Academy. Following this he entered Columbia University Law School, of New York City, from which he was graduated in 1876. Thus at the age of twenty years, with mental capacity far above the ordinary, Mr. Vanrein entered upon his career. His attainments were such as only the man of unusual talents can reach. He was endowed with a wonderful memory, remarkable not only for tenacity, but for precision, and as the years passed he accumulated an almost inexhaustible fund of legal information. Always a student, he informed himself of every available fact that could possibly bear upon his profession, even at some remote time, and when occasion arose he could draw upon that fund of information almost entirely without notes. He became an acknowledged authority on wills and trusts, also on laws relating to real estate and titles, and for some years was associated with William Murray. Although Mr. Vanrein had reached an age when the inevitable end of his career could not have been delayed for any great number of years, still his death came as a shock to his colleagues in the profession. He had always been so forceful, had possessed capability so fully abundant for every demand of his practice, and his mental capacity, far from abating, had seemed so eminently surpassing, that the thought of death appeared only as a remote possibility. He left a vacancy which will not be readily filled.

While Mr. Vanrein was keenly interested in every phase of public progress, his interest was wholly impersonal, and self-aggrandizement was farthest from his desire. He was a leader in Republican party affairs in the Bushwick district, but his efforts were for the good of the people and the permanent stability of Republican party principles, his name never appearing in candidacy for public honors. He was a member of the Brooklyn Bar Association, was legal adviser for and a stockholder in the Franklin Trust Company and also in the Dime Savings Bank; director of the Lawyers' Mortgage Company; and was instrumental in forming many other trust companies.

Mr. Vanrein was a devout member of the Reformed Church on the Heights, was deacon and elder of the Greene Avenue Presbyterian Church, an ardent worker in church affairs, and an exhaustive student of the Bible. He was deeply appreciative of all serious thought on any topic, religious or secular, and when opportunity permitted never failed to hear noted speakers of the lecture platform.

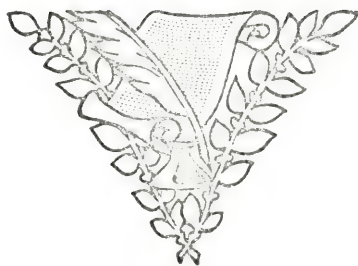
Mr. Vanrein married (first) Lucy Skidmore, of Brooklyn, and after her death he married (second), at Hollis, Long Island, April 29, 1899, Abigail Wright Kellogg, daughter of Warren Stewart and Lucy Ann (Rawdon) Kellogg (see Kellogg and Rawdon lines). Mrs. Abigail (Kellogg) Vanrein, who survives her husband, is a well



A. Warren

Abigail F. Vanreim

known artist. She studied at the Packer Collegiate Institute, and has won prominence in various fields of art, figure painting, sculpture, miniature work in clay, from life, medallions and decorative work. She resides in Brooklyn, and her delightful summer residence is at Ridgefield, Connecticut.



Editorial

UNUSUAL EVENTS

The present year has witnessed two events of rare significance. The first, on April 27th, was the centennial anniversary of the birth of General Ulysses S. Grant, the Great Commander under whose leadership the Armies of the Union achieved their great victory, the restoration of that Union and of its governmental authority. The anniversary was observed throughout the greater part of the land, in nearly every school house, by nearly every social and literary club, and by great public assemblages in multitudes of cities and villages. The principal event was the dedication of the massive equestrian Grant statue in Washington City.

The second event was the dedication, in Washington City, on Memorial Day, May 30th, of the stately Memorial Building erected in honor of the great Lincoln. So impressive in its classic simplicity and dignity is this great edifice, that there seems to be somewhat of truth in the remark of a highly appreciative witness—that spoken words of eulogy under such a shadow, and with so great a character for its subject, would seem to be superfluous.

But the most impressive fact in connection with the two great observances was the cordial and appreciative association in the dedicatory services of the great number of survivors of the two mighty armies who contended against each other during the four years of Civil War, and who now, with fervent voice and tear-dimmed eyes (no figure of rhetoric here) re-echoed in their souls the sacred words uttered by the Great War President in his Second Inaugural: “The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.” If only the lately warring nations of the earth could meet together, heart to heart, as did the Blue and Gray of America!

CONCERNING HISTORIES

A short time ago a United States Senator, somewhat noted for his pronounced views upon any question attracting his attention, and

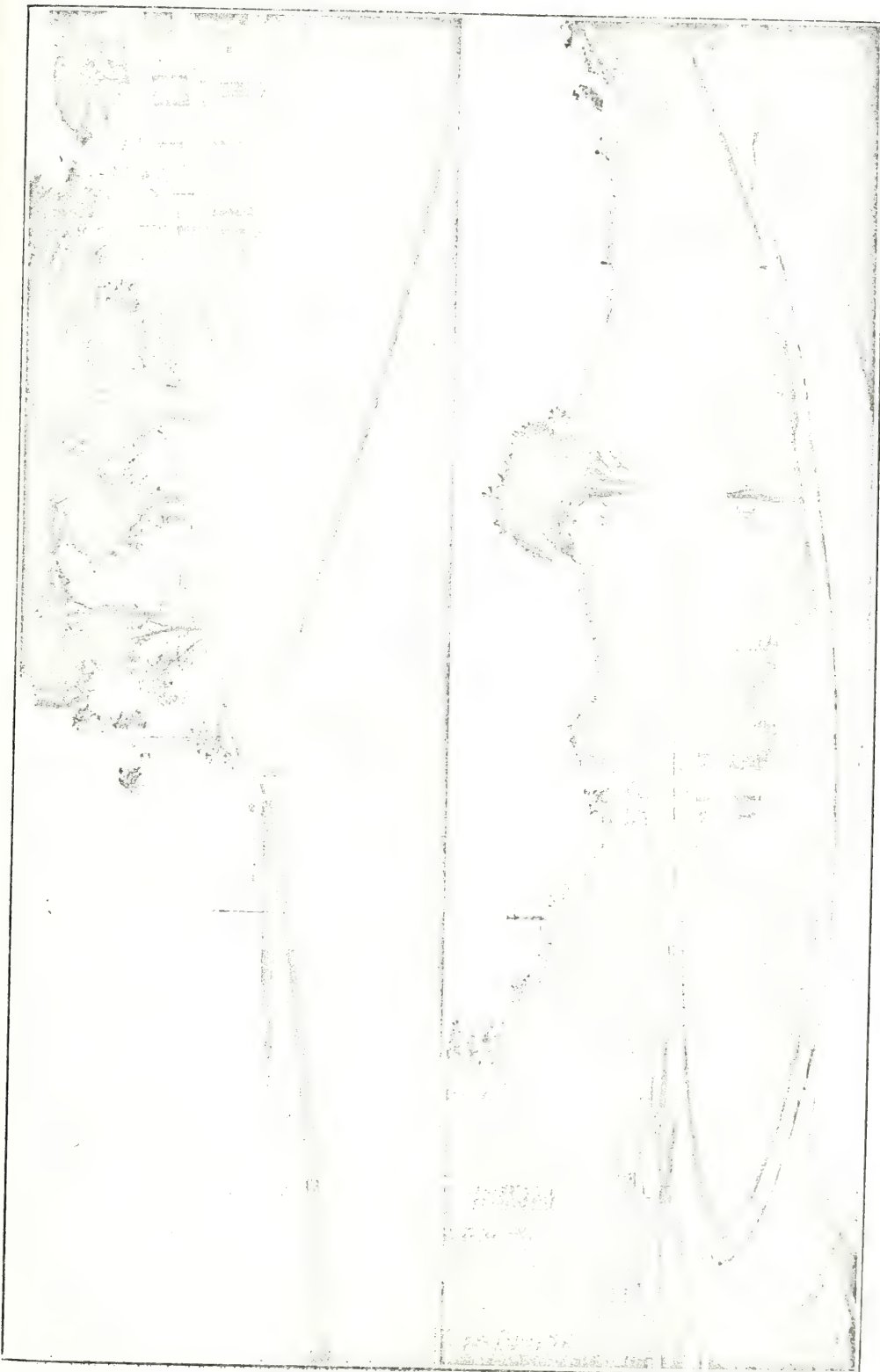
for his vigor of expression in giving them publicity, severely criticized the general run of histories of the United States used as text books in the schools of the land. His arraignment was based upon high moral grounds, his contention being that such volumes give undue space and emphasis to narratives of battle, of conquest, of commercial expansion, and pay little if any attention to the moral and ethical doctrines and institutions that lie at the foundation of the best there is in human character; that therefore our youth are wrongly influenced, and are being put in preparation for becoming active participants in scenes of aggression and violence similar to those which have too often cursed the world, and of which the war so recently closed is the most monumental example.

The present writer does not essay to approve or controvert the views of the distinguished statesman as given in brief above. They caught his attention in such a way as to suggest how many descriptions of historical writings there really are; of how we meet with authors who by over-adornment cover fact with a garb of fiction; who convert fiction into something they would pass upon us as fact; who set out to pillory some character of whom they do not approve; to apotheosize another whom they admire; who perhaps out of desire to figure as originalists, as propagandists of a new cult (or, more often, as resurrectionists of an old one), insidiously interject arguments not germane to their subject, and pernicious in their influence.

By contrast, they bring into view a less pretentious historian who is well worthy of recognition and commendation, one who is to be found in various localities, and with a number of whom the present writer is well acquainted. The latter, in his conduct of this Magazine, has at times transferred to its pages more or less lengthy excerpts from volumes of town, city and county history, such excerpts telling the foundational story of some old settlement in the East, the West, or the South, which has spread out into large proportions, or has become famous on account of some broadly useful institution within its bounds. The fact of this magazine being a medium for the dissemination of such knowledge, drawn from such a source, would go unmentioned were it not that in more than one instance unlooked-for appreciation of the value of such publications has come to the editor, such appreciation having found practical expression in the resuscitation of moribund local historical societies, or their creation where they before had no existence. Instances in point may be

pertinently cited in two particular cases, and both these in two among very old counties of one of the original colonies. In the one, a long abandoned historical society was reorganized; in the other, one was formed for the first time. The principal figures in both these significant undertakings affirm that they found the inspiration for their effort in volumes of local history recently from the press, in their admiration for the work of the compilers, and their desire that the present days and those so soon to follow, should be as accurately depicted as had been the past. It may also be said in this connection, that such volumes have sometimes been put to use in schools, both public and private, for the purpose of awakening interest in local history.

The authors of such histories as above referred to, are entitled to a generous meed of gratitude from a cloud of living witnesses, and their names will be gratefully recalled by generations yet to come, for their work will have an ever-increasing value. In no instance within our knowledge has such an author assumed the role of critic, philosopher or special pleader, nor has he written to exploit any particular individual or group of individuals, or any particular theory or practice, local or governmental. He has contented himself with the less ambitious but more useful task of annalist and biographer, and the great mass of facts which he has accumulated and put into preservable form are such as are never found in the works of larger pretensions. It has been well remarked that "every heroic poem is at bottom the life of a man"—this in relation to the events of human life which philosophical writers esteem as great. While these are comparatively few, the life poems of the common people are infinitely many, and have deeper meaning. There are a few Bruces and Wallaces, but the Cotters of whom Burns wrote are a multitude, and in every land, and it ever has been and ever will be such who reveal the real soul of a people, who exemplify the homely virtues, who are the real builders of religious and educational institutions, and maintainers of the social virtues. They exist in every community, notwithstanding the disparagements of occasional "Main Streets," and it is well that their names and deeds be preserved, not to their honor and glory, but for sake of those who follow after them, that they, in turn, may show themselves worthy of their inheritance, and discharge their obligation to maintain what has been wrought out by those who have gone before.



Above, Lynn Shore Drive, looking west. Nahant at left, with Boulevard separating the ocean from Lynn Harbor. Below, Goldfish Pond, Lafayette Park, Lynn. Stone tablet marks approximately site of home of Edmund Ingalls, Lynn's first settler.

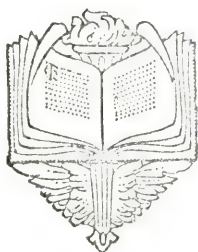
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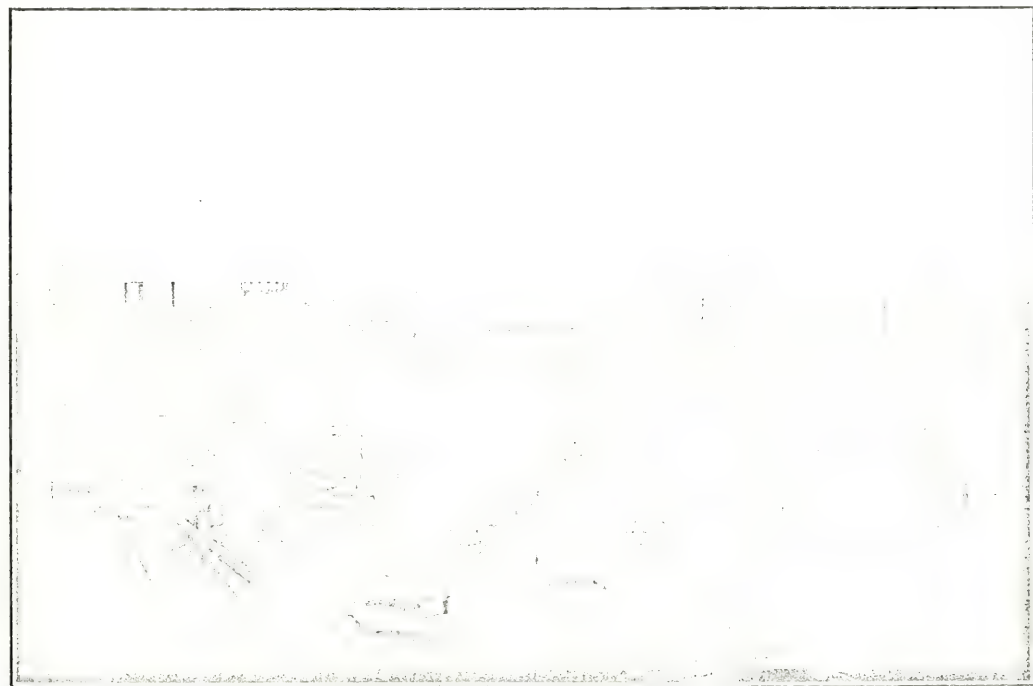
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Above, City of Lynn, from High Rock. Peninsula of Nahant in background. Below, another view of the city

AMERICANA

OCTOBER, 1922

The Story of the Planters

BY FRANK A. GARDNER, M. D., SALEM, MASS.

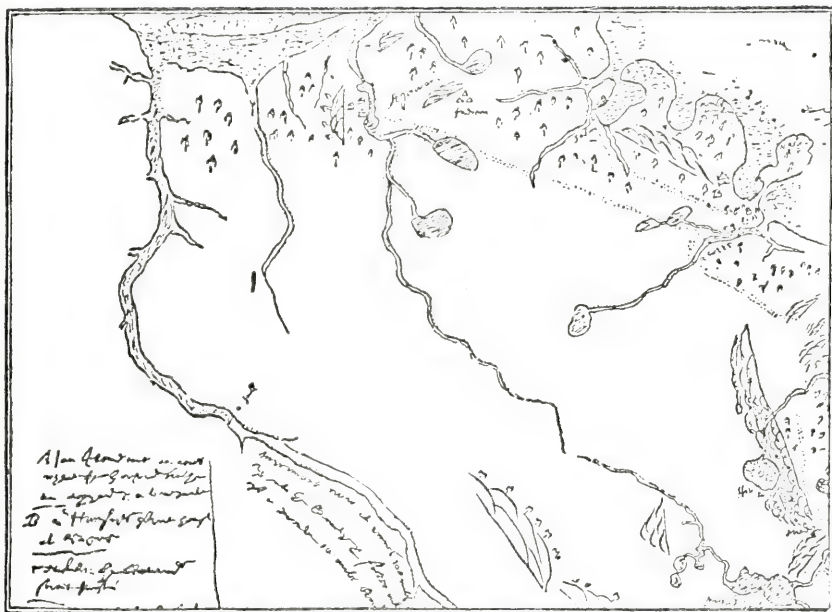
THE HISTORY of Essex County in its period of formation is, in reality, the history of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The successive governmental steps taken within this small section in the north-eastern corner of the old Bay State resulted in the formation of a well-organized government, which was delivered by Governor John Endicott to Governor John Winthrop in 1630. The area of government had rapidly expanded within seven years from an insignificant and unsuccessful fishing station at Cape Ann to a territory covering the whole of the present Essex County and Suffolk County and a generous section of what is now included in Norfolk County. The description of the boundaries of the territory purchased by the "Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England" defines its extent as follows: "That part of New England three miles north of the Merrimack and three miles south of the Charles River, in the bottom of Massachusetts Bay."

The promontories and indentations of the Essex County coast were visited and described by the very earliest explorers. The first white men to visit these shores were the Norsemen, who came about the year 1000. Sebastian Cabot visited the coast in 1498, exploring from Labrador to the region of Delaware Bay. He claimed possession for England. The fact that England's claim was based upon Cabot's discovery was recognized in the charter which Queen Elizabeth bestowed on Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, and in accordance

NOTE.—This narrative comprises two chapters from advance sheets of "History of Essex County in Massachusetts," now in press. (Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York).

with which he took possession of Newfoundland. Many English vessels visited the coast for fish during the last half of the sixteenth century.

Captain Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602, in a "bark of Dartmouth, called the Concord," reached the coast and discovered among other places "an out point of woodie ground, the trees whereof were very high and straight." It is supposed that Cape Ann is referred to. He wrote that the natives "in bark shallops came boldly abourd them, apparrelled in wastcoats and breeches, some of black serdge, some of blue cloth, made after the sea fashion, with hose and shooes on their feet; a people tall of stature, broad and grym visaged; their eye browes paynted white and yt seemed by some words and signs which they made, that some barks of St. John de Luz had fished and traded in this place." He named Cape Cod on this same voyage. Captain Martin Pring, in 1603, sailed along the coast from Casco Bay to Cape Cod Bay, and obtained a cargo of furs, sassafras, etc. He described the tall forests, excellent anchorage and fine fishing. Two years later, George Weymouth reached Cape Cod and sailed northward along the coast to the Kennebec. Champlain and Sieur de Mont, in this same year (1605), explored the coast of Maine and sailed south around Cape Cod to Martha's Vineyard. Champlain described the bay at the mouth of the Merrimack as "large," with "three or four rather large islands" (the Isles of Shoals). Cape Ann and Thatcher's Island he noted as a cape, with "three islands near the mainland full of wood of different kinds, as at Chonacoot and all along the coast, and still another flat one, where there are breakers and which extend a little further out to sea than the others, on which there is no wood at all." He named the place Island Cape, near which he saw a canoe containing five or six savages, who "came out near our barque, and then went back and danced on the beach. Sieur de Mont sent me on shore to observe them and to give each one of them a knife, and some biscuit, which caused them to dance again, better than before." When he had drawn with his crayon a diagram of the bay in which they were, the Indians took the crayon "and drew the outline of another bay, which they represented as very large" (Massachusetts Bay). They also sketched in the Merrimack River. They failed to find a place of settlement that suited them and returned to the Maine coast. These men had come with a charter from the King of France, which conveyed "trad-



SECTION OF OLD MAP IN BRITISH MUSEUM

With notes by Governor Winthrop, showing location of the Humphrey house

ing and seignoral rights in territory between the fortieth and forty-sixth parallels of latitude" (from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Philadelphia). Captain John Smith explored the coast in 1614 and in his "Description of New England," based on voyages made in that year, and the following, wrote: "The Coast of the Massachusetts is so indifferently mixed with high clayie or sandy cliffes in one place, and then tracts of large long ledges of divers sorts, and quarries of stones in other places so strangely divided with tinctured veines of divers colours; as, Freestone for building, Slate for tiling, smooth stone to make Fornaces and Forges for glasse or iron, and iron ore sufficient, conveniently to melt in them; but the most part so resembleth the Coast of Devonshire, I think most of the cliffes would make such limestone." He described the shores about Ipswich as follows: "Angoam is the next; This place might content a right curious judgement; but there are many sands at the entrance of the harbor: and the worst is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe Sea. Heere are many rising hilles and on their tops and descents many corne fields, and delightful groves. On the East, is an Isle¹ of two or three leagues in length; the one halfe, plaine morish grasse fit for pasture, with many faire high groves of mulberrie trees gardens: and there is also Okes, Pines and other woods to make this place an excellent habitation, beeing a good safe harbor. Naimkeck though it be more rockie ground (for Angoam is sandie) not much inferior; neither for the harbor, nor any thing I could perceove, but the multitude of people. From hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland Tragabigganda fronted with three Isles called the Turks heads: to the North of this, doth enter a great Bay, where wee found some habitations and corne fields; they report a great Riuer, and at least thirtie habitations, doo possesse this Countrie. But because the French had got their Trade I had no leasure to discover it." On the map he gives Cape Anna, "Smith's Isles" (Isles of Shoals), and shows Plum Island and the islands at the entrance of Salem harbor. He mentions "particular countries," and names "Aggawom" and "Naemkeck." The names on the map do not coincide with the descriptive text, and he explains this by stating that "the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names." He then gives a "schedule," with explanations, as fol-

¹Plum Island.

lows: "Naumkeag—Bastable; Cape Trabigznda—Cape Anne; Aggawam—Southampton."

Captain Thomas Dermer sailed along the coast of the county in 1619, in a ship belonging to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He was wounded later by Indians at Martha's Vineyard, and died in Virginia from the effects of these wounds.

In 1622 there was published in England "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England." This was dedicated to Prince Charles, and under the heading, "The platform of the government, and divisions of the territories in general," it was stated that:

"As there is no commonwealth that can stand without government, so the best governments have ever had their beginnings from one supreme head, who hath disposed of the administration of justice, and execution of public affairs, either according to laws established, or by the advice or consent of the most eminent, discreetest, and best able in that kind. And upon this general ground, the kings of these realms did first lay the foundations of their monarchies; reserving unto themselves the sovereign power of all (as fit it was) and dividing their kingdoms into counties, baronies, hundreds and the like; instituted their lieutenants, or officers, meet to govern these subdivisions. This foundation being so certain, there is no reason for us to vary from it, and therefore we have resolved to build our edifices upon it. So as we purpose to commit the management of our whole affairs there in general, unto a governor, to be assisted by the advice and counsel of so many of the patentees as shall be there resident, together with the officers of state. By this head, and these members, united together, the great affairs of the whole state is to be managed, according to their several authorities, given them from their superiours, the president and council established as aforesaid."

"And for that all men by nature are best pleased to be their own carvers, or orders whereof themselves are authors; it is therefore resolved, that the general laws whereby that state is to be governed, shall be first framed and agreed upon by the general assembly of the states of those parts, both spiritual and temporal." This whole territory was to be divided into "counties, baronies, hundreds and the like, from all which deputies from every county, and barony, are to be sent in name and behalf of the subjects, under them to consult and agree upon the laws so to be framed, as also to reform any notable abuses committed in former proceedings." Counties

were to be governed by a chief head deputy and other officers. Further subdivisions into lordships, with courts, etc., were made.

A further statement is made, that "There is no less care to be taken for the trade and public commerce of merchants, whose governments ought to be within themselves, in respect of the several occasions arising between them, the tradesmen, and other the mechanicks, with whom they have most to do." "By this you see our main drift is but to take care for the well ordering of the business, seeking by all means to avoid (what we may) the intermeddling with any man's monies or disposing of any men's fortunes, save only our own, leaving to every particular undertaker the employment of their profits, out of their proper limits, and possessions, as shall seem best to themselves, or their officers, or ministers, whom they employ, and whom they may be bold to question, or displace, as to themselves shall seem most fitting." This scheme met with the king's approval, and Captain John Smith, in his "General History," published in 1624, shows a map with New England divided among "twenty patentees, that divided my map into twenty parts and cast lots for their share."

Thornton wrote: "The council's transaction being thus ratified by the crown, the several patentees of the territory of New England became each a lord protector of his portion, with an absolute title thereto, clothed with all the powers of government, originally in the king, and by him vested in them. Thus was derived the title and authority of Lord Sheffield, in the exercise of which he issued the charter for Cape Anne, under which the colony was founded in 1624, which is now expanded into the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

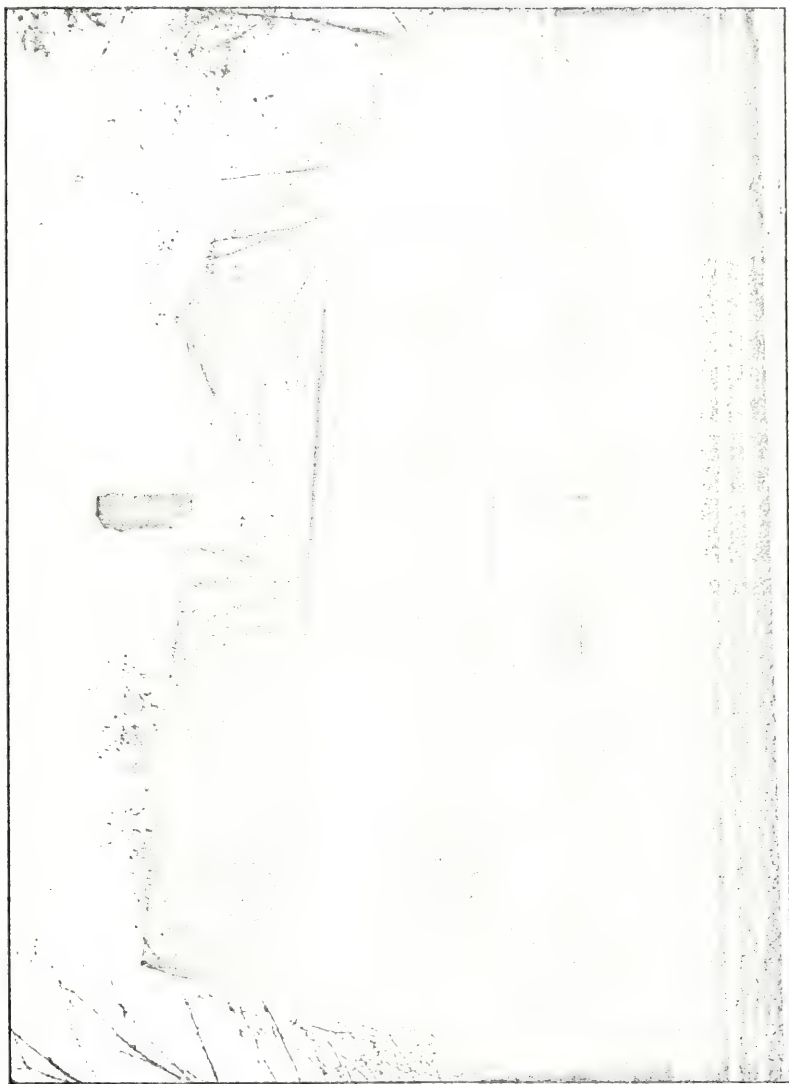
In 1623, Edward Winslow was sent by the Pilgrims at Plymouth to England, to report about the colony and procure supplies. In London, he conferred with Mr. Robert Cushman, who had been at Plymouth, and whom Gov. Bradford called the "right hand with their friends, the adventurers, and for diverse years had done & agitated all their business with them to their great advantage." Interest in the affairs of New England was aroused by these men, and among those who were particularly attracted were the Rev. John White of Dorchester, England, father of the Cape Ann Colony, and Lord Sheffield, already mentioned, a prominent member of the Council for New England.

THE STORY OF THE PLANTERS

The charter, which the latter granted, was made on the "First day of January, Anno Dui 1623," by indenture "Betweene the right honorable Edmond Lord Sheffield, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter on thone part, And Robert Cushman and Edward Winslowe for themselves, and their Associates and Planters at Plymouth in New England in America on thother part:"

"Wytnesseth that the said Lord Sheffield * * * Hath Gyven * * * for the said Robert and Edward and their associates * * * a certaine Tract of Ground in New England * * * in a knowne place there commonly called Cape Anne, Together with the free use" of "the Bay of Cape Anne" * * * "and free liberty to ffish, fowle, etc." and trade in the lands thereabout, and in all other places in New England aforesaid "whereof the said Lord Sheffield is or hath byn possessed." * * * "Together also with five hundred Acres of free Land adioyning to the said Bay" * * * "for the building of a Towne, Scholes, Churches, Hospitalls," etc., also "Thirty acres of Land and besides" * * * "To be allotted" * * * "for every particular person" * * * "that shall come and dwell at the aforesaid Cape Anne within Seaven years next after the Date hereof." After seven years they were to pay a rental of 12 pence for every "Thirty acres soe to be obteynyd." Edward Winslow in a pamphlet issued in 1624, asks: "What may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months in fishing?" He sailed back to England in 1623, and conferred in London with Robert Cushman. Supplies were furnished and preparations made to extend the fisheries and transport more persons "further to plant at Plymouth and in other parts of New England" especially "on a known place they commonly called Cape Anne."

This presentation of the advantages of such a settlement resulted in the forming of the Dorchester Company, with a capital of £3000 largely through the efforts of Rev. John White. He did not find it a difficult matter to convince the merchants of that section of the value of such a settlement. They had felt the need of it sorely in their previous fishing ventures, as the slow-going vessels had been late in arriving on the grounds in the spring, and had reached the markets of England and Spain too late in the season on their return to sell their fish to advantage. Consequently the idea of a colony, where the fisherman might winter and get the early spring



HOUSE OF DEPUTY GOVERNOR JOHN HUMPHREY, SWAMSCOTT

This view taken after partial restoration by Swamscott Historical Society.

catch, appealed to them. The company sent over a band of men in the winter of 1623-1624, or the early spring of the latter year, who established a settlement at Stage Point, in what is now Gloucester. Capt. John Smith in his "General Historye," written in 1624, states, "There hath beene afishing this yeere upon the Coast, about 50 English ships: and by Cape Anne, there is a Plantation by the Dorchester men, which they hold of those of New Plimouth, who also by themselves have set vp a fishing worke."

We thus have undoubted evidence that the Cape Ann Planters settled there by right of the charter granted by Lord Sheffield to Winslow and Cushman. They immediately organized, with Mr. Thomas Gardner overseer of the plantation, who thus was the first man in authority on the territory, which later became the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Mr. John Tilley had charge of the fisheries.

The primary object of these Cape Ann planters was undoubtedly commercial, but we have many evidences that the desire to worship God in Puritan simplicity, unhampered by the leaders of the Established Church, strongly influenced them in coming. They were not separatists, like the Pilgrims of Plymouth. They hoped rather for reforms and modifications in the church than separation. We know that many of them were God-fearing men, who displayed their religious fervor a few years later in the active part which they took in the formation and maintenance of the churches at Salem and Beverly. Mather, in his "Magnalia," contrasted them favorably with the Englishmen who attempted various settlements on the coast of Maine: "There were more than a few attempts of the English to people and improve the parts of New England which were to the northward of New Plimouth. But the designs of these attempts being aimed no higher than the advancement of some worldly interest, a constant series of disasters has confounded them, until there was a plantation erected upon the nobler designs of Christianity; and that plantation, though it has had more adversaries than perhaps any one on earth, yet, having obtained help from God, it continues to this day. There have been very fine settlements in the northeast regions; but what has become of them? I have heard that one of our ministers once preaching to a congregation there, urged them to approve themselves a religious people from this consideration, that otherwise they would contradict the main end of planting this wilderness. Whereupon a well-known person then in

THE STORY OF THE PLANTERS

the assembly, cried out, 'Sir, you are mistaken, you think you are preaching to the people at the Bay; our main end was to catch fish.' "

The planters and fishermen of the Dorchester Company were not alone at Cape Ann. The Plymouth men attempted to conduct a fishing venture there and erected a fishing stage, house and salt works. In a letter written by Robert Cushman, January 24, 1623, we find: "We have tooke a patent for Cap-Anne." We read in the same history, under date of 1624:

"The ship was speedily discharged, and her mr. & company sente to Cap-Anne (of which place they had gott a patente, as before is shewed) on fishing, and because ye season was so farr spente some of ye planters were sent to help to build their stage, to their owne hinderance. But partly by ye lateness of ye year, and more espetially by ye basnes of ye mr., one Baker, they made a poore viage of it. He proved a very drunken beast . . . The ship-carpenter that was sent them, was an honest and very industrious man, and followed his labour dilligently, and made all that were imployed with him doe ye like; he quickly builte them 2 very good & strong shalops (which after did them greate service), and a great and strong lighter, and had hewne timber for 2 catches; but that was lost, for he fell into a feaver in ye hote season of ye year, and though he had the best means ye place could aforde, yet he dyed; of whom they had a very great loss, and were very sorie for his death. But he whom they sent to make salte was an ignorante, foolish, self-willd fellow; he bore them in hand he could doe great matters in making salt-works, so he was sente to seeke out fitte ground for his purpose; and after some serch he tould ye Govr that he had found a sufficiente place, with a good botome to hold water, and otherwise very conveniente, which he doubted not but in a short time to bring to good perfection, and to yeeld them great profite; but he must have 8, or ten men to be constantly imployed. He was wisht to be sure that ye ground was good, and other things answerable, and yt he could bring it to perfection; otherwise he would bring upon them a great charge by imploying him selfe and so many men. But he was after some triall, so confidente, as he caused them to send carpenters to rear a great frame for a large house, to receive ye salte & such other uses. But in ye end all proved vaine. Then he layed faulte of ye ground, in which he was deceived; but if he might have the lighter to cary clay, he was sure then he could doe it as he by his bould confidence & large promises deceived them in England that sente him, so he had wound him selfe in to these mens high esteeme hear, so as they were faine to let him goe on till all men saw his vanity. For he could not doe

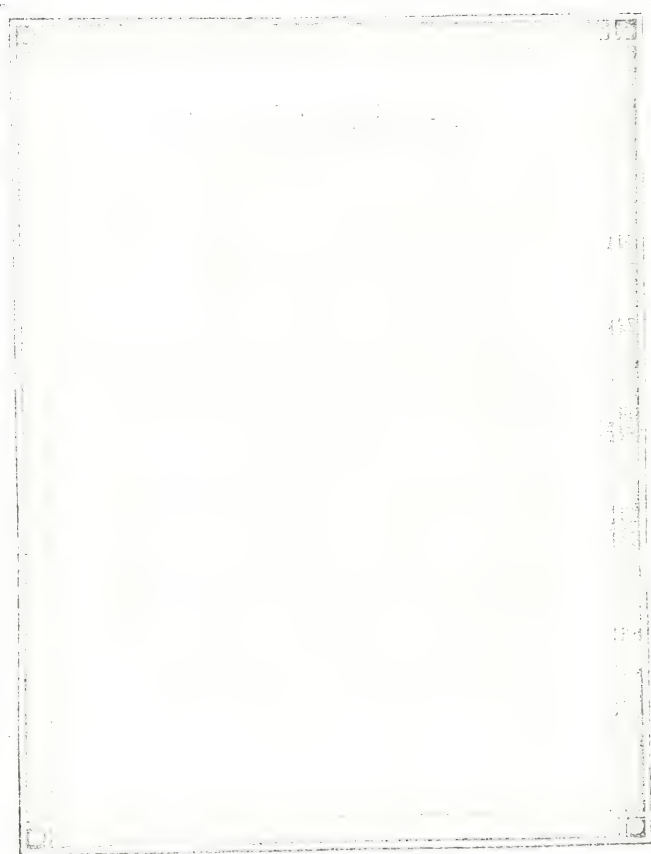
any thing but boyle salt in pans, & yet would make them yt were joyned with him beleeeve ther was so grat a misterie in it as was not easie to be attained, and made them doe many unnecessary things to blind their eye, till they discerned his sutlie. The next yere he was sente to Cap-Anne, and ye pans were set up ther wher the fishing was; but before somer was out, he burte the house, and the fire was so vehemente as it spoyld the pans, at least some of them, and this was the end of that chargable bussines."

Bradford severely arraigns the minister, Lyford, and his colleague, Oldham. They had both been at Plymouth, where they were evidently not welcome, and after going to Nantasket had removed to Cape Ann. Bradford's story of their misdemeanors is a long one and covers many pages of his history. He refers to these two men again in connection with Cape Ann and writes that "some of Lyfords and Oldoms freinds, and their adherents, set out a shipe on fishing, on their owne accounte, and getting ye starte of ye ships that came to the plantation, they tooke away their stage, & other necessary provisions that they had made for fishing at Cap-Anne ye year before, at their great charge, and would not restore ye same, except they would fight for it. But ye Govr sent some of ye planters to help ye fishermen to build a new one, and so let them keepe it. This shipe also brought them some small supply, of little value; but they made so pore a business of their fishing, (neither could these men make them any returne for ye supply sente,) so as, after this year, they never looked after them." We thus see that two fishing plants were set up at Cape Ann about the same time: One by the Dorchester Company and the other sent from the Pilgrim Colony at Plymouth. The existence of these two ventures is confirmed by Christopher Leavitt, Admiral of New England, in 1624. He wrote:

"Neither was I at New Plymouth, but I fear that place is not so good as many others; for if it were, in my conceit, they would content themselves with it and not seek any other, having ten times so much ground as would serve ten times so many people, as they have now amongst them. But it seems they have no fish to make benefit of, for this year they had one ship fish at Pemaquid and another at Cape Ann, where they have begun a new plantation, but how long it will continue I know not. . . . I fear there hath been too fair a gloss set on Cape Ann. I am told there is a good harbor which makes a fair invitation, but when they are in, their entertainment is not answerable, for there is little good ground, and the

ships which fished there this year, their boats went twenty miles to take their fish, and yet they were in great fear of (not) making their voyages, as one of the masters confessed unto me who was at my house."

Captain John Smith in his "General History," written in 1626, stated: "There hath beene a fishing this yeere upon the Coast about 50 English ships: and by Cape Anne there is a Plantation or beginning by Dorchester men, which they hold of those of New Plimouth, who also have set up a fishing works." Hubbard wrote: "In one of the fishing voyages about the year 1625 under the charge and command of one Mr. Hewes, employed by some of the west country merchants, there arose a sharp contest between the said Hewes and the people of New Plymouth, about a fishing stage built the year before about Cape Anne by Plymouth men, but was now in the absence of the builders made use of by Mr. Hewes' company, which the other, under the conduct of Captain Standish, very eagerly and peremptorily demanded; for the company of New Plymouth, having themselves obtained a useless (owing to unfitness of territory) patent for Cape Anne, about the year 1623, sent some of the ships, which their adventurers employed to transport passengers over to them, to make fish there; for which end they had built a stage there, in the year 1624. The dispute grew to be very hot, and high words passed between them which might have ended in blows, if not in blood and slaughter, had not the kindness and moderation of Roger Conant, at that time there present, and Mr. Peirses interposition, that lay just by with his ship, timely prevented. For Mr. Hewes had barricadoed his company with hogsheads on the stage head, while the demandants stood upon land, and might easily have been cut off; but the ships crew, by advice, promising to help build another, the difference was thereby ended. Captain Standish had been bred a soldier in the Low Countries, and never entered the school of our Saviour Christ, or of John Baptist, his harbinger, if he was ever there, had forgot his first lessons, to offer violence to no man, and to part with the cloak rather than needlessly contend for the coat, though taken away without order. A little chimney is soon fired; so was the Plymouth captain, a man of very little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his passion soon kindled, and blown into a flame by hot words, might easily have consumed all, had it not been seasonably quenched." Thornton in his



MEMORIAL TABLET

"Landing at Cape Ann" wrote: "As the Plymouth Colonists and the Dorchester Adventurers had under patent, a unity of interests, touching all intruders, and Mr. Peirse was their true friend, Captain Standish could with propriety listen to their advice. He demanded the possession of the property of his government, withheld without right, or the pretence of right, and wrested from them, doubtless, by the machinations of Lyford. These circumstances, and the character of the actors, might well disturb milder tempers than that of Standish, and he deserved praise rather than Hubbard's censure, for his Christian endurance, forbearing even a blow under such an outrage. He had the approval of Bradford, who says they 'refused to restore it without fighting, upon which we let them keep it, and our Governor sends some planters to help the fishermen build another.' "

The attempt of the Plymouth men to conduct a fishing enterprise at Cape Ann came to an end as above narrated, and the Dorchester men had a hard time with their plantation, owing largely to the lack of fertility of the soil at the point chosen and the consequent inability of the men to raise the necessary food for the company. The authorities of the company in England, hearing of Roger Conant, who was at Nantasket, having left Plymouth, invited him to accept office "for the management and government of all their affairs at Cape Ann." He was engaged by the officers of the company and informed "that they had chosen him to be their governor in that place." The validity of this title need not be discussed. The fact that it was used by the officers of the company proves how he was regarded by them. It will also be recalled that in the "Platform of the government," approved by the king, which was quoted in full, which constituted the rules for government, the management of the whole affair on this side of the water, was to be committed to a "governor."

Roger Conant soon found out the cause of the failure of the first year's work. Hubbard states that he "disliked the place as much as the adventurers disliked the business; and therefore in the meanwhile had made some inquiry into a more commodious place near adjoining, on the other side of a creek, called Naumkeag, a little to the westward, where was much better encouragement as to the design of a plantation, than that which they had attempted upon before, at Cape Anne." Mr. White wrote to Conant that if he would

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induce John Woodbury, John Balch and Peter Palfrey to stay with him, that he would procure a charter for him and send whatever he needed, "either men or provisions or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians."

The removal of Roger Conant and his associates to Naumkeag (Salem) left Cape Ann deserted, as we have no evidence that any remained there. Those who did not follow their leader went either to Virginia or returned to England, and the house which they occupied at Cape Ann was removed in 1628 to Salem to accommodate Governor Endicott. The new location was well chosen, and the planters by their courage and industry, enduring many privations and hardships, were able to overcome all difficulties and prove the possibility of a successful settlement. The coming of Endicott and his company two years later (1628) made sure the founding of the good old Puritan city of Salem, as hereinafter narrated.

Salem, the "City of Peace," embodies in the name the spirit of Roger Conant, the founder of this historic Puritan community. The plantation at Cape Ann had proved a failure, owing in great degree to the lack of fertility of the soil at the point chosen. Conant, as Hubbard states, "disliked the place as much as the adventurers disliked the business; and therefore in the meanwhile had made some inquiry into a more commodious place near adjoining, on the other side of a creek, called Naumkeag, a little to the westward, where was much better encouragement as to the design of a plantation, than that which they had attempted upon before at Cape Anne." Hubbard further says of Conant: "Secretly conceiving in his mind, that in the following times (as since is fallen out) it might prove a receptacle for such, as upon the account of religion, would be willing to begin a foreign plantation in this part of the world, of which he gave some intimation to his friends in England. Whereupon that reverend person Mr. White (under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony in New England) being grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground by the adventurers thus abruptly breaking off, did write to Mr. Conant not to desert his business; faithfully promising, that if himself with three others (whom he knew to be honest and prudent men) viz: John Woodbury, John Balch, and Peter

Palfreys,² employed by the adventurers, would stay at Naumkeag, and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and likewise send them whatever they should write for, either men or provisions, or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians. Answer was returned that they would all stay on those terms, entreating that they might be encouraged accordingly; yet it seems, before they received any return according to their desires, the last three mentioned began to recoil, and repenting of their engagement to stay at Naumkeag, for fear of the Indians, and the other inconveniences, resolved rather to go to Virginia, especially because Mr. Lyford, their minister, upon a loving invitation, was thither bound. But Mr. Conant, as one inspired by some superior instinct, though never so earnestly pressed upon to go along with them, peremptorily declared his mind to wait the providence of God in that place, where now they were, yea, though all the rest forsook him; not doubting, as he said, but if they departed he should soon have more company. The other three, observing his confident resolution, at last concurred with him, and soon after sent back John Woodbury to England, to procure necessaries for a plantation. But that God, who is ready to answer His people before they call, as He had filled the heart of that good man Mr. Conant, in New England, with courage and resolution to abide fixed in his purpose, notwithstanding all opposition and persuasion he met with to the contrary, had also inclined the hearts of several others in England about the same design." Roger Conant tells us, in his own words, how near this settlement came to being abandoned. In a petition to the General Court, he wrote: "Being one of the first, if not the very first, that resolved and made good any settlement, under God, in matter of plantation, with my family, in this Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and have been instrumental both for the founding and carrying on of the same. When in the infancy thereof, it was in great hassard of being deserted. I was the means, through grace assisting me, to stop the flight of those few that then were heere with me, and that, by my utter denial, to goe away with them who would haue gone either for

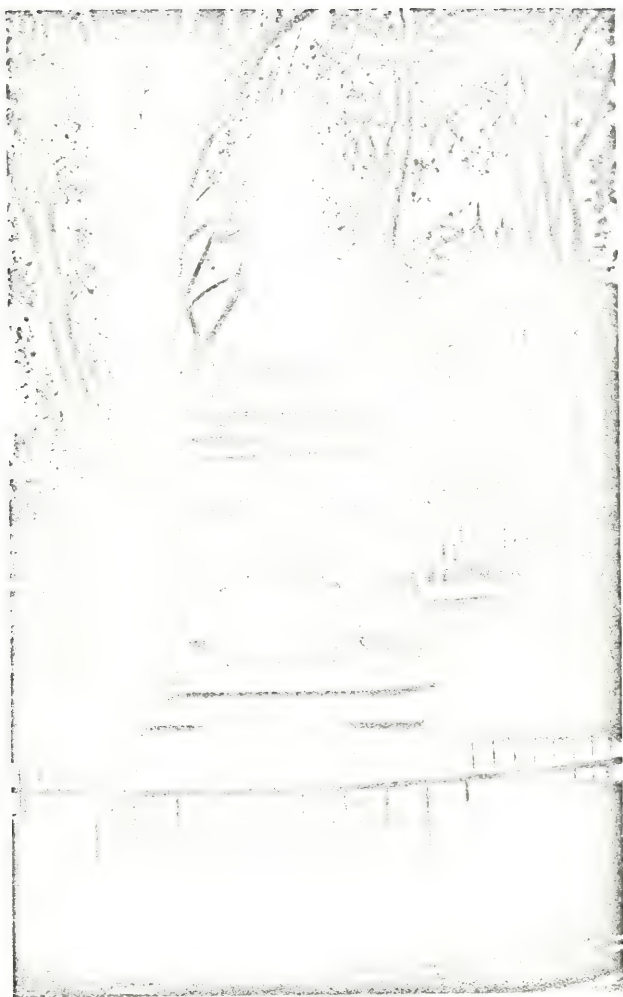
²Richard Brackenbury, in a deposition, mentioned the names of others who came to Salem with the above-named early planters: "Old Goodman Norman, and son, William Allen, Walter Knight and others."

Thomas Gardner was in all probability one of these "others." He had been, as shown above, the first overseer at Cape Ann, and his name appears in the very earliest records of Salem. At a meeting of the London Company, held July 28, 1629, Mr. Webb mentioned "one Mr. Gardner, an able & expert man in divers facultyes."

England, or mostly for Virginia, but thereupon staid to the hassard of our lives." Conant's heroic determination to "hold on" is typified in his bronze statue in Washington Square, Salem; he firmly grasps the sturdy oak and stands in the face of the strong winds of adversity.

Hubbard, who was an intimate friend of Roger Conant, and who undoubtedly obtained his information from him, states that the settlement was made "on the other side of a creek called Naumkeag." The choice of the western side of the creek (which is now spanned by the Salem-Beverly bridge) was in all probability made by Conant, in order to avoid any complications on account of the Mason claims, which named the territory between the river and the Merrimack. He likewise took care to avoid any conflict with the natives, as Humphrey Woodbury shows in a deposition as follows: "The Indians were glad of the colonists company, planted by them, and came to them for protection against their Indian enemy up country, and we did shelter them when they fled, and we did have their free leave to build and plant, where we had taken up their lands." William Dixey, in a deposition, gave similar testimony concerning the harmony existing between the early planters and the Indians. The exact point of settlement of the planters when they came to Naumkeag is not definitely known, but there is excellent reason for believing that the first houses were erected on the southern side of the North river on the shore of the cove at the foot of what is now appropriately named Conant street and to the west of the present March street. Mr. Sidney Perley, in his papers on "Salem Before 1700," showed that many houses stood here early in the 17th century, and that an old road ran along on the shore of the North river in that locality. The old "Planter's Marsh" was between this site and the nearby Collins Cove. The present Planters street runs through this last-named section. The description of the little settlement, given by William Wood in his "New England's Prospect," published in 1634, tends strongly to confirm belief in the above location as the true one:

"Four miles northeaft from Saugus lieth Salem, which ftands on the middle of a neck of land very pleafantly, having a fouth river on the one fide, and a north river on the other fide; upon this neck where moft of the houfes ftand is very bad and fandy ground, yet for fven years together it hath brought forth exceeding good corn,



HANNAH DUSTIN (OR DUSTON) MONUMENT,
HAVERHILL

Taken prisoner in Indian raid, March 15, 1697. Slew nine
of her captors in camp at night, and returned to her
people in Haverhill

with being fished but every third year; in some places is very good ground, and good timber, and divers springs hard by the sea side. Here likewise is store of fish, as Basses, Eels, Lobsters, Clams, etc.

"Although their land is none of the best, yet beyond these rivers is a very good soil, where they have taken farms, and get their hay, and plant their corn; there they cross these rivers with small canoes, which are made of whole pine trees, being about two feet and an half over, and twenty feet long; in these they likewise go a fowling, sometimes two leagues to sea; there be more canoes in this town, than in all the whole patent; every household having a water horse or two.

"This town wants an Alewife river, which is a great inconvenience; it hath two good harbours, the one being winter, the other summer harbours, which lyeth within Derbin's fort, which place if it were well fortified, might keep ships from landing of forces in any of those two places." (The author of the above probably left New England in 1633).

The first houses were undoubtedly built close to the shore for greater safety in case of Indian attack, and the canoes were their most common means of intercourse. The members of the little colony of planters were building, planting and fishing, in their endeavor to establish themselves, and in the meantime important events were transpiring in England. The Council, which had been established at Plymouth, England, and incorporated November 3, 1620, "for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England," sold in March, 1627, the following territory: "That part of New England three miles north of the Merrimack and three miles south of the Charles River in the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay." The purchasers were "some knights and gentlemen about Dorchester, viz., Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Knights, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott and Simon Whiteome, Gent." Reverend John White, the patriarch of Dorchester, England, tells us in his own quaint diction, the way in which the interest of these gentlemen was enlisted in this enterprise. I quote from his "Brief Relation," printed in 1630.

"Some then of the adventurers that still continued their desire to set forward the plantation of a Colony there, conceiving that if more cattle were sent over to those few men left behind, they might not only be a means of the comfortable subsisting of such as were already in the country, but of inviting some other of their friends and acquaintance to come over to them, adventured to send over twelve kine and bulls more; and conferring casually with some

gentlemen in London, moved them to add unto them as many more. By which occasion, the business came to agitation afresh in London, and being at first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar; insomuch that some men showing some good affection to the work, and offering the help of their purses if fit men might be procured to go over, inquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage. By this inquiry it fell out that among others they lighted at last on Master Endicott, a man well known to divers persons of good note, who manifested much willingness to accept this offer as soon as it was tendered; which gave great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this work of erecting a new Colony upon the old foundation. Hereupon divers persons having subscribed for the raising of a reasonable sum of money, a patent was granted with large encouragements every way by his most excellent Majesty."

This company under the direction of John Endicott, sailed from Weymouth, England, June 20, 1628, in the ship "Abigail," commanded by Captain Henry Gauden, or Godden, and arrived at Naumkeag on the 6th of September. We have abundant contemporary evidence of the date of the arrival. Rev. John White, in the "Planter's Plea," above quoted, stated that Endicott arrived "in September, 1628, and uniting his own men with those which were formerly planted in the country into one body, they made up in all not much above fifty or sixty persons." Governor Dudley, in a letter written to the Countess of Lincoln, March 12, 1630, in referring to the year 1628, wrote: "And the fame year we sent Mr. John Endicott and some with him, to begin a plantation; and to strengthen such as he should find there, which we sent thither from Dorchester, some places adjoining; from whom the same year receiving hopeful news." Governor Bradford, in his "letter book," after referring to some people who were sent to Plymouth from Leyden in 1629, wrote: "as the Lord sent these unto us, both to their and our comfort, so at the same time he sent many other godly persons into the land, as the beginning of a plentiful harvest, as will appear more fully hereafter; So as the delay of our friends was now recompensed with a large increase, to the honour of God and joy of all good man, Mr. John Endicott by name, and some others with him, to make place was come in the latter end of summer before, a worthy gentleman, Mr. John Endicott by name, and some others with him, to make some preparation for the rest." Governor Bradford again men-

tions the historical position of this settlement in his "Verse on New England," reprinted in the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society:

"Almost ten years we lived here alone
In other places there were few or none
For Salem was the next of any fame,
That began to augment New England's name."

Another very interesting bit of evidence regarding the coming of the Endicott party is the following extract from the records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England: "This day dd a warrant to Mr. George Harwood, Threr, to pay Mr. Barnard Mitchell one hundred pounds, in pte of the freight of the.....Henry Gawden Mr., from Waimouth to Naumkeke, the goods shipt.....of lading dated 20 June last, beeing p bill of lading 46 1-2 tuns of....., besyds ye chardge of Capten John Endicott, his wiffe and.....psons his company, their passage & dyett."

Unfortunately the space reserved for the number of persons in the above document was not filled out, and so we are in doubt in regard to the exact numerical strength of the company, which was evidently a small one. Deputy Governor Dudley stated that there came "Mr. John Endecott and some with him." The Reverend John White wrote: "Master Endicott.....assisted with a few men." He later stated that "uniting his own men with those which were formerly planted in the country into one body, they made up in all not much above fifty or sixty persons." Hubbard probably received his knowledge of this early period from Roger Conant, and his allusion to the Endicott Company is therefore especially interesting. He wrote in his "Narrative:" "With Mr. Endicot in the year 1628, came Mr. Gotte, Mr. Brackenbury, Mr. Davenport and others, who being added to Capt. Trask and John Woodberry (that was before this time returned with a comfortable answer to them that sent him over) went on comfortably together to make preparation for the new Colony."

We learn from Hubbard in the last quotation that Messrs. Gott, Brackenbury and Davenport came with Endicott and "some others." The Spragues (Ralph, Richard and William) have been placed by Felt and others as members of this company, and the omission of their names in the above list of Hubbard's caused

Alexander Young in his "Chronicles" to assert that the claim was therefore invalidated. In the opinion of the writer, this does not necessarily follow. The Spragues may have been included in "the others" referred to, but not named. We know from a statement in the Charlestown records that the three Sprague brothers "arrived at Salem at their own charge." They might easily have paid their passage on the "Abigail," been included in the "others" referred to, and had their names omitted, as they were neither the employees of the company nor passengers at the company's expense.

John Woodbury, as we have stated in the "Founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony," was one of the Cape Ann Planters who was sent back to England to procure supplies, returning to Naumkeag in 1628, before Endicott arrived. The manner in which Hubbard has coupled Captain Trask's name with Woodbury's leads us to think that in all probability Captain Trask came over with Woodbury when he returned hither. We believe that Trask came before Endicott.

The old planters who had come to Naumkeag two years before and had enjoyed their freedom under the mild domination of their peace-loving leader, Roger Conant, naturally chafed under the sterner rule of John Endicott. The chief bone of contention was the question of raising tobacco, Captain Endicott having been instructed not to allow any one to cultivate it, while the Old Planters had raised it for two years. This controversy resulted in the giving of special concessions to the earlier settlers, as Endicott received instructions from England to allow the Old Planters to cultivate it, and this privilege was renewed later. Hubbard tells us that the disagreement was "by the prudent moderation of Mr. Conant, ... quietly composed," and Rev. John White wrote that when the name was changed from Naumkeag to Salem, it was done "upon a fair ground, in remembrance of a peace settled upon a conference at a general meeting between them and their neighbors, after expectation of some dangerous jar."

The care exercised by the authorities of the company in England to guard the interests of the Old Planters was marked and was a substantial recognition of the value of these men. In the first letter of general instruction to Endicott, he was informed that they were "content they shall be partakers of such privileges as we, from his Majesty's especial grace, with great cost, favor of personages of



WORLD'S FIRST SAVINGS BANK, SCOTLAND



INSTITUTE FOR SAVINGS, NEWBURYPORT

note, and much labor, have obtained; and that they shall be incorporated into this Society, and enjoy not only these lands which formerly they have manured, but such further proportion as by the advice and judgment" of Endicott and the rest of the Council, should be thought fit. They told him further that it was their purpose that the Planters "should have some benefit by the common stock, ... " it be held too much to take thirty per cent. and the freight of the goods for and in consideration of our adventure and disbursement of our moneys, to be paid in beaver at six shillings per pound, that you moderate the said rate, as you with the rest of the Council shall think to be agreeable to equity and good conscience." They wrote that they would "unwillingly do any act in debarring such as were inhabitants before us of that trade, as in conscience they ought to enjoy." They also provided for the participation of the Old Planters in the government by voting that "such of the said former planters as are willing to live within the limits of our Plantation, shall be enabled and are hereby authorized, to make choice of two, such as they shall think fit, to supply and make up the number of twelve of the said Council."

The necessity of peaceful co-operation for the common good evidently had much to do with the rapid disappearance of animosities. The fear of the Indians was evidently one factor, as the following quotation from a letter written by Rev. Thomas Cobbett to Increase Mather will show:

"About ye yeare 1628 when those few yt came out with Colonel Indecot and began to settle at Nahumkeick, now called Salem, and in a manner all so seek of ye journey, that though they had both small and great guns, and powder and bullets for ym, yet had not strength to manage ym if suddenly put upon it, and tidings being certainly brought ym on a Lord's day morning yt a thousand Indians from Sugust were coming against ym to cut ym off, they had much adoe amongst ym all to charge two or three of ye great guns and trail ym to a place of advantage where ye Indians must pass to ym and there to shoot ym off, when they heard their noise they made in ye woods, yt ye Indians drew near, ye noise of which great artillery to which ye Indians were never wonted before, did occasionally (by ye good hand of God) strike such dread into ym yt by some lads, which lay as scouts in ye woods, they were heard to reiterate that outerie (O Obbomoock) and then fled confused back with all speed when none pursued."

Sickness from scurvy and other disorders weakened the strength of the company and made it still more necessary that they should live on as good terms with each other as possible. Endicott performed excellent service for the little band and when upon learning that they had at Plymouth in the person of Doctor Samuel Fuller, a very skilful man, sent to the governor there and asked that he be sent to Salem. The request was granted, to the great relief of the settlers, and later Endicott in a letter to Bradford wrote, "I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us."

Morton and his people at Merry Mount added still further to Endicott's troubles and he administered summary justice. Endicott had a double right to interfere with these men in their illicit traffic with the Indians and their questionable festivities about the May-pole. Not only was the ground on which Morton's men lived within the territory covered by his patent, but he was instructed in the first letter that if "necessity require a more severe course, when fair means will not prevail," to deal with such people as his discretion should think "fittest for the general good and safety of the Plantation."

In order that the power of the company might be strengthened in the territory about Boston Bay, Endicott was instructed to send forty or fifty persons to inhabit about there as soon as they should arrive on the ships which were being fitted out. All men who desired to "settle themselves there, or to send servants thither," were to be given "all accommodation and encouragement." Endicott was instructed however, in the case of Englishmen whom he found planted there, and who were willing to live under the government, "to endeavor to give them all fitting and due accommodation as to any of ourselves; yea, if you see cause for it, though it be with more than ordinary privileges in point of trade." Thus we see again the great care which they exercised in their endeavors to avoid conflicts. This was also shown in the instructions concerning their dealing with the Indians. The same letter contained the following: "If any of the salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavour to purchase their title, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." Young states that these instructions were literally observed, and quotes a letter from the provincial authorities to the home government in

1767, as follows: "We are satisfied there are no complaints against this Province by his Majesty's agents for Indian affairs; and that no settlements have been made or attempted by us without proper authority. It is with much pleasure we remind your Excellency, and inform the world, that greater care was taken of the Indians by our pious ancestors during the old charter, and by this government under the new, even to this day, than was ever required of us by the British government." Endicott was ordered "if it might be conveniently done, to compound and conclude with them all, (the Indians) or as many as you can, at one time, not doubting by your discreet ordering of this business, the natives will be willing to treat and compound with you on very easy conditions."

The powers vested in Endicott by the company were paternal as well as governmental, and thus his duties were greatly augmented. Every man was required to have some definite occupation, and it was the business of the local authorities to see that he employed himself diligently in it. No drones were to be permitted to live in the precincts. Paternalism did not stop even here, and it is a matter of sincere regret to all students of this early period that the following instruction was not carried out to the letter: "The course we have prescribed for keeping a daily register in each family, of what is done by all and every person in the family, will be a great help and remembrance to you, and to future posterity for the upholding and continuance of this good act, if once well begun and settled; which we heartily wish and desire, as aforesaid." In the matter of indulgence in alcoholics, this same fatherly oversight was to be exercised, and Endicott was directed that if any should "exceed in that inordinate kind of drinking as to become drunk," he should "take care his punishment be made exemplary for all others."

Great care was taken that these rules should be generally known, and Endicott was told to "Let the laws be first published to forbid these disorders, and all others you fear may grow up; whereby they may not pretend ignorance of the one nor privilege to offend; and then fear not to put good laws, made upon good ground and warrant in due execution."

At a meeting of the company in England, held April 30, 1629, John Endicott was chosen Governor, with Messrs. Higginson, Skelton, Bright, John and Samuel Brown, Thomas Graves and Samuel Sharp as members of the Council. The Governor and Council were

to choose three more and the Planters two in addition. The official name of this governing body of thirteen men was the "Governor and Council of London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay in New England." His election as Governor was announced to him in a letter from the company, dated May 28, 1629, which read as follows: "Wee have sithence our last and according as we then advised, at a full and ample Court assembled, elected and established you, Captain Endecott, to the place of the present Governour of our Plantation there, and as also some others to be of the Council with you, as more particularly you will percieve by an Act of Court herewith sent, confirmed by us at a General Court, and sealed with our common seal." The oath administered to Governor Endicott was as follows:

"You shall be faithful and loyal unto your Sovereign Lord, the King's Majesty, and to his heirs and successors. You shall support and maintain, to your power, the government and company of the Mattachusetts Bay, in New England, in America, and the privileges of the same, having no singular regard to yourself in derogation or hindrance of the common wealth of this Company; and to every person under your authority you shall administer indifferent and equal justice. Statutes and ordinaneys shall you none make without the advice and consent of the Council for the government of the Mattachusetts Bay in New-England. You shall admit none into the freedom of this Company but such as may claim the same by virtue of the privileges thereof. You shall not bind yourself to enter into any business or process for or in the name of this Company, without the consent and agreement of the Council aforesaid, but shall endeavor faithfully and carefully to carry yourself in this place and office of Governor, as long as you shall continue in it. And likewise you shall do your best endeavour to draw the natives of this country, called New England, to the knowledge of the True God, and to conserve the planters and others coming hither, in the same knowledge and fear of God. And shall endeavour, by all good means, to advance the good of the Plantations of this Company, and you shall endeavor the raising of such commodities for the benefit and encouragement of the adventurers and planters as, through God's blessing on your endeavours, may be produced for the good and service of the kingdom of England, this Company and their Plantations. All these promises you shall hold and keep to the uttermost of your power and skill, so long as you shall continue in the place of Governor of this fellowship. So help you God!"

The oath administered to the members of the Council was similar, but shorter. Richard Brackenbury, one of the men who came with

Endicott, deposed: "that Mr. Endicott, when he arrived hither, took possession of Cape Ann, and in the course of the year, had the house built there, pulled down for his own use and also took possession of Cape Ann side, and soon after laid out lots for tillage there" (the present Beverly).

We have seen above that the second migration to Salem under Endicott was a marked advance in matter of equipment and financial support over the little band of planters who came to Salem from Cape Ann in 1626 under Roger Conant, and the third company under the Revs. Higginson and Skelton in 1629 was a vast deal better supplied than either of the others had been. The fact that the shrewd men of means in England were willing to invest large sums for the equipment of this third company was a most eloquent tribute to the industry and fortitude of the hardy men who had preceded them to the wilderness and had demonstrated that New England was a region of great possibilities. White, in his "Brief Relation," written in 1630, proves this connection when he writes that "His (Endicott's) prosperous journey, and safe arrival of himself and all his company, and good report which he sent back of the country, gave such encouragement to the work, that more adventurers joining with the first undertakers, and all engaging themselves more deeply for the prosecution of the design, they sent over the next year about three hundred persons more. . . . By this time the often agitation of this affair in sundry parts of the kingdom, the good report of Captain Endicott's government, and the increase of the Colony, began to awaken the spirits of some persons of competent estates, not formerly engaged."

Governor Endicott, in his first letter to the officers of the company in England, dated September 13, 1628, and received by them February 13, 1628-9, requested that more men and supplies and stock be sent over, for Governor Craddock in his reply, dated February 16, 1628-9, wrote: "to give you hearty thanks for your large advice contained in this your letter, which I have fully imparted unto them, and further to certify to you that they intend not to be wanting by all good means to further the plantation. To which purpose (God willing), you shall hear more at large (from) them, and that speedily; there being one ship bought for the Company, of 100 tons, and two others hired, of about 200 tons each of them, one of 19, and the other 20 pieces of ordnance; besides, not unlike,

but one other vessel shall come in company with these; in all which ships, for the general stock and for particular adventures, there is likely to be sent thither 'twixt 2 and 300 persons (we hope to reside there), and about 100 head of cattle." He mentioned the fact that he had forwarded to Governor Endicott in November, 1628, by Mr. Allerton, a letter in which he stated that the company desired Endicott to provide "convenient housing fit to lodge as many as you can against they do come; and withal what beaver, or other commodities, or fish, (if you have the means to preserve it) can be gotten ready to return in the aforesaid ships; likewise wood, if no better lading be to be had; . . . whereby our ships, whereof two are to return back directly hither, may not come wholly empty." In closing, he wrote: "And so till my next, which shall be, (God willing) by our ships, who I make account will be ready to set sail from here about the 20th of this next month of March." As a matter of record, however, they did not sail until the middle of April.

In the above-mentioned letter Governor Craddock states that "It is fully resolved, by God's assistance, to send over two ministers, at the least, with the ships now intended to be sent thither." He mentioned Mr. Peters, but stated that "he is now in Holland, from whence his return hither I hold to be uncertain. Those we send you, shall be by the approbation of Mr. White, of Dorchester, and Mr. Davenport."

The records of the company show that at a meeting held March 23, 1628, "intimation was given by Mr. Nowell, by letters from Mr. Isaac Johnson, that Mr. Higgeson, of Leicester, an able minister, proffers to go to our plantation; who being approved for a reverend, grave minister, fit for our present occasions, it was thought by those present to entreat Mr. John Humfry to ride to Leicester, and if Mr. Higgeson may conveniently be had to go this present voyage, that he should deal with him; first, if his remove from hence be without scandal to that people, and approved by consent of some of the best affected among them, with the approbation of Mr. Hildersham, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch." This Mr. Hildersham referred to, has been called "a great and shining light of the Puritan party, and justly celebrated for his singular learning and piety." Mr. Higginson was found to be satisfactory to all concerned. In the letter of instructions to Governor Endicott, he was described as a "grave man, and of worthy commendations." Concerning the other leader of this

company, we read in the same letter: "One of them is well known to yourself, viz., Mr. Skelton, whom we have rather desired to bear a part in this work, for that we are informed yourself have formerly received much good by his ministry." A third minister was sent in the employ of the company, "Mr. Bright, some times trained up under Mr. Davenport."

Other prominent men selected to go were: Mr. Samuel Sharp, "by us entertained to be master-gunner of our ordnance;" Mr. Thomas Graves, the engineer, "a man commended to us as well for his honesty, as skill in many things very useful;" and Lambert Wilson, chirurgeon, "to remain with you in the service of the Plantation." The large majority of the men selected to come were artisans, such as carpenters, shipwrights, wheelwrights, shoemakers, hunters, and others whose labors would be of especial value in the establishment of a permanent settlement. The company was said (in a quotation which Prince gives) to number "Sixty women and maids, 26 children, and 300 men, with victuals, arms, apparel, tools, 140 head of cattle, &c., in the Lord Treasurer's warrant." The early spring days of 1629 must have been exceedingly busy ones for the promoters of this enterprise, who were purchasing and loading supplies of all kinds. Space forbids us to give more than brief mention of the many articles which appear in the lists made out by Mr. Washburne, the secretary. Great skill and foresight was displayed in the make-up of the cargoes. The ships were ballasted with "2 loads of chalk, 10 thousand of bricks, 5 chaldrons of sea-coals, nails, one ton of iron, 2 fagots of steel, 1 fodder (about 1600 to 2000 pounds) of lead, 1 barrel of red lead, with salt, sail-cloth and copper."

Articles of wearing apparel for 100 men were purchased, which included 400 pairs of shoes, 300 pairs of stockings, 200 suits of doublets and hose of leather, lined with oilskin leather, 100 waistcoats of green cotton bound with red tape, 500 red knit caps and many other things in proportion. The soldiers were to wear the following uniforms, of which one hundred were sent: 100 mandalions lined with white cotton, breeches and waist coats, and leather doublets and hose. For the military equipment of these hundred fighting men, they provided 3 drums, 2 ensigns, 2 partisans for captain and lieutenant, 3 halberds for three sergeants, 90 muskets of various kinds specified, 10 fowling pieces, 90 bandoliers for the muskets each with a bullet bag, 10 horn flasks for the long fowling-

pieces, 100 swords and belts, 60 corslets, 60 pikes, twenty half pikes, 8 pieces of land ordnance for the fort, 12 barrels of powder, 900 pounds of shot, and great shot in proportion to the ordnance. The list of provisions included 45 tuns of beer, 22 hogsheads of beef, 40 bushels of pease, 10 firkins of butter and many other articles too numerous to mention.

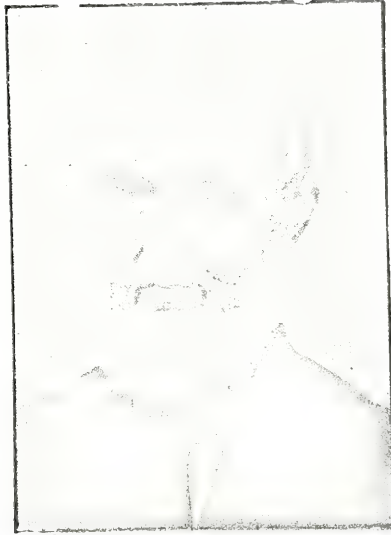
Francis Higginson put us under deep obligation to him, when he wrote the account of this voyage, which proved to be so important to the welfare and preservation of New England. The beginning of this record contains so much of interest that I will quote from it as follows:

“A True Relacon of ye last voyage to New England made ye last Sumer, begun ye 25th of April being Saturday, Anno Doi 1629.

“The company of New England consisting of many worthy gentlemen in ye citty of London, Dorchester & other places, ayming at ye glory of God, ye propagacon of ye gospell of Christ, ye conversion of ye Indians, & ye enlargemt of ye Kings maties dominions in America, & being authorised by his royall letters patents for yt end, at their very great costs & chardgs furnished 5 Ships to go to new England, for ye further settling of ye English plantacon yt had already begun there.

“The names of ye 5 Shippes were as followeth. The first is called ye Talbot, a good & strong shipp of 300 tunnes, & 19 pieces of ordinance & served with 30 mariners. This ship carried about an 100 planters, 6 goates, 5 great pieces of ordinance, with meale, oatmeale, pease, & all maner of munitio and provisio for ye plantacon for a twelve month. The second ye George, another strong ship also, about 300 tunnes, 20 pieces of ordinance, served wth about 30 mariners; her chiefe carriage were cattell, 12 mares, 30 kyne, & some goates: also ther gad in her 52 planters & other provision. The 3d is called ye Lyons whelpe, a neate & nimble ship of 120 tunnes, 8 pieces of ordinance, carryng in her many mariners and about 40 planters, specially from dorchester & other places thereabouts, wth provision, and 4 goates. The 4th is called ye 4 sisters, as I heare of about 300 tuns, wch fayre ship carried many cattell wth passengers & provision. The 5th is called ye Mayflower, carrying passengers and provision.

“Now amongst these 5 ships, ye George hauing the special & urgent cause of hastening her passage sett sayle before ye rest about ye midst of April. And ye 4 Sisters & ye Mayflower being not thoroughly furnished, intended as we heard to sett forth about 3 weeks after us: But we yt were in ye Talbot & ye Lions whelpe being ready for voyage by ye good hand of God's providence hoysed or sayle fro



JOHN G. WHITTIER



"Oak Knoll," Home of John G. Whittier, Danvers

THE STORY OF THE PLANTERS

Graues end on Saturday ye 25th of April about 7 o'clock in ye morning. Having but a faynt wynd we could not go farre yt day, but at night wee anered against Lie welh is 12 miles fro graues end & there we rested yt night & kept Sabbath ye next day."

They slowly worked their way along the coast and May 5th Mr. Higginson and his wife and daughter Mary and others went on shore near Yarmouth, remaining there while the ship added provisions until Saturday the 9th, when they returned to the ship. The final start was made on the 11th. The daily journal of the voyage which Mr. Higginson kept is exceedingly interesting, but space forbids our quoting further from it, excepting the record of the last day of the voyage, which reads as follows:

"Monday (June 29) we came from Capan, to go to Naimkecke, the wind northerly. I should have told you before that the planters spying our English colours the Governour sent a shalop with 2 men on Saturday to pilot us. These rested the Sabbath with us at Capan; and this day, by God's blessing and their directions, we passed the curious and difficult entrance into the large spacious harbour of Naimkecke. And as we passed along it was wonderful to behould so many islands replenished with thicke wood and high trees, and many faire green pastures. And being come into the harbour we saw the George to our great comfort then being come on Tuesday which was 7 daies before us. We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world.

"June 30. The next morning the governor came aboard to our ship, and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wiffe to come on shoare, and take our lodging in his house which we did accordingly."

Visitors to Salem will attest that first impressions of the place are eagerly sought by the inhabitants, and we are pleased to record what some of the members of this company thought of the place. Francis Higginson, after narrating the beauties and advantages of Naumkeag, wrote: "Thus we see both Land and Sea abound with stores of blessings for the comfortable sustenance of Man's life;" and Thomas Graves, in a letter to England, wrote: "Thus much I can affirme in generall, that I neuer came in a more goodly Country in all my life, all things considered . . . I never saw except in Hungaria, unto which I always paralell this countrie, in all or most respects, for everything that is heere eyther sowne or planted pros-

pereth far better than in old England. . . . The healthfulness of the countrie far exceedeth all parts that ever I have been in." Mr. Higginson closed his "Relation of New England" with the following account:

"When we came first to Nehum-kek, we found about half a score houses, and a fair house newly built for the Governor. We found also abundance of corn planted by them, very good and well liking. And we brought with us about two hundred passengers and planters more, which, by common consent of the old planters, were all combined together into one body politic, under the same Governor. There are in all of us, both old and new planters, about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Nehum-kek- now called Salem, and the rest have planted themselves at Massathulets Bay, beginning to build a town there, which we do call Cherton or Charlestown. We that are settled at Salem make what haste we can to build houses, so that within a short time we shall have a fair town. We have great ordnance, wherewith we doubt not but we shall fortify ourselves in a short time to keep out a potent adversary. But that which is our greatest comfort and means of defence above all others, is that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God taught amongst us."

We have the following account of the settlers who came with this third company to Salem:

John Baker went to Charlestown in 1629. It is probable that he was in some way connected with the large island in Salem harbor bearing that name, for John Winthrop, in his journal, under date of June 12, 1630, wrote: "As we stood toward the harbour, we saw another shallop coming to us; so we stood in to meet her, and passed through the narrow strait between Baker's Isle and Little Isle, and came to an anchor a little within the islands." Probably the name was given to Winthrop by the pilot who came out to take his vessel in. Baker may have erected a fishing shack or some similar structure on the island.

Thomas Beard, aged 30 in 1629, unmarried, shoemaker, was recommended to have 50 acres of land, "as one that transports himself at his own charge." He brought with him in the "Mayflower," "divers hides, both for soles and upper leathers, which he intends to make up in boots and shoes there in the country."

Alice Beckly or Beggerly, wife of John Beggerly, who did not come over, and from whom she was seeking a divorce.

Goodman Black. A child of his "which had a consumpeon before it came to shipp, dyed," on the passage. We can find no further record of him.

THE STORY OF THE PLANTERS

William Brackenbury was at Charlestown in 1629, and probably came with this company. He was a brother of Richard, who came in 1628 with John Endicott. He was a baker.

Thomas Brude or Brand was a cleaver of timber, "entertained by us in halves with Mr. Craddock, our Governor."

Rev. Francis Bright came in the "Lion's Whelp," and went with the party to Charlestown.

John Browne, gentleman, and Mr. Samuel Browne, his brother, of Roxwell, England, came at their own charge. They were conformists to the Church of England, and for attempting to form a church party in Salem were sent back to England by Governor Endicott. A full account of the controversy has been given in "John Endicott and the Men Who Came to Salem in the Abigail in 1628."

Barnaby Claydon, aged twenty-three, came from Sutton, Bedfordshire. He was a wheelwright by trade. In the company's second general letter he was directed to work for Mr. Sharpe. Richard Claydon, aged thirty-four, brought his wife, daughter, sister, and the above-named brother with him. He was a carpenter and wheelwright by trade and came under contract to work, said document bearing date of March 12, 1628. He was to instruct the company's servants in the trade of a ploughwright.

Edward Converse evidently came with this company, for he was in Charlestown in 1629.

William Dady, a butcher by trade, was in Charlestown in 1630, and Wyman thinks that he may have come with the Higginson Company in 1629.

Captain William Dixey became one of the most prominent men in Beverly, holding many offices of honor and trust during his long life.

William Dodge was the son of John and Margery Dodge of Somersetshire. In the second letter of instruction to Governor Endicott, dated London, May 28, 1629, the secretary stated that Mr. White wished to have the following direction inserted: "That you would show all lawful favor and respect unto the planters that come in the Lion's Whelp, out of the Counties of Dorset and Somerset, that you would appoint unto William Dodge, a skilful and painful husbandman, the charge of a team of horses."

William Eedes came as a servant to Sir Richard Saltonstall. He was a carpenter or wheelwright.

Richard Ewstead, a wheelwright, came commended by Mr. Davenport to work on shares for the company and Governor Craddock. In the company's letter he is described as "a very able man, though not without his imperfections. We pray you take notice of him and regard him as he shall well deserve."

George Farr was a shipwright, sent over under contract.

Hugh Garret became an inhabitant of Charlestown in 1629 and was the tenth on the list of the first thirteen. He was a shoemaker,

and perished in a storm, January 28, 1630-1. His daughter Hannah died "a fatherless child" 12 month, 1632.

Mr. Goffe is mentioned (probably Deputy Governor Thomas Goffe). He never came over, but his dog evidently started, for in the journal of the voyage we read that on May 26th "Mr. Goffes great dogg fell over board & could not be recovered."

Mr. Thomas Graves, the engineer, was one of the most valuable and useful men of this migration. He was to "have his charges borne, out and home; being a man of experience in iron works, in salt works, in measuring and surveying of lands, and in fortifications, &c., in lead, copper and alum mines." He was chosen a member of Governor Endicott's Council, April 30, 1629.

Thomas Hanscombe was brother-in-law of Richard Claydon, and was mentioned as one of a number to come with him. We find no further record of him and do not know that he actually came.

Richard Haward, from Bedfordshire, was mentioned as a man who would "well and orderly demean" himself. He was sent over with his family to Salem in 1629, by the Massachusetts Bay Company.

Henry Haughton was the first Ruling Elder of the church at Salem. According to the instruction of the company, he was to take Mr. Samuel Sharpe's place in various ways if the latter should be sick or absent. He died in the first winter, leaving one child.

Rev. Francis Higginson, the leader of this migration, was the son of Reverend John Higginson, Vicar of Claybrooke, Leistershire, and was baptized at that place August 6, 1586. He was educated at Jesus College, taking his B. A. degree in 1609, and his M. A. in 1613. He was ordained deacon September 25, 1614, and priest on the 8th of the following December. He was installed to the rectory of Barton-in-Fabis, Nottingham County, and deanery of Brigham, which he resigned August 4, 1616. Mr. E. C. Felton stated that it is certain that Francis Higginson, although he had the rectory of Barton-in-Fabis conferred upon him, was never inducted, and therefore never received any of the fruits of the benefice nor, we may take it, discharged any of the duties. His successor was instituted, on his resignation, just a year afterwards, April 4, 1616. He further goes on to state that "The record of Higginson's institution states, in the accustomed form, that a mandate was sent to the Archbishop to induct him, so that failure to act upon it can only have arisen because Higginson himself did not seek induction." Later he was connected with the parish of St. Nicholas. Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in his "Descendants of the Reverend Francis Higginson," states: "It is clear that he became more and more dissatisfied with the Established Church as it then was, until finally he became 'a conscientious non-conformist.'" He founded at Salem, the first church in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and did us an

invaluable service in his writings. He contracted consumption, probably on board the ship, from other cases which he mentions as occurring among the passengers, and died, deeply lamented, August 6, 1630. His son, Reverend John, later distinguished himself in his father's pulpit.

Simon Hoyte evidently came with this company, as his name appears in the list of the original thirteen in Charlestown.

Richard Ingersol came from Bedfordshire and was commended in the company's letter.

Lawrence Leech. Reference was made to him in the Company's letter as follows: "We desire you to take notice of one Lawrence Leech, whom we have found a careful and painful man, and we doubt not but he will continue his diligence; let him have deserving respect."

John Meech was in Charlestown in 1629, and probably came in this company. We know nothing further about him.

(Sydrach Miller, "a cooper and cleaver; who, demanding £45 for him and his man the first year, £50 a year the second and third year," was "held too dear for the Company to be at charges withal." This reference occurs in the records of the meeting of the Company held March 2, 1628(-9). He is not referred to again, and we do not know that he came. The writer believes that he did not).

Robert Moulton was the "chief" of the six ship-wrights sent by the Company. Soon after that, he removed to Charlestown and is believed to have resided on "Moulton's Point," the present site of the Navy Yard.

(George) Norton. In the Company's letter to Governor Endicott we read "there is one Norton, a carpenter, whom we pray you respect as he shall deserve." Pope believed that this was "George" Norton, who was made a freeman in Salem, May 14, 1634.

Abraham Palmer was a merchant and a member of the Company in England. He adventured £50 in the joint stock and was one of the fourteen to sign the instructions to John Endicott, May 30, 1628. He came to New England (in all probability with Higginson) and went to Charlestown, where he became prominent.

Walter Palmer was with Abraham among the thirteen first settlers of Charlestown.

Mr. Richard Palsgrave was a physician. His name appears third on the list of the first thirteen inhabitants of Charlestown, in 1629. He came from Stepney, Middlesex, England.

John Pratt, surgeon. From the records of the Court of Assistants, held in London, March 5, 1629, we learn that an attempt was made to induce a surgeon to sail for Salem: "A proposicon beeing made to intertayne a surgeon for the plantacon, Mr. (John) Pratt was propounded as an abell man vppon theis condicions, name-

ly, That 40 pounds should bee allowed him, viz—for his chist 25 pounds, the rest for his own sallery for the first yeere, provided he continues 3 yeeres, the Companie to bee at charge of transporting his wiffe and (servant), haue 20 pounds a yeere for the other 2 yeeres, and to build him a howse at the Companie's chardge and to allott him 100 acres of ground. But if he stay but one yeere, then the Companie to bee at charge of his bringing back for England and he to leave his servant and chist for the Companie's saruice."

Isaac Rickman was recommended by Mr. Simon Whetcombe to receive "diet and house-room at the charge of the Company." That body agreed, however, that they would pay £10 per annum for diet and lodging. He probably returned to England soon, as no more is heard of him.

William Ryall (Rial or Royal) was a cooper and cleaver of timber who was employed by the Company and Governor Craddock in equal shares. The district in Beverly lying to the eastward of Danvers river and north of Bass river is named for him—Rial Side. In 1636 he removed to what is now Yarmouth, Maine, and the river which flowed by his house has ever since borne the name of Royal's river.

John Sales or Sale was one of the original thirteen at Charlestown.

Mr. Samuel Sharpe was a valuable man in the little colony, having charge of the artillery. We first learn of him in the records of the Company in London, February 26, 1628(-9), as follows: "For our five pieces of ordnance, long since bought and paid for, Mr. John Humphrey is entreated and doth promise forthwith to cause them to be delivered to Samuel Sharpe, who is to take care for having fit carriages made for them." March 3, we read: "Mr. Samuel Sharpe, with whom there hath been an agreement made in the behalf of the Company to give him £10 per year for three years, to have the oversight of the ordnance to be planted in the fort to be built upon the Plantation, and what else may concern artillery business to give his advice in; but for all other employments was left to be entertained (i. e. employed) by any other particular brethren of the Company, who for other occasions had entertained him already, and held not fit (proper) to be at further charge in that kind. The said Sharpe is also entertained to oversee the (servants) and employments of certain particular men of the Company. But for the general (Company's concern) presented a bill for three drums and other particulars, amounting to five pounds, nineteen shillings; which the treasurer hath order to pay."

A few days later Mr. Sharpe requested of the Company that "all or the better part of his salary might be paid him now, to provide him apparel withal; and if he should happen to die before he had deserved it, his said apparel should satisfy it. Upon debate whereof, it was thought fit that twenty pounds should be paid him; and

this to be the Treasurer's warrant for payment thereof, upon his salary of £10 a year, for three years." At a meeting held April 30, 1629, he was elected a member of Governor Endicott's Council. He was elected an assistant of the Company in England, but being out of the country was not able to serve, as he could not take the oath, and Roger Ludlow was elected in his place, February 10, 1630. The Company intrusted to him the duplicate charter to be delivered to Governor Endicott and he also had charge of the Company's seal. Further evidence of the great confidence reposed in him was shown by the following instruction: "If, at the arrival of this ship, Mr. Endicott should be departed this life (which God forbid), or should die before the other ships arrive, we authorize you, Mr. Skelton, and Mr. Samuel Sharpe, to take care of our affairs, and to govern the people according to order, until further order."

Mr. Sharpe was to employ as much of his time as was necessary in the office of master-gunner and "the rest he is to follow other employments of our Governor's (i. e., Governor Craddock, whose agent he was) and others, for whose employment he is particularly sent out." If any provisions were left "that was provided for the passengers accommodation." Mr. Sharpe was to have half for the use of Mr. Craddock and partners. The fort in which Mr. Sharpe set up the ordnance above mentioned was near what is now Sewall Street.

Reverend Samuel Skelton was baptized in 1592-3. He matriculated at Clare Hall, Cambridge University, as a sizer, July 7, 1603. He took his degree of B. A. in 1611, and M. A. in 1615. Mr. E. C. Felton, who has made an exhaustive study of the Skeltons in England, states that "It was not religious persecution which compelled Skelton to leave England. He was a Puritan of the Puritans, but there is no evidence that he was ever brought in collision with the ecclesiastical authorities." Mr. Felton thought it probable that Mr. Skelton while at Tattershall was private chaplain to the Earl of Lincoln. Simon Bradstreet the younger, who became so important a figure in New England history, was, it is said, as a youth, in the household of the Earl. In the letter to Governor Endicott the following is found: "One of them (the ministers) is well known to you, viz. Mr. Skelton, who we have the rather desired to bear a part in this work, for that we are informed yourself have formerly received much good by his ministry." No one has as yet been able to find where or when the Governor had come under the influence of Mr. Skelton.

Mr. Skelton came in the ship "George Bonaventure" and arrived here on the 24th of June, and was chosen and ordained pastor on the 20th of July, 1629. In 1630 he was granted all of the land east of what is now Summer street in Salem from the mill pond probably as far north as what is now Creek or Norman streets. His home was

probably by the water near the present Mill street. Edward Johnson described him as "a man of a gracious speech, full of faith, and furnished by the Lord with gifts from above to begin this great work of His, that makes the whole earth to ring again at the present day." In the County Court papers in Salem, the writer found the following: "The ould house in Salem which once was Mr. Skelton's being in eminent danger of present falling to the endangering of the lives of Children & Cattell and others, ordered yt within Ten Days should, house fail to be taken downe the penaltie of ffyfe pounds, etc, etc." (27th, 6th mo., 1644.)

Reverend Ralph Smith. Allusion is made to him in the first general letter of the Company to Governor Endicott, as follows: "Mr. Ralph Smith, a minister, hath desired passage in our ships; which was granted him before we understood of his difference in judgment in some things about our ministers. But his provisions for his voyage being shipped before notice was taken thereof, through many occasions wherewith those entrusted with this business have been employed, and for as much as from hence it is feared there may grow some distraction amongst you if there should be any siding, although we have a very good opinion of his honesty, yet we shall not, (we) hope, offend in charity to fear the worst that may grow from their different judgments. We have therefore thought fit to give this order, that unless he will be comfortable to our government you suffer him not to remain within the limits of our grant." He came in the ship with Mr. Higginson, who refers to him as follows, under date of May 21, 1629: "Thursday, there being two ministers in the ship, Mr. Smith & my selfe, we endeavoured together with others to consecrate the day as a solemne fasting & humiliacon to almighty God, as a furtherance of or present worke."

Nicholas Stowers and John Strickland, Stieckland or Stieckling, were both included in the original list of the inhabitants of Charlestown in 1629 and probably came with this company.

Hugh Tilly came in the "Lion's Whelp" as a servant to Sir Richard Saltonstall. Shortly after his arrival, he was appointed to help in setting up a saw mill.

Richard Waterman was a hunter. In the Company's letter we read the following, directly after the words of commendation concerning Lawrence Leech which we have quoted: "The like we say of Richard Waterman, whose chief employment will be to get you good venison."

(John Whitecomb) who was in Dorchester as a proprietor in 1636-9, and later went to Scituate, may have been the "Mr. Whitcomb" who was to see the leather discharged at Salem in 1629. See Suffolk Deeds, I., xix.

Mr. Lambert Wilson, surgeon, was mentioned in the Company's letter as follows: "We have entertained Lambert Wilson, chirur-

geon, to remain with you in the service of the Plantation; with whom we are agreed that he shall serve this Company and the other planters that live in the Plantation, for three years, and in that time apply himself to cure not only such as come from hence for the general and particular accounts, but also for the Indians, as from time to time he shall be directed by yourself or your successor and the rest of the Council. And moreover he is to educate and instruct in his art one or more youths, such as you and the Council shall appoint, that may be helpful to him and, if occasion serve, succeed him in the Plantation: which youth or youths, fit to learn that profession, let be placed with him; of which Mr. Huggesson's son, if his father approve thereof, may be one, the rather because he hath been trained up to literature; but if not he then such other as you shall judge most fittest." Winthrop states that Mr. Wilson, "our chief surgeon," was in the war with the Pequots in 1637.

The size of this company, composed as it was of a large number of men, skilled in divers occupations, and the great value of the large cargoes of much needed and very useful supplies, greatly strengthened the settlement. Many of the men who came became prominent in the affairs of the town and colony, and their descendants, leaders in many walks in life, are scattered all over this glorious land, which they themselves ably assisted in founding.



Indian Descent in New England

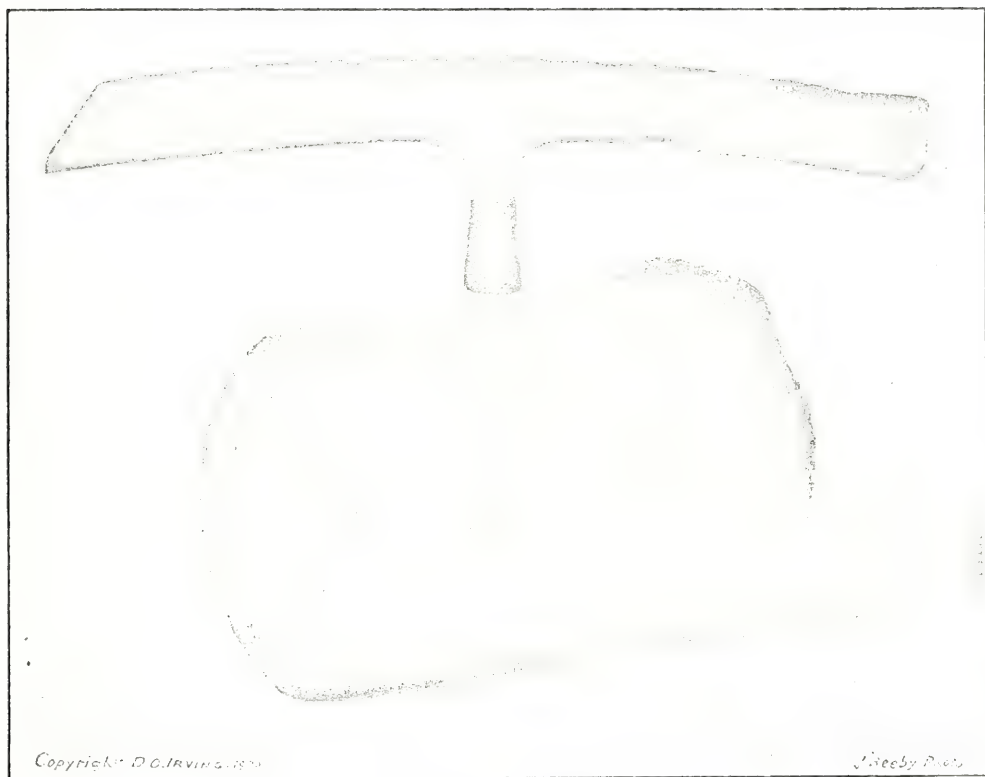
BY NATHAN E. TRUMAN, BAINBRIDGE, NEW YORK



THE CUSTOM of tracing descent through the mother has been widely prevalent among the Indians of North America; apparently, too, it has had great influence in moulding life within the tribe. If women sometimes have gained little personal power, often they have been an important factor in determining tribal policies. Among the Iroquois the squaws had a definite political status, and squaw sachems were numerous among the Algonkins. With a type of family based on matrilineal descent, inheritance alike of tomahawk or of sachemship passed from the deceased warrior to his brother, to his maternal uncle, to his sister's son, or to some more remote relative on the mother's side; but not from father to son. With this form of the family was usually associated exogamy, the rule that a man must not marry within his group. The group in question was united by an extended kinship, real or accepted, along lines of female descent. Finally, matrilineal descent and exogamy frequently occurred in conjunction with totemism. The members of the hereditary exogamous group shared in and were distinguished by a name, often that of an animal or other natural object.

How far the matrilineal form of descent and inheritance prevailed in the first half of the seventeenth century among the Indians of southern New England, should have been a pertinent question. For several reasons, however, there has been a tendency to leave the problem unsolved. The data concerning the subjects are scattered and incidental. The Indians were poor. There was little to inherit. Ownership of land was tribal instead of individual. Most puzzling of all, in the insecurity of primitive society, such property and rank as existed often passed from brother to brother. This form of succession would under any circumstances be in ac-

NOTE.—The references numeralized in the text, will be found on the last page of this paper. The orthography of the author is followed throughout this chapter.



INDIAN RELIC

cordance with matrilineal custom; but, if the deceased Indian left no son or daughter, it would be equally in conformity with modern practice.

Long, however, before the dawn of scientific ethnology, the Puritans recognized the existence of some peculiar law of descent among their barbarian neighbors. Not later than 1682 the observant William Hubbard in describing the natives wrote, "As for succession it is rather collateral than direct,"¹¹ and again, "Concerning the right of succession and inheritance, it is not certainly known; * * * however, it is said by some, that brothers inherit successively before sons, and the uncles before the nephews, following therein the customs of their ancestors."¹² In 1794 the scholarly Ezra Stiles, president of Yale, in speaking of the "Indian sachems," said their office was "hereditary * * * in a mode unknown to the rest of the world, though perfectly understood by themselves; nor is any man able with our present ignorance to comprehend the genius of their polity and laws."¹³

Lewis Morgan thought that the Indians of New England counted descent through the mother. He found that the Mohegans were totemic, and he inferred that the Pequots and Narragansets were similarly organized. The Mohegans had the same three phratries as the Delawares, that is, the Wolf, the Turtle, and the Turkey, each of which was again divided into totems.⁴ Then he noticed that the Mohegan vocabulary suggested the archaic form of the family. There was a word for "uncle" on the father's side, and another word for "uncle" on the mother's side. To follow Morgan's translations of the Mohegan family terms, a man's brother's son was his stepson; a man's sister's son was his nephew; and a woman's sister's son was her [own] son.⁵ Finally, in the year 1862, Morgan met a half-blood Narraganset woman who resided in Kansas. She informed him that "she was descended on the mother's side from the Narragansets, amongst whom descent as well as nationality follows the female line. This made her a Narraganset."⁶

A vocabulary might reflect the social conditions of a remote past, at best it would be only corroborative evidence; but the statement of the Narraganset woman, secured by Morgan, seems important, perhaps even conclusive. Later investigators, however, have displayed a notable hesitation. Apparently they have preferred to leave the matter of descent in New England an open question. John

Fiske, although agreeing generally with Morgan in respect to matrilineal descent among the Indians, seemed to omit a decision in the particular case of the eastern Algonkins. He said, "Throughout aboriginal America, with one or two exceptions, kinship was reckoned through females only, and in the exceptional instances the vestiges of that system were so prominent as to make it clear that the change had but recently been effected."⁹ In another place he showed that the Algonkian tribes of Virginia were not an exception.⁸ But in his work, "The Beginning of New England," the reader looks in vain for a reference to the Indian custom of reckoning descent. Livingston Farrand, in "Basis of American History," qualifies his general statement concerning the Algonkins. They were "on a totemic clan system, with descent, as a rule, in the female line."⁹ Later in the same work, he classifies the southern Algonkins as matrilineal. "The information regarding the Indians of Virginia is not very complete, but they probably did not differ very decidedly in habits from their Algonquin relatives farther north. They were agricultural, like their neighbors, and were organized on a clan system with inheritance in the female line."¹⁰ Robert H. Lowie, in an article entitled "The Matrilineal Complex," leaves the custom of the New England Indians undetermined. "Starting our survey with North America, we find four regions with matrilineal descent—an appreciable part of the Atlantic population (embracing notably the Iroquois and the Southeastern tribes)."¹¹

Fiske, Farrand and Lowie have left the special question unanswered; but Alvin G. Weeks, in his book "Massasoit and the Wampanoags," directly opposes the opinion held by Morgan. The passage in which Weeks' position is stated deserves particular attention; he mentions several instances of succession which are from father to son. These cases must be explained before any theory of matrilineal descent can be accepted. Weeks says:

"It would seem that the Narragansetts had a different rule than the other federations. We see Passaconaway of the Pawtuckets succeeded by his son Wonolancet; Sassacus of the Pequots following his father Wopigwooit, and Oweneco of the Mohicans taking up the reins his father Uncas laid down. We find Massasoit of the Wampanoags succeeded in the Great Chieftaincy of that federation by his eldest son Wamsutta, and the latter followed by his younger brother Pometacom, while Canonicus is succeeded by a son of his youngest brother, passing over his own sons and possibly those of

two other brothers. If there was any uniform rule it must have been that the Great Sachem named his own successor from the warriors of his blood and family, or that the royal family selected their Great Sachem from their own number."¹²

To be exact, it should be added that Weeks, earlier in his book and speaking of a slightly earlier time, reserved final decision. Referring to Massasoit, he wrote, "Whether his father occupied the position before him, or it was handed down collaterally, does not definitely appear."¹³

A brief notice of the principal instances of Indian succession, if made with the idea of matrilineal descent in mind, should lead to a definite conclusion. In this connection Uncas, the diplomatic sachem of the Mohegans, deserves first place. His maternal grandfather and grandmother, named respectively Muckqundowas and Meekunump, were rulers long before the coming of the white men,—perhaps before the Pequots became the dominant group among the Mohegans. It is easy to think of Meekunump as a powerful squaw sachem of the late sixteenth century. Her son Woipeguand succeeded to the chiefship, while his sister, also named Meekunump, after her mother, married Oweneco, the father of Uncas.¹⁴ By the primitive rule of succession, Uncas, as the heir of his uncle Woipeguand, should have inherited the sachemship. Woipeguand, however, had married a daughter of the chief sachem of the Narragansets. It was probably by this family connection that their son Wopigwooit maintained himself in office, excluding Uncas. When Wopigwooit met a sudden and violent death, Uncas immediately revived the claim against Sassacus, who had seized the power held by his father. By means of the friendship of the English and the fortunes of the Pequot war, Uncas enforced his claim to authority; but the claim itself was evidently based on a recognized principle of Indian custom. Two nephews of Sassacus, sons of his sister, were partizans of Uncas in the struggle.¹⁵ Apparently they regarded the rule of their uncle as usurpation.

The genealogy of the Narraganset chiefs is difficult. Fortunately, however, there are clear records concerning Ninigret, who was sachem of the Niantic division of the tribe. He succeeded his brother¹⁶ Momojoshuck in true matrilineal order; for Momojoshuck had two sons—Wequash, the friend and convert of Roger Williams; and Cushawashet, later known to the English as Hermon

Garret. Ninigret was the son of a sister of the principal Narraganset sachem, Canonicus.¹⁷ probably Canonicus, in turn, had inherited his rank and office through his mother, the maternal grandmother of Ninigret. Quaiapen, the sister of Ninigret, was not only a member of the royal line, but personally wielded great power. Hubbard mentioned her as one of "the six present sachems of the whole Narraganset country" in 1675.¹⁸ It is likely that her marriage to Mexano, son of Canonicus, gave her husband his influence in tribal affairs; for, when Roger Williams arrived among them in 1636, Canonicus shared the government with his nephew Miantonomo, but not with any of his own sons.

Probably, too, Miantonomo and Canonchet were each connected on the mother's side with the mother, sister, and niece of Canonicus. It is true that Williams, in a letter to Winthrop written June 13, 1675, calls Canonchet, who was the principal sachem of the tribe during King Philip's war, Miantonomo's "youngest very hopeful spark." But Miantonomo did not leave his office to his son Canonchet. He was succeeded, instead, by his brother Pessacus,—precisely as would be expected in accordance with the matrilineal theory. Another fact not generally remembered is that Canonchet's mother, Wawaloam, the widow of Miantonomo, in a deposition concerning a land title, given in June, 1661, calls both Canonicus and Ninigret her uncles.¹⁹ She evidently belonged to the old royal line; and there is at least one chance in two that it was by female descent. Perhaps her mother was a sister of Quaiapen and Ninigret; if so, her son had valid ancestral claims to rank and honor in a matrilineal community. By a similar argument it is possible to estimate her husband's relation to the Canonicus-Quaiapen line. Williams and other early English settlers thought that Miantonomo was the son of Mascus, who was brother of Canonicus. But, as stated above, the succession of Miantonomo to the sachemship was an accomplished fact before the arrival of the colonists in Rhode Island. The question, then, arises whether the English may not have read their own ideas into the relation between Canonicus and Miantonomo. They may have assumed that Mascus was brother of Canonicus, because he was father of Miantonomo. Another assumption of equal probability would be that Canonicus was brother-in-law of Mascus and maternal uncle of Miantonomo. Two circumstances tend to substantiate the latter opinion,—Williams, in one place, calls Mian-

tonomo brother or brother-in-law to Ninigret;²⁰ and records prove that Ninigret "inherited a considerable part of Miantonomo's estate."²¹ Undoubtedly, Miantonomo and Ninigret stood in a close relation to each other; perhaps they were sons of sisters. Against the possible objection that the proposed genealogy would make Miantonomo and his wife Wawaloam of the same totemic group, may be placed a reference to a curious old Narraganset tradition. According to the story, Tashtassuck could find no suitable partners for his son and daughter. They married each other, and Canonieus was their eldest son.²² It is usually futile to attempt to rationalize a tradition. This instance, however, might easily be a reminiscence of the time that the ruling family of the tribe ceased the practice of exogamy. If the old chief arranged a marriage for his daughter, it might have been to her clan brother, i. e., to some warrior within the totemic group; doubtless, too, if Miantonomo married some distant cousin on the mother's side, he could point to family precedents for his action. If these inferences concerning Miantonomo and Canonchet are correct, the five leading Narraganset sachems have been assigned to definite positions in relation to a single line of matrilineal descent.

Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, was succeeded by his son Wamsutta (Alexander). At first thought this might be called an instance of the modern form of inheritance; but a consideration of the circumstances leads to a different conclusion. It will be remembered that even by Indian custom the individual had some voice in the disposal of his possessions. Morgan describes a practice among the Shawnee and Miami tribes of naming a son into the gens of his father so that he could inherit the family property or office;²³ and among Choctaws by which an Indian could give away his property during his life.²⁴ There was, however, no method so easy and efficient as the English last will and testament. Massasoit employed several distinct measures to achieve a deviation from the regular form of tribal inheritance that would be favorable to Wamsutta. Fortunately for that object, the latter had married Weetamoo, a squaw sachem who in her own right possessed considerable wealth and power. Then, he was associated with his father in the sale of lands and even in the renewal of a treaty with the English. Next, there was the request of Wamsutta (Alexander) and his brother, Metacom (Philip) made to the Governor of Plymouth for English names.

This was curiously trivial and whimsical to the English, but was doubtless profoundly significant to the family of Massasoit. With their new English names they might have hoped to enjoy new customs and rights in accordance with European law. Last of all, when Wamsutta was tentatively established in the government, Massasoit retired to a remote corner of the Wampanoag territory, Quaboag (Brookfield).²⁵ From there he could have returned and reassumed control, had Wamsutta failed to retain the allegiance of the tribe. Wamsutta ruled until his death in 1662, then he was followed in office by Metacom. This brother to brother inheritance presents a good illustration of the matrilineal type, because Wamsutta had a son²⁶ who by modern custom should have been his heir.

The idea of matrilineal descent sometimes explains obscure points of Indian history. Besides showing why Massasoit spent his last four years in the distant region of Brookfield, it throws light on the character and actions of John Sassamon. This Indian was the messenger who, a short time before the terrible war of 1675, gave Plymouth the first definite warning of Philip's plot. He was one of John Eliot's converts and, after assisting Philip as counselor and secretary, he returned to Eliot and became an able preacher. Finally settling near Middleborough, he worked among the tribesmen of Tuspaquin. When Philip hunted through that region in the autumn of 1674, Sassamon learned of the plot. He carried the information to Governor Winslow, at the same time requesting the Governor not to disclose the source of the news. In some way, however, Philip came to suspect Sassamon and ordered his murder.

Conflicting estimates of the character of Sassamon were given by contemporaries. Daniel Gookin in "The History of the Christian Indians" called Sassamon "the first Christian martyr of the Indians."²⁷ John Easton, Deputy Governor of Rhode Island, wrote "A Relation of the Indian War." He said that Sassamon was "reported to be a bad man" whom Philip employed to write his will, but who "made the writing for a great part of the land to be his, but read [it] as if it had been as Philip wished."²⁸ Accepting the views of the editor of Gookin's "History,"²⁹ probably S. G. Drake, and of Mr. Tilton in "The History of Rehoboth,"³⁰ Sassamon was son-in-law of Tuspaquin. That chief, in turn, was son-in-law of Massasoit; Tuspaquin's wife Amie was sister of Philip. By taking into account the principle of female descent, it becomes evident that

Assowetough, the daughter of John Sassamon, who was known to the English as Betty, was an heir of Philip. Her mother was the daughter of Amie, and Amie was the sister of Philip. Probably Sassamon had his daughter's interest in mind when he wrote Philip's will. He was not the scheming traitor pictured in Easton's narrative, but the careful father who would not see Betty deprived of her tribal inheritance. There is, in fact, a curious parallelism between the chiefs, Alexander and Philip, receiving their English names, and Sassamon writing Philip's will. The chiefs used an Indian custom, renaming, as a step towards securing an inheritance in accordance with the English rule of descent; Sassamon, by reverse method, used an English practice, writing a will as a means of obtaining for his daughter an inheritance in accordance with the rule of tribal descent.

North of the Wampanoags lived the Massachusetts Indians. They were governed by several nearly independent sachems. Although under a less centralized authority, they shared with the Narragansets and Wampanoags the custom of counting descent in the female line. In 1667 Wampatuck led his tribesmen against the Mohawks; the attack proved unsuccessful, and he lost his army and his life. For some years previous to that event he had been an influential sachem, powerful enough to oppose the alleged encroachments of King Philip on the Massachusetts territory. Scattered records make it possible to work out the main facts of Wampatuck's family and succession. Known to his English friends as Josias, *alias* Chickatabot, he was a son of the chief of the latter name who welcomed John Winthrop in 1630. Three years later the elder Chickatabot died of the smallpox. The boy Josias was "bred up by his uncle, Kuchamakin, who was the first sachem and his people to whom Mr. Eliot preached."³¹ Failing any reference to a relationship between the elder Chickatabot and Kuchamakin, it is safe to assume that they were not brothers, *i. e.*, that Kuchamakin was maternal uncle of Wampatuck. Kuchamakin apparently brought up Wampatuck with the definite idea that he would succeed to the sachemship. The boy accompanied his uncle on a visit that the latter paid to Winthrop, February 5, 1644, for the purpose of placing his tribe under English protection;³² and uncle and nephew acted together as interpreters at the negotiation of the treaty of August 27, 1645, between the English and the Narragansets.³³ Wampatuck's prospects were un-

impaired by the circumstance that Kuckamakin had a son,³⁴—a somewhat intracable Sunday school pupil of the Rev. John Eliot,—who should have succeeded his father by the modern system of descent. Moreover, the fact that the matrilineal custom prevailed in the tribe is shown by the succession of Squamog³⁵ on the death of his brother Wampatuck, although the latter had at least one son.

Farther north among the Massachusetts there existed, on the arrival of the English, not only the matrilineal custom, but also a matriarchate in the literal sense of the word. A squaw sachem of rank and power similar to Chickatabot and Kuchamakin ruled the natives. She was the widow of a chief named Nanepashemet, who had been killed about 1619. Sixteen years later she had another husband, a medicine-man named Webcowit. Little is known of the first husband, but it is clear from extant documents³⁶ that the second had no influence in the making of treaties and the disposal of land. Probably his predecessor was equally unimportant. The squaw sachem was doubtless within her rights by tribal law in personally directing the government. Her son Montowampate, called Sagamore James by the English, ruled at Lynn and Marblehead. Another son, Wonohaquaham, *alias* Sagamore John, was sachem at Chelsea. When these chiefs died of the smallpox in 1633, a third son of the squaw sachem, Winnepurkit, *alias* George Runnymarsh, succeeded to the authority of his brother Montowampate;³⁷ and, on the death of the squaw sachem herself in 1667, he became sachem of all the Massachusetts tribe living north and east of the Charles river.³⁸

North of the Massachusetts Indians in the Merrimac country lived Passaconaway, "Wizard lord of Pennacook," whose power:

"Stormful woke or lulled to rest
Wind and cloud, and fire and flood;
Burned for him the drifted snow,
Bade through ice fresh lilies blow,
And the leaves of summer grow
Over winter's wood."

He showed an appreciation of the religion and culture of his white neighbors, even inviting John Eliot and Simon Willard to live near him. More fortunate still, he commanded his people to be always friendly with the English. About 1669 he transferred the sachemship to his son Wonnolancet.³⁹ To accomplish the change, he used the same methods that Massasoit had employed some ten years earlier. Making a gift of his tribal leadership, he retired to Litch-

field; but doubtless would have returned had his son proved unable to control the tribesmen. The advancement of Wonnolancet may have been easily effected, both because the English influence was strong with the Pawtucket, and also because Passaconaway was very old and had few collateral heirs available.

Besides the passing of authority from Passaconaway to Wonnolancet and from Massasoit to his two sons, Weeks mentions Sassacus' inheritance from Wopigwoot, and Oweneeo's succession to Uncas, as instances of male descent. Apparently, as explained above, Sassacus' position was gained by usurpation and never willingly accorded to him by Uncas and other relatives. The Oweneco instance is late, and was doubtless due to the influence of the colonists; it might have been in conformity with Uncas' desire, but was no illustration of Indian law. The far-reaching results of King Philip's War and the cumulative influence of English contact, throw suspicion on the primitiveness of any instance of succession occurring later than 1676.

Additional evidence that the tribes above considered counted descent through the mother, is supplied by a glance at the importance of their squaw sachems. It would be difficult to harmonize this condition with a theory of patrilineal inheritance. Each instance would be an exception requiring special explanation. Besides the mother of Winnepurkit wielding the matriarchate in the country north of Boston, and Weetamoo assisting her husband to gain authority over the Wampanoags, mention has been made of Quaiapen of the Narragansets, who was apparently more powerful than either of her brother chiefs, Momojoshuck or Ninigret. Awashonks should not be forgotten. Captain Church's kind and diplomatic treatment of this ruler did much to impair the influence of Philip over his own Wampanoag braves during the war with the English. Notable in this connection are two widely separated instances of Indians who gained power by marrying squaws of authority. Waban, the first convert of the Rev. John Eliot, was described by Winthrop as "a *new* sachem."⁴⁰ Shattuck asserts that Wabam had attained his rank because his wife was a daughter of the ruling Indians of Concord.⁴¹ Far removed from Waban in life and character but parallel in his path to office, was Quinnapin of the Narragansets. Although he was the son of a brother of Miantonomo and Pessacus, he had not risen to any great prominence as late as July 15, 1675. His name is not

mentioned among the sachems in the treaty of that date.⁴² In the Swamp fight of the following December, however, he was already second in command to Canonchet. Evidently his new importance was due to his marriage with Weetamoo, the widow of Alexander. This must have occurred after the first days of August, for at that time she parted from Philip's retreating army and led her band into the Narraganset country. The fact that Quinnapin had two wives before the arrival of Weetamoo, seems to have been no obstacle to this means of advancement.

The examples so far noticed have been of the more powerful members of the various tribes. A reference to the lower rank of Indians may indicate that the matrilineal type of descent and inheritance extended through the entire society. On the authority of one of Roger Williams' letters, DeForest tells of an occasion when Uncas, returning from Boston, "passed within a mile of Williams' house; and, one of his company being disabled from traveling by lameness, turned aside there to rest. This man, named Wequaumugs, had a Narraganset father and a Mohegan mother, so that he was on free terms in the country of either tribe."⁴³ Wequaumugs, as a member of the Uncas party, must have belonged to the Mohegans, not to the Narragansets, that is, to his mother's, not to his father's tribe.

Another strictly contemporary reference is available. It is a quotation that gives the Indians' own estimate of the most important family relationships. In an appendix by one "J. D.," added to Edward Winslow's "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel" and published in 1649, appears this description, as brief as it is significant: "It is observable, that they [the Indians] are careful to preserve the memory of their families, mentioning uncles, grandfathers, and grandmothers."⁴⁴ Uncles and grandmothers are necessarily considered in a community where the family is based on female descent.

Early records, as already stated, afford three instances of Indian sachems who succeeded their fathers in office; namely, Sassacus, Wamsutta, and Wonolancet. Circumstances in each case show that the order was unusual. Directly in favor of a theory of matrilineal succession are the claim of Uncas, the examples of Ninigret and Pessacus ruling in place of their respective brothers, and the existence of a female line of descent certainly connecting

INDIAN DESCENT IN NEW ENGLAND

three and probably all five of the most prominent Narraganset chiefs. Cogent illustrations among the Wampanoags are the succession of Philip after the death of Alexander, and the attempt of John Sassamon to obtain for his daughter not a patrimony, but an inheritance. Farther north, Wampatuck followed his uncle and was succeeded by a brother; while the squaw sachem of the Massachusetts,—a typical example of an important class of Indian women,—was succeeded by her son in true archaic order. The evidence indicates definitely that Hubbard's observation and Morgan's inference were accurately made. Among the Algonkins of southern New England, whatever divinity there was to hedge a king had been handed down by a line of queens. Moreover, the same rule must have applied to chief and to tribesman; when the lone hunter slept with his uncles, his bow and quiver became the property of a sister's son.

NOTES TO INDIAN DESCENT IN NEW ENGLAND

- ¹"General History of New England," ed. 1815, p. 30.
- ²*Ibid.*, p. 34.
- ³"Three Judges," ed. 1794, p. 260.
- ⁴"Ancient Society," p. 173.
- ⁵"Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity," pp. 222, 223.
- ⁶*Ibid.*, p. 219.
- ⁷"The Discovery of America," vol. I, p. 56.
- ⁸"Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," vol. I, pp. 94-95.
- ⁹*Op. cit.*, p. 152.
- ¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 164.
- ¹¹Univ. of Cal. Pub. in Amer. Archaeology and Ethnology," Mar. 29, 1919, p. 31.
- ¹²*Op. cit.*, pp. 178-179.
- ¹³*Ibid.*, p. 129.
- ¹⁴Cf. J. W. DeForest, "History of the Indians of Connecticut," pp. 178-179.
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 85.
- ¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 181.
- ¹⁷Cf. Potter, "Early History of Narragansett," p. 173.
- ¹⁸"Indian Wars of New England," ed. 1814, p. 30.
- ¹⁹Samuel G. Drake, "The Aboriginal Races of North America," fifteenth ed., by H. L. Williams, p. 121.
- ²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 122.
- ²¹*Ibid.*, p. 147.
- ²²Hutchinson, "History of Massachusetts Bay," vol. I, p. 458.
- ²³"Ancient Society," pp. 169-170.
- ²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.
- ²⁵Cf. J. H. Temple, "History of North Brookfield," pp. 46-47.
- ²⁶Hubbard, "Indian Wars," ed. 1814, p. 60.
- ²⁷"Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," vol. II, p. 440.
- ²⁸"Narratives of the Indian Wars," in "Original Narratives of Early Amer. Hist.," p. 7.
- ²⁹"Trans. and Coll. of Amer. Antiq. Soc.," vol. II, p. 440 note.
- ³⁰*Op. Cit.*, p. 67.
- ³¹"Mass. Hist. Coll., 1st series, vol. I, p. 166.
- ³²Winthrop, "The History of New England," Savage ed., vol. II, p. 153.

INDIAN DESCENT IN NEW ENGLAND

³²Drake-Williams, "The Aboriginal Races of N. Amer.," p. 159.

³³"Mass. Hist. Coll.," 3d series, vol. IV, pp. 53-54.

³⁴S. G. Drake, in note to Mather's "King Philip's War," p. 51.

³⁵Drake-Williams, "The Aboriginal Races of N. Amer.," p. 105.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 111.

³⁷*Cf.* Lewis and Newhall, "History of Lynn," p. 38.

³⁸*Cf.* C. E. Beals, "Passaconaway in the White Mountains," p. 47.

³⁹Winthrop, "The History of New England," vol. II, p. 303.

⁴⁰"History of Concord," p. 28.

⁴¹Wm. Hubbard, "Indian Wars in New England," p. 80.

⁴²"History of the Indians of Connecticut," p. 154.

⁴³"Mass. Hist. Coll.," 3d series, vol. IV, pp. 94-95.





JUDGE JOHN KANE

Photographed from portrait by Thomas Sully

Motoring to Three Manors

BY HELEN HAMILTON STOCKTON, "MORVEN," PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY



THE GREAT war has made such a sharp dividing line between the Victorian era and to-day that it seems as if we had little or nothing in common with the even further away customs of one hundred years ago—especially in their manner of traveling from place to place. There is such a gulf between the old steamship *Clermont* and the great *Mauretania*, but is there so much difference between traveling by coach in the fresh country air, and automobiling? The old French proverb says, "les extrême se touche," and the motor is making our lives more like those of our forefathers by bringing us back again to live a greater part of the year in their dear old houses somewhat as our ancestors did, and taking us about on the same old post roads that they used to travel on "with the peace of the fields and the hedgerows stepping by."

It was said of my grandfather,¹ that in his young days he could go from Albany to New York on horseback, or in winter by sleigh, and not spend a night or take a meal outside of a house of a near relative. Of course that was in the early eighteens, (1819) more than one hundred years ago since he planned to take his wedding journey on horseback along one of these old roads—the Albany-New York post road on the east bank of the Hudson, and I thought it might be interesting to go by motor and to see how many of these old houses were standing to-day.

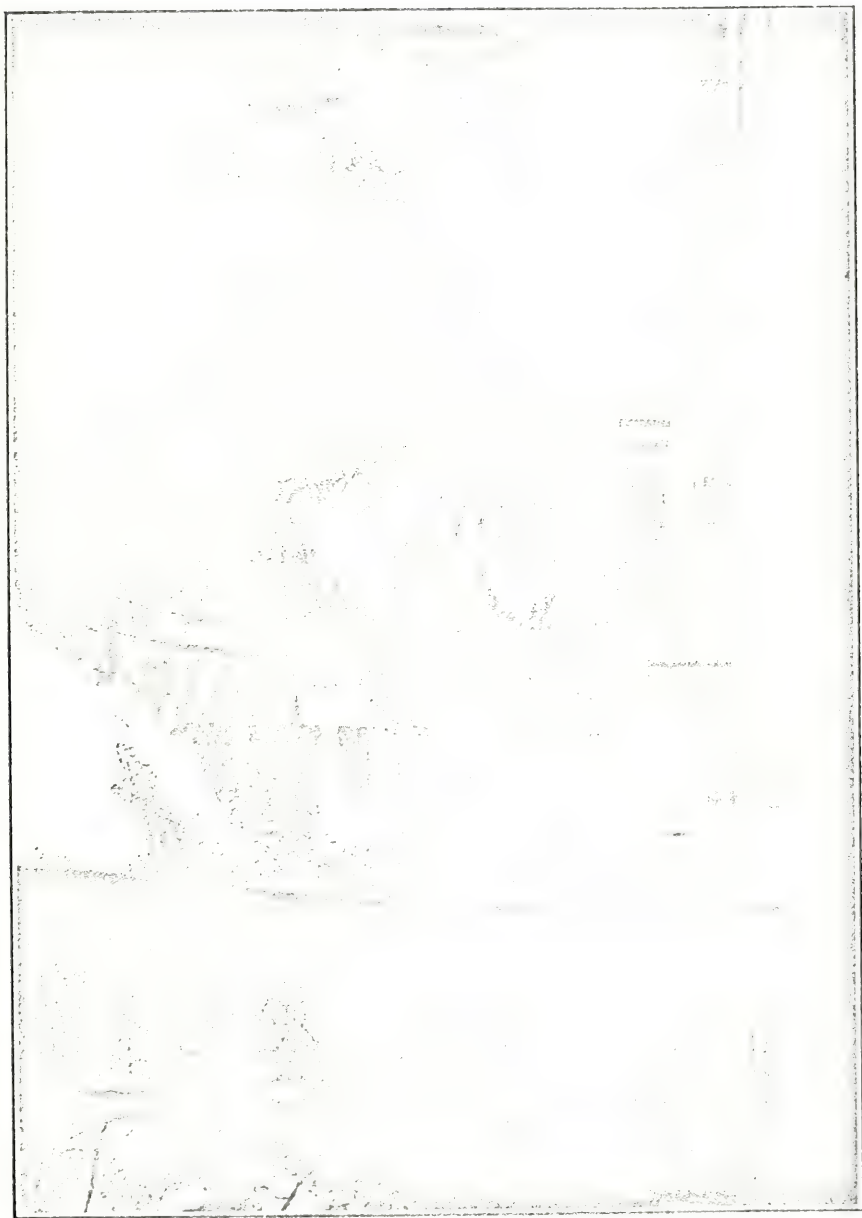
This did not prove so simple as it at first seems. It was comparatively easy to look over a few old family letters of that date, a diary and an unpublished autobiography, but to find just where those old houses were and how to get to them was not so simple. Those who live on the country roadside to-day not only know nothing of the old houses, where the names of the towns as well as those

¹Judge John Kane (1795-1858), of Claverack Manor, photographed from portrait by Thomas Sully.

who lived in them have changed, but too often do not even speak English. One afternoon we asked three pedestrians, men apparently living in the little houses nearby where we stopped them, only to find one an Hungarian, another an Italian, and the third a Portuguese, speaking no language but their own. My grandfather's cousins were to be found for miles along the eastern bank of the Hudson, above and below what is now Rhinebeck.

"Almost every slightly eminence was capped with a fine residence of one of the grandchildren of the first Lord and Lady of Livingston Manor. At all these mansions, cordial hospitality, abundant cheer, of what was then esteemed splendor, were to be found; and from the extreme limits of Van Rensselaer's Manor on the North to the Van Cortlandts' on the south, the eastern bank of the Hudson river from Albany to New York and for a distance of from fifteen to thirty miles back from the river was dotted by handsome residences of as care-free, healthful, fine-looking and happy a class as probably the society of any country has ever known. They had intermarried so freely that they seemed one great cousinry, all having a serene confidence in the invulnerability of their social position, which left them free to be jovial, hospitable, goodhumored, and withal public-spirited to an unusual degree. The men had their offices and their business hours to confer with their stewards and tenants * * * Into their capable and willing hands official positions naturally fell and were faithfully filled, but all these things were done in an atmosphere of large leisureliness, consequent upon the slow means of communication between distant points."

We began our journey at Albany, and found that only two of all these old houses had never passed out of the direct line and name—Oak Hill and the Van Cortlandt Manor house. Of course, in Albany there was General Schuyler's house, "The Pastures," now so well restored by a committee appointed by the State of New York, where lived my grandfather's great aunt, Katharine (Van R.) Schuyler; and, across the river, Fort Crailo, or the old Greenbush Manor, which had housed many of his grandmothers and grandfathers. Crailo is now shorn of its acres, but it still towers above its neighbors, and helps many a mariner "on Hudson's River" to steer his course. Soon it is to be taken over also from its owner, a descendant of the early Patroons, by the State of New York. Vlie House, or "the house by the marsh," built later, home of another Van Rensselaer cousin, is in Rensselaer also, farther up the river, but these houses are hardly on the way to New York. So



CLAVRACK MANOR HOUSE

our first stop then would be Claverack (Kleverack or Cloverfield) which was acquired by purchase from the Indians in 1649. Hendrick Van Rensselaer built the house (1704-8) and as late as 1899 one of his descendants still lived here. Claverack was spoken of as the Lower or Eastern Manor—"small in comparison to the elder brother's (the Patroon's) share towards the setting sun, which included the whole county of Albany." These sixty thousand acres of rich fertile lands were superior to the rocky soil of the Helderbergs. The house is of an old Dutch Colonial type, built of brick now painted white, with walls two feet thick. It stands in a park, on a knoll about four hundred feet back from the State road to Great Barrington, near the village of Claverack. The winding driveway approaching it is bordered by locust trees; on either side of the house great elms and pines shelter but do not obstruct it from the highway. From the wide colonial portico running along the front, one looks for miles across a broad verdant valley to the distant Catskills. It seems as if the view must have been made to order, when it is remembered that of all their vast holdings, the Lords of the Manor had chosen this one site to build the manor house. The entrance is through a double door, fastened with a great lock and a steel key at least six inches long, into a small triangular shaped vestibule, and on either side are two large octagonal shaped rooms, one of which is the dining room and the other the drawing room. Opening out of the drawing room is a wide hall at the end of which is a winding stairway with mahogany rail, which leads to a landing lighted by a two-story colonial window, with octagon shaped bed chambers beyond. On the left of the hall is a large room now used as a library; on the right, a smaller flight of stairs intended for the use of the servants' quarters on the ground or basement floor below. These slave quarters formed until they were remodeled one of the most interesting features of this old house. The great kitchen extended half the entire length of the house, its chief feature being the enormous Dutch oven and fireplace, with the original crane hanging in it. Grouped about this central room were originally the slaves' quarters, and store and provision rooms, with great iron hooks for hanging quarters of beef or drying vegetables. This curious arrangement for the servants' quarters in the basement was also found in Oak Hill. Across the north end of the house runs a wide hall opening onto a porch with steps at

either end, east and west, leading to the paved court yard. Each room in the house has an open fireplace with wonderful hand carved mantels, which, like the plan, with two entrances and octagon shaped rooms, has been reproduced by two descendants in their country houses, one on Long Island and the other in New Jersey. One rare feature of the beautiful woodwork is the hand carved service-board following the details of design on the chimney-pieces and hatchments over the door. It is quite easy to picture the many guests who came and went through these doorways. In General Robert Van Rensselaer's time, Alexander Hamilton and Chancellor Kent were constant guests when they held circuit court in the village over the famous libel case against Thomas Jefferson; and, of course, the many cousins and near neighbours; the Livingstons; not to forget the earlier days when the poor settlers flying from the deadly Mohawk Indians found shelter here; and in Claverack village Robert Fulton brought his bride to live in the many columned yellow house with slate roof.

It was raining—pouring torrents—the second time we visited Claverack, so that we drove by and had to turn in by the second entrance. In front of the house, the lawn was covered with white ducks and swans so that at first sight we thought we had come in through the barnyard, they having left the ten acre pond to take a rain bath. The present owner has gone in for fancy farming, and some day he hopes to restore a formal garden on the north by the old oak trees. Had there been a mistress in Claverack, the garden would have come first.

After Claverack, six miles below Hudson, high on the bluff, stands Oak Hill, the first of the Livingston houses that we come to, but not the original old manor house built by the first lord, on a grassy point upon the banks of the Hudson at the mouth of the Ancram creek. As late as 1866 there were six of these great houses standing. To enlarge the house, a mansard roof of the worst early Lincoln period was built, so that the outside is disappointing, but there is nothing lacking in the interest and beauty of the treasures to be seen within. Such a Dutch kass or chest was rarely seen outside of a museum, and wonderful silver tankards and flagons brought over by the "first lord" for the Livingstons are famous for their old silver and ebony handled Queen Anne teapot, sugar basin, and old Dutch silver (Holstein) cow for a cream jug—more

quaint than beautiful, but with that wonderful sheen that no modern silver ever possesses. This house must not be confused with the Henry Walter Livingston place a little farther below on the State road, known in the family as "the Hill," so well described in the old fashioned novel "Rutledge," which was written on a wager that Miss Miriam Coles Harris could write a novel and never mention the heroine's name. The bet was made at the house of Mr. F. C. Church, the artist, whose place is some miles below Hudson. Not only was the heroine's name never mentioned, but the authoress is still anonymous to the general public, though it was known that for years she attended the "Little Church around the Corner."

The last Lord of the Manor gave to his son Robert the lower portion of his land, where he built a finer mansion than the old manor, the show place of the last age, the still interesting Clermont, then the residence of Chancellor Livingston. "Its level or gently undulating lawn, a mile or more in length, the rich native woods, and the long vistas of planted avenues, added to its fine water view, rendered this a noble place; the mansion, the greenhouses and gardens show something of the French taste," the design by Bunel, copied from the Chateau of Beaumarchais, which Mr. Livingston's long residence abroad led him to adopt. The finest specimens of the yellow locusts in America are now standing upon the pleasure grounds. Here General Montgomery's last Sunday before going to Quebec was spent. Before leaving he planted a weeping willow stick, saying that it would serve as a reminder of him until his return. The General, as we know, never returned, but the wand grew to a great tree which is called "the Montgomery Willow." "In this house upon these grounds, a grand reception was given to the Marquis de Lafayette upon his last visit to the country in 1824, when the lawn for half a mile was crowded with people, and the waters in front were white with vessels freighted with visitors from neighboring counties; and all the cups, plates, ladies' gloves and slippers bore the image and name of Lafayette."

My own association with Clermont is a very childish one—the Clermont muffins, a recipe for which was supposed to have been brought from France by Cousin Chancellor, and which has been handed down for several generations. These were made for us by our dear old nurse, who had seen five generations when she died in 1919—the babies of three generations she had held in her arms.

She gave us the muffins sometimes as a great treat for our nursery tea. They were not pastry nor like the Scottish short-bread, nor the beaten biscuit of the South; they were more like the croissant rolls of the Paris *petit déjeuner*, but round and flat, cut out with the top of a wine glass, and nothing but silver and glass must touch them in the making. They were as light as a feather when finished. Margery herself was unlike any one else. She came to live with my grandfather as a young maid for my grandmother. She never sat while speaking to us—called us Miss Helen and Master Jamie. Her nursery was always spotlessly clean. No one dared question her rule about open windows and cold baths, but her faithfulness and the loving devotion which she showed her nurselings in time of illness or trouble made us see the justice of her rule.

It was not only in the house of Cousin Chancellor that my grandfather would have found a welcome, but in the nearby houses of his sisters and brothers, which are described in a letter to my grandfather from his aunt which says:

“I was married May, 1788, and spent a gay summer among the then brilliant Livingstons, at the Manor on the North River. Old Mrs. Judge Livingston, the mother of Chancellor Livingston, and Edward Livingston, the jurist of New Orleans, were then living, surrounded by the most remarkable family circle within twenty miles that was ever known in this country—Mrs. Gen’l. Lewis, Mrs. Gen’l. Montgomery, Mrs. Gen’l. Armstrong and others; all people with large fortunes and living in splendid style, with fine daughters about my own age. This was the opening of a new world to me. All these people, intimate friends of my husband, were cousins of your family, and they received me with the greatest cordiality and kindness. After spending the greater part of the summer with these charming people, we went on horseback from Utica to Canandaigua through a country so new, scarcely a road was cut open.”

About half a mile below Tivoli, then upper Red Hook Landing, the steamboat *Clermont* was built. Here in 1777 General Vaughan landed at the head of the Royal troops. Here also is the Tivoli Livingston Manor, sometimes called the Pynes, and sometimes also said not to be on part of the original Manor Grant, built before the Revolution. “It is surrounded by a pleasant park and gardens, and commands a view of the west shore of the Hudson and a portion of the Kaatzbergs. The house was spared, but the troops partook of the good things of Mr. Livingston’s larder and wine cellar on

their return from applying the torch to the arch rebel's house, 'Clermont.' Both the new and old Clermont were burnt but immediately rebuilt." In this house near upper Red Hook, which except for a mansard roof is unchanged, lived Aunt Patty Livingston. At the time of General Vaughan's landing, she and her eldest child had fled to Halifax with her mother and younger sisters and brothers. One cousin, in speaking to me of Red Hook, said more of the family were born, married and died here than in all the other Livingston houses put together. No one is interested in any but their own genealogy, so I will not attempt to unravel the relationship of the various "Gilbert Roberts" and "Robert Gilberts," for the Dutch custom of the intermarriage of cousins made their genealogies as complicated as those in Virginia at the same date.

A visit to this house at Red Hook was an event to look forward to and talk over afterward for all the younger generation. An entry in a family diary says: "I had an invitation to take tea with my wife's aunt, Mrs. Gilbert Livingston. She was a very lovely old lady (the eldest daughter of John Kane, the immigrating ancestor), whose husband was a captain in the British army at the time of the Revolution, and three of whose four daughters were Mrs. David Codwise, Mrs. Beekman and Mrs. Smith, wife of Governor Smith of Connecticut, all beauties of their day and called the three Graces." "Aunt Patty Livingston," as the granddaughter of Parson Kent, believed that her charming daughters should be brought up in the fear of the Lord; so the gay doings at "Cousin Chancellor's" nearby were only allowed when a special invitation was sent. It is told of one fair cousin who, when arriving for her first visit, reached the house too late for the mid-day meal, being young and hungry as well as fair, when a well filled tray was set before her began at once to eat; then the voice of Aunt Patty in shocked surprise reminded her that "grace should be said before meat." Still another niece, Alida, was engaged for two long years to the son of the house, Robert Gilbert, but their elders believing that the cousins were too nearly related, it was broken off. He died young, and she many years afterwards, "late in life," married a clergyman, to the satisfaction of Aunt Patty. At her death in the recent seventies, she left by will to her favorite nephew a miniature set in pearls which she had treasured all those years, of the love of her youth. To church on Sunday, everyone within Aunt Patty's

gates was taken—perhaps to the old Dutch Reformed in Rhinebeck, to be told later its history, how it was built by Colonel Henry Beekman (1732), and shown the portraits in the vestibule of “Mother Margaret” or Mrs. Judge Livingston” and her four talented daughters and the gallant Montgomery. The horses and family coach may have been put up at the “Beekman Arms,” on the old post road at the crossroads to Great Barrington and Rhinecliffe, and which still has the family coat-of-arms painted on the swinging sign. From “the Arms,” Philip van Cortlandt writes, “at Rhinebeck the landlord of the tavern gave me port wine in which bitter herbs were infused, that was so powerful as to deprive me of understanding for ten minutes, which much alarmed my friend, Mr. Bell, and also the landlord, fearing I would never recover; but thank God I did recover, and have not been troubled with ague since that time.”

Vaschell says motoring has made these old country inns bloom into a second childhood. Inside, the Inn is little changed, and the old tap room has the interesting old deed and grants from “Col. Henry” hanging on the walls. Outside, the old village of Rhinebeck has many quaint little wooden houses, only to be found after we cross the border from either Connecticut or Massachusetts into New York State. They are so small that they seem only a little larger than a doll’s house, painted white, with green blinds—only one and a-half story high, with miniature porticos, narrow windows under the pointed gables facing the street. The old Beekman house is not like these, but built of stone, and stood high on the cliff, nearer the river landing for Rhinebeck at Rhinecliffe.

Sometimes on Sunday the guests would be taken a longer drive—ten odd miles or more—past the old Dutch church in Rhinebeck, leaving the post road at the corner on the Salisbury turnpike, to hear some famous preacher at the “Old Southeast Church” between Dover Plains and Pawlings. This road winds through the beautiful Dutchess county hills. These are quite unlike any other hills—round, and not pointed like the Berkshires or foothills of the White Mountains, but somehow suggesting comfortable dumplings made from the orchards nearby. Sometimes they are crowned by white farm buildings with two white black roofed turrets or silos that in the distance suggest a French chateau with its watch towers looking down into the fertile and carefully cultivated valleys below, with the grazing cows on the hillside; but the roadsides of

Dutchess county are beautiful and gay with wild flowers—dainty fine white asters fringing the road like a bride's lace veil, and, after the rain, spangled each with a diamond dewdrop. Some are the palest lavender, with touches of golden-rod and blue gentian bordering a meadow near the Croton, and dashes of brilliant sumach against the oak trees—for out of England I have never seen such oaks—everywhere by the roads, out in the fields, on the hillsides, and by the brooks. No blasting scythe is allowed to cut down all these early autumn treasures.

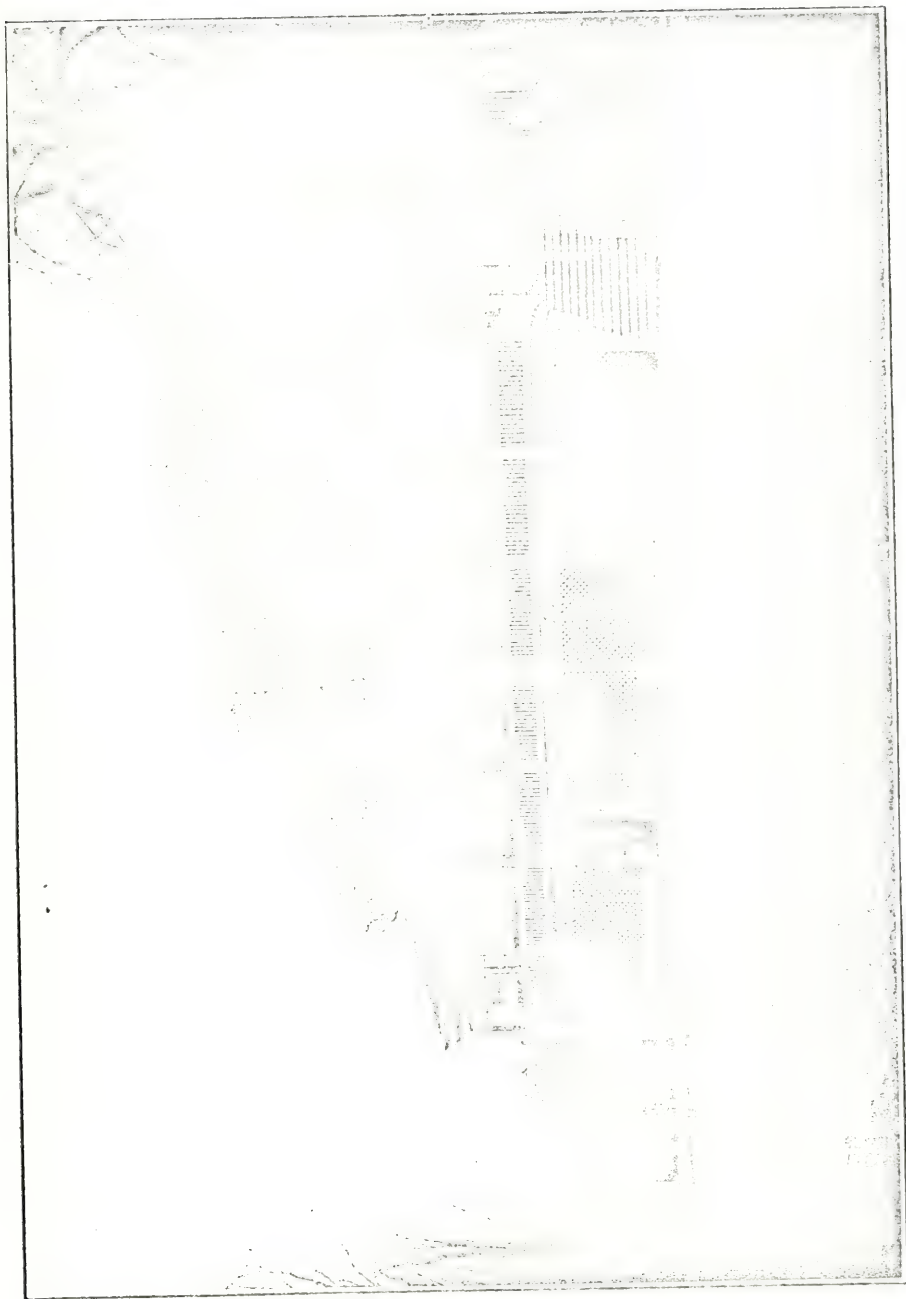
The church building has been standing since 1740—not a Sir Christopher Wren, like the old Lyme or Lenox churches—but its white steeple can be seen for miles. This neighborhood was called Kent's parish—for Parson Kent went in his gig up hill and down dale and numbered his flock even over the State line into Connecticut, across the Hoosic river, to the village of Kent, for whom it takes its name. "Chancellor Kent" writes: A few years before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War there was living in Dutchess county a polished and delightful family connection, its head, the venerable patriarch of the parish, Rev. Elisha Kent, a Presbyterian minister. Here on a line of twelve miles lived (1760-1766) Uncle Cullen, on Croton river, where he had a very pleasant, and, for that day, elegant house; next, Grandfather Kent on a fine farm with house and orchard situated on high ground; next Uncle Morrison, of the family of Eton Hall, Norwich, England, a Scotch merchant; next Uncle Grant; and next Uncle Kane, a prosperous merchant in Pawling precinct near Quaker Hill. The American War came and dispersed all of them—my grandfather excepted, who died in 1776—were shipwrecked in their business and fortunes by the tempest of the Revolution. The Kents and the Cullens took side with the Colonies. Captain Malcolm Grant, recalled to service, fell at the storming of Fort Montgomery. Mr. Kane adhered to the Crown and forfeited his possessions. He is said to have won the esteem of the Rev. Elisha Kent by an apt quotation from Horace.

Aunt Patty was a first cousin of Chancellor Kent. They were taught by the same tutor, as her father believed that boys and girls should have the same advantages while under the same roof. He writes again, "I went to study under Mr. Kalum at my Uncle Kane's in Pawling precinct, and here I commenced to study Cordery and the Latin tongue," and in later years he was Gilbert Living-

ston's law partner, but their politics drove them apart. Another aunt of my grandfather writes: "I was born on the 31st of October, 1778; at that time General Washington's headquarters was in my father's house in Dutchess county, not far from the borders of Connecticut." This place was called Sharvogue. In John Kane's petition to Parliament he describes the buildings as a "large and commodious dwelling house containing ten rooms, a large storehouse 65 feet distant from the dwelling house with a stone building of one story between which joined each. The range of buildings is about 100 feet in front, planted with poplar trees." But at Pawling, although we enquired at the Dutcher House and the Mizzen Top Hotel, no one had ever heard of a Washington Headquarters there. Finally, at the Public Library we bought an Historical Society pamphlet which gave the desired information. The house is directly on the State roadside, and was marked with a tablet in 1905, but has been much altered.

There were three in the touring car—Stanley, which seemed an appropriate name for a chauffeur, as it suggests "on, Stanley, on," etc., and whose one idea is to make as good a run as possible and avoid detours; and another person who called himself merely a "passenger" on this very uninteresting trip to the homes of other people's ancestors. One could hardly blame him when it was remembered that he lived in a house which had a record of the same name and blood for two hundred and twenty years—not very encouraging companions, however, to go on a quest for one's ancestors—but as we lunched on the banks of the Croton, the passenger could ill conceal the interest and surprise he felt on our being able to find so many of the houses which were verified by the quotations I have already given.

After Sharvogue, as we neared New York, back again on the Albany post road, the busy trolley ridden towns came so thick and fast that were it not that we have been playing hide and seek with the Croton, there is nothing left to connect us with the past on this part of the road once bordered only with gentlemen's country seats. Of these, three of my grandfather's day only are still standing—the Van Cortlandt Manor House at Harmon, on the banks of our old friend the Croton, which must not be confused with the Van Cortlandt mansion in the Bronx, and the Grange in Harlem. The manor, with walls two feet thick, pierced by loopholes, a two-story



VAN CORTLANDT MANOR HOUSE

sandstone building, like so many Dutch colonial houses found across the river in New Jersey, as early as 1683 was used by Governor Thomas Dongan as a shooting lodge, but the "Royal Charter for the lordship and manor of Cortlandt" was given in 1697. From the point where the Croton enters the Hudson, lay the lands of Van Cortlandt, including almost all the northern part of Westchester county, and stretching for ten miles along the Hudson and for twenty miles to the Connecticut border, with an additional tract west of the Hudson. Large as this may seem, still larger was the old Dutch patroonship of Rensselaerwick, which in 1685 covered more than 1150 miles, back from the Hudson twenty-four miles toward the east and west, and covering virtually the whole of what are now Albany, Rensselaer and Schenectady counties, almost all of Columbia county and part of Greene, an extent that was preserved throughout the Colonial period; and in Dutchess county, below the present site of Hudson, Robert Livingston had in 1686 acquired 160,000 acres which stretched twelve miles along the river and some twenty miles along the Massachusetts border. The house has many additions now, but the same beautiful view of the river, and it may be remembered that the *Clermont* on her first trip was signaled to, and the gay company who all tripped ashore to take dinner with their Van Cortlandt cousins included, of course, "Cousin Chancellor," the three Graces, and Harriet Livingston, whose engagement to Robert Fulton had that day only been announced. From the veranda, Whitefield had preached to great crowds who sat on the lawn. During the Revolution an English officer had his headquarters in the house; the family, accompanied by two wagon loads of furniture, had driven to Rhinebeck for safety. It is told that a ghost still walks in an upper chamber containing a four-post bedstead, and there is an old legend—one of the terrors of my childhood—of a mysterious coach and four which has been heard to drive up to the door at midnight and then disappear into the darkness. The house is full of wonderful old furniture and rare china.

Along the post road, which still runs in front of the Beebe or Van Cortlandt mansion in Van Cortlandt Park in the Bronx, lived another Van Cortlandt. This house, built in 1748, by another cousin, is more pretentious. The entail lasted until 1823, when it went to the female line and was bought in 1903 by the Colonial Dames of the State of New York, who have reproduced a delightful old Dutch

garden with gay flowers and canals, but, in spite of its being an honorable estate, for an historic house to pass its last days open to the public, used as a museum, no matter how correct, seems to take the soul out of an old house, and when its roof and walls have sheltered one's own people I prefer that the houses should burn down, that their ashes may rest in peace; so I will not describe the "Mansion" as it stands to-day.

After Van Cortlandt Park, we stop in Haarlem, at the Grange, 141st Street, now difficult to find because of its too many near neighbors. There, however, until very recently were two of the original thirteen gum trees planted by Alexander Hamilton to represent the thirteen States, were standing. A family letter says: "Gen. Hamilton was at his country place at Haarlem Heights. He took me out to dine and I was detained at his house next day. We were assailed by a violent easterly storm the night I was there, and the house, standing on high ground, was very much exposed to the fury of the winds as they swept over the island from the vexed Atlantic, and I am certain that in the story where I slept it rocked like a cradle. He appeared in his domestic state the plain modest affectionate father and husband." This was in April, 1802, not long before the duel with Aaron Burr, but here one is constantly haunted by the shadow of the tragic ending of the duel, and I feel all associations, even for my grandfather (the younger generation), must have been so sad that they rarely stopped for more than time to pay their respects to "Cousin Elizabeth," the gay Betsey Schuyler in her younger days. If my grandfather had brought a letter or message from the Livingston cousins to Chancellor Kent he would have gone direct to his house, and for the last time we will quote from a letter of the Chancellor's to Daniel Webster, describing it: "My attractive home and office are on Union Square, facing the lofty jet d'eau which is constantly playing before my eyes. The associations with this water are to me delightful. I was born on my father's farm in Putman county, in the eastern part of the Highlands, and his farm was bounded by the Croton river, where I used to fish and to swim in my youthful days. God bless the Stream! How it would have astonished my parents if they had been foretold, in 1770, that their eldest son would live in the midst of New York City, with that very Croton pouring its pure and living waters through the streets, and throwing majestic columns of water fifty feet in the air."

Negro Slavery in New Jersey and New York

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THE PROPER appreciation of the labor problems of our colonial times necessitates a study not only of white servitude but also of Negro slavery. Just as surely as the introduction of white servitude into the colonies was influenced by the labor conditions in Europe, so surely was the introduction of Negro slavery due to the trade relations of Europe. During the first part of the eighteenth century, the trade rivalry between Holland and Spain put the former in possession of negroes, and also in possession of territory where slave labor was profitable. This same rivalry caused Holland to seek to increase its commerce by an increased production in its possessions, which, in turn, created a need for more laborers in those places.

Out of the rivalry of Holland with Spain for the control of the commerce of the Atlantic ocean, came the possibility of slavery in New Netherland. After a struggle of about forty years, in 1609 Spain practically recognized the independence of the Dutch. Then it was that the traders of Holland planned to wrest the control and the trade of the Atlantic from their enemy. As that was the time of great trading companies, and as the phenomenal success of the East India Company both from the financial side and from the standpoint of injury to Spain was prominently before them, they took steps to organize the Dutch West India Company. After due consideration and much pondering, after the twelve years of truce had almost expired and after there was no question but that the struggle with Spain would be renewed, the States General granted the charter of the Dutch West India Company, June 3, 1621. This new organization "was to maintain armies and fleets, to build forts and cities, to carry on war, to make treaties of peace and of commerce." It also was to control all the trade of Holland "from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and to America from Magellan to Terre

Nova," and incidentally it was to establish settlements on the Hudson River.

The Dutch realized that only by desperate fighting with Spain could the Company become masters of the trade of the Atlantic. Not only would it have to fight for trade privileges, but in the same manner, also, it would have to get possession of and hold the territory for maintaining this trade. For this reason it was necessary for the Company to find able leaders, to equip strong fleets, and to organize formidable armies and efficient commercial agencies. In truth, as Motley says, "It was a small peripatetic republic of merchants and mariners." These facts explain why the States General gave the Company such extensive powers.

In this struggle for trade, the Company gained possession of important territory and of negro slaves. It captured Bahia in 1624, and held it for about a year; it secured Pernambuco in 1630 and controlled it for about twenty years; it made itself master of trade bases in the West Indies, and it seized many Spanish vessels, upon some of which were negro captives. Count John Maurice, finding slave labor of much value on the sugar plantations of Brazil, moreover, sent the fleet to the coast of Africa, where it captured important Spanish possessions, including the island of St. Thomas in 1641. So in this way the Company became the owner of sources of supply for slave labor, and also came into possession of lands where laborers were in demand to develop the resources of the world in order to furnish the much needed articles of commerce. Naturally the Company sent some of these captured negroes to New Netherland, where the Reverend Jonas Michaelius found them as slaves in 1628.

The Company was not satisfied with merely holding its territorial acquisitions, it was anxious also to develop their resources and to make them self-supporting instead of being a drain on its treasury. Hence, as our study of the Patroon system has shown, it not only supplied white servants from the Netherlands, but it sent captured negroes to work its own farms; and it further agreed to furnish each Patroon "with twelve Black men and women out of the prizes in which Negroes shall be found, for the advancement of the colonies in New Netherland." Not only was this offer to furnish slaves to the colonists of New Netherland made once, but it was repeated frequently. In one of these offers, the Company agreed "to exert itself to provide the Patroons and Colonists, on their order, with as many

Blacks as possible." Apparently, however, the Company was anxious to provide slaves for the settlers not so much to help them, as to increase the production of the colony. October 23, 1629, the Assembly of the XIX, which was the governing body of the Dutch West India Company, complained to the States General that New Amsterdam could not compete with the countries of the West Indies because they are "unprovided with slaves." Under date of June 10, 1633, the Committee of the West India Company sent a remonstrance to the government against the making of peace with Spain because the colonists were "unprovided with Slaves, and also not in the habit of making use of them," neither could they "supply their own inefficiency by the labor of others, as the Spaniards and Portugese easily do by that of the Blacks and Indians." Their enactments for the bringing of slaves into the colonies begin "in order to promote the cultivation of the land there," or "with a view, then, to give greater encouragement to agriculture and consequently to population." Another reason, of which the West India Company never lost sight, was to enlarge the market for their slaves. If the colonists would not request the introduction of slaves nor purchase them from the Company's ships, they were to be lured into the business by allowing "them to export their produce to Brazil, in their own vessels, under certain duties, and subject to the supervision both of the Director in New Netherland and the Supreme Council in Brazil; and to trade it off there, and to carry slaves back in return; which privilege of sailing with their own ships from New Netherland to Brazil should be exclusively allowed to Patroons and Colonists, who promote the population in New Netherland, and not to interlopers who only carry goods to and fro, without attending to agriculture. By this means not only would Brazil be supplied with provisions at a cheaper rate, but New Netherland would by slave labor be more extensively cultivated than it has hitherto been."

The coming of slavery into the colonies as a consequence of the cupidity of the Dutch was the beginning of a momentous chapter in the history of the colonies. Among other questions the investigator immediately asks: Did the conditions here warrant the introduction of the black laborer? What do we know about these early slaves? What sort of laws governed them? What was the effect of the institution of slavery upon the economic and social life of the people of Colonial New York and New Jersey?

In addition to the forces operating in Europe to make Negro slavery possible in America, there were forces, also, in the colonies at work to this end. Holland sought commercial enterprise that therefrom might come the sinews of war, because through war it was gaining greater dividends. The Dutch West India Company thought that the use of slaves in these colonies would serve its best interests. There also was need of cheap labor. The farmers themselves were dependent upon their ability to wrest their sustenance from the soil of the land into which they had come. But since Holland's primary purpose in colonization was mercenary, the West India Company was not a corporation for charity, but a company organized for gain; it or the Patroons under it required one-third or one-half of the produce and one-half the increase of the live stock as compensation for their part in establishing the settlement. It was desirable always that the one-half or one-third be large. Did not the Company complain of the inefficiency of the settlers?

In order to get a profit from the soil of New Netherland, the Company modified its Patroon system to include not only master and man, but also Negro slave. It asserted that the inability of the people of New Netherland to compete with the West Indies was due to the fact that they did not employ slave labor. To overcome this handicap, the Company repeatedly offered to supply them with slaves. Their desire to provide the colonists with more slaves was to them sufficient reason for continuing the war with Spain. The regulations requiring all exports to be carried in the Company's ships were modified to permit the colonists to bring slaves from Brazil. Frequently the wish to furnish slaves to the colonists appears in official acts and communications. Even during the last days of the Dutch control, the Chamber at Amsterdam sent the ship *Gideon* to the African coast to procure slaves for New Netherland. The *Gideon*, with its cargo of human freight, however, came to port in the harbor of New Amsterdam shortly before the English captured the town in 1664. This one time, at least, the commercial interests of the Company suffered loss by the importation of slaves, for the English took them. When the English became masters of New Netherland, they were well acquainted with slavery. They had a counterpart to the Dutch West India Company in the Royal African Company of which the Duke of York (to whom the Dutch possessions fell) was president. He and the Company evidently were

of the opinion that the labor of the black man would advance their interests, for they granted to the master who settled prior to January 1, 1666, seventy-five acres of land for each "slave, male or female, exceeding the age of 14 years," and for later settlements the grants decreased in size as they did for white servants. From these facts it appears that both the Dutch and the English proprietors considered the introduction of slavery favorable to their interests.

Without doubt there was a great dearth of laborers in the new colonies. To produce a living plus the rent from this new, raw land, required the most strenuous efforts from an energetic people. There was nothing at hand save necessity and crude material. The settlers had their homes to build, their fields to clear, and their crops to plant and to cultivate. The quantity of work was appalling; the laborers were few. With their requests for more indentured white servants the Company had not been able to comply because the supply was insufficient. The cost of white servants, moreover, was great and their time of service was short, while the negro slaves served for life. The indenture was not to go empty away, but the slave left all of his belongings when his term of service expired. We know, however, that though these reasons for the use of the slaves were sufficiently convincing to the Company, they were not as cogent to the settlers as it might seem that they should have been. Although the Company expressed its willingness to permit "at the request of the Patroons, Colonists, and other farmers, the introduction of as many negroes as they are willing to purchase at a fair price," Hendrick van Dyck made note that "no request for negroes has been presented to my knowledge." Again, although the Company allowed the Patroons and colonists to send ships direct to Brazil to carry slaves back, O'Callaghan did not "find any minute of such a ship or of any vessel having been sent from New Netherland" to Brazil or Africa to take advantage of the concessions of the Assembly of Amsterdam. Since the exigency of the situation required added helpers, and since white laborers were not procurable in sufficient numbers and black men were to be had in large numbers at a smaller cost, the importation of the negroes seemed an obvious solution of the difficulty. Evidently, the desires of the West India Company, together with the labor conditions there, made slavery possible in the colonies of New York and New Jersey.

Coming into the colonies as a result of the conditions which made

slavery possible there, the negroes have left an interesting record in the annals of New York and New Jersey. The source of supply remained practically the same under the Dutch and the English, the slaves received different treatment from the English than they did from the Dutch, and the archives reveal characteristics peculiar to the negroes.

From almost the same sources came the slaves imported by the Dutch and by the English. At first the West India Company depended largely upon captives taken from the Spanish and Portuguese vessels in the war between Holland and Spain, to supply her colonies with negro slaves. As it was not until 1641 that the Company got control of parts of the African coast, no importations could have come direct from there until after that time. Eleven years before that, however, the Company had come into possession of slave territory in Brazil. Doubtless the Company sent some slaves from there into New Netherland, for the Chamber of Accounts in May, 1647, considered it "highly advantageous that a way be opened to allow them (the colonists) to export their produce to Brazil . . . and to carry slaves back in return." It was not until 1648, however, that the Company gave the colonists of New Netherland permission to trade directly with Brazil, and four years later with the African coast. There are records of only two ships having brought slaves direct from Africa to New Netherland during the period of the Dutch control. The first was the *Witte Paert*, which in 1655 by permission of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company brought "the first cargo of Slaves imported into New Netherland or the present territory of the State of New York, direct from Africa." The second was the ship *Gideon*, dispatched by the Chamber at Amsterdam. It was "to take in a cargo of Slaves at Loango, on the coast of Africa, and to fetch them by way of Curacao, to New Netherland, . . . and as these Slaves are sent solely to be employed in agriculture, . . . we expect and require most expressly that the aforesaid Slaves must be sold there to our inhabitants." Since both of these were in the service of the Amsterdam officials, they do not controvert Mr. Wilson's statement that no colonial vessel traded in slaves on the coast of Africa.

When we come to the importation of negro slaves by the English, the evidence of the source of supply is more definite. In 1678 Governor Andros wrote that "some few slaves are sometimes brought

from Barbados," and a report from the customs books from Eastern New Jersey, covering the period from 1698 to the last of the year 1726, shows that the greater number came from Barbados and other West India ports. A like report from New York, moreover, covering almost the same time (1700 to 1726) shows that out of an importation of 2395 slaves, 1573 came from the West Indies. It was during the period covered by these two reports that Queen Anne was "willing to recommend the Royal African Company to supply the colonists with a sufficient number of merchantable negroes at moderate prices." Private traders, nevertheless, imported practically all the slaves, which slaves no doubt came from the West Indies or South America. As late as 1761, though, the "Pennsylvania Gazette" advertised some slaves from Africa for sale at Cooper's Ferry, which is now Camden, New Jersey. Thus it appears that both the Dutch and the English secured the larger part of their slaves from the West Indies.

Naturally, in a hundred years, the approximate period which this discussion covers, the customs of a people change. The customs of a civilized people, the Dutch and the English, however, would not diverge as widely as would the manners and habits of a people whom the beginning of that hundred years found living in freedom and savagery, and whom the close of that period found living in intimate contact with an advanced and educated race among whom they had been born as slaves. The fact that the slaves received different treatment from the English than they did from the Dutch, may have been the result merely of such an evolution. The attitude and purposes of the colonists of New York and New Jersey were very different in the late pre-revolutionary days from those of the colonists who built New Amsterdam and Fort Orange. The Company's negroes, taken from the Spaniards about 1626, were the first negroes in the colony as far as present records show. They were a savage lot. Of them, under the date of August 11, 1628, Reverend Jonas Michaelius wrote from New Amsterdam to Reverend Adrianus Smontius, "the Angola slaves are thievish, lazy, and useless trash." At least useless they must have seemed to many when they came, a group of untrained savages, either filled with despair at having been ruthlessly carried away from their native land, or immured within dull sensibilities, unmindful of what came to them. They came into the lives of the Dutch settlers at about the same time as did the

white servants, and they probably received similar treatment. These first husky men were unskilled. They helped to work the farms, and for the most part lived quietly and soberly. But two instances of riotous conduct appear in the records at hand. One, Jan Angola, suffered a heavy blow from the ax of his fellow, who was angry with him because of an altercation over some wood. Wolfert Webber accused Jan of taking from the bush four sticks of firewood belonging to him; while Jan insisted that the said sticks rightfully belonged to him, as Webber's man, Joris Arissen, had stolen them. From the court minutes one infers that the master and the slave stood in court on equal terms. The desire to do justice to Jan Angola manifests itself in the postponement of the trial until he, who could not speak Dutch, could bring with him Domingo, the negro, as interpreter, and other witnesses who knew anything of the matter. The Dutch fairness displays itself further by the hearing of "the verbal debates of the parties" and the examination of the witnesses. The court ordered Joris Arissen "to pay the surgeon's fees for the blow which he inflicted on deft's head with an ax and to pay the costs."

The second case is that of Manuel de Garrit, the Giant, together with eight other slaves of the Company, who had killed another negro, Jan Premero. Although the entire number pleaded guilty, the court ordered them to draw lots for the one who should suffer the penalty of death. "By God's Providence the lot fell upon the Giant." One suspects the officials of having connived with Satan to turn "God's Providence" aside, for, although the said Giant fell from the ladder with two halters about his neck, both broke, whereupon, at the urgent request of the spectators, pardon was granted him. It may have been that the value of the slaves as chattels had more to do with the breaking of the halters than the weight of Manuel de Garrit, the negro. It may be, too, that one should ascribe this reluctance to enforce the law to mercenary rather than to humanitarian motives.

Without doubt the attitude of the Dutch toward the negroes was patriarchal. A simple hospitality permitted them to participate in the Christmas festivities and the annual fairs of their masters, and to enjoy rather free intercourse among themselves. Under the Dutch, the black slave, like the white servant, could hope to buy his freedom, for Director Kieft and his council had liberated at least

twelve of their fellows. These twelve were Company slaves, and among them were Manuel de Garrit and his colleagues of the before-mentioned trial. One hardly can ascribe this act of manumission to mercenary motives. These men and their wives received their release because of their long and faithful service, "on condition that their children serve the Company whenever it pleased at fair wages." They received an allotment of land and were "on the same footing as other free people" there. In 1650 no more than three of all these numerous children were in the employ of the Company, and they received the treatment of Christians.

Under the English, however, the status of the slave changed in a marked degree. The slave himself had changed. In the beginning he came to the Dutch unable to speak the language of his master. By the latter half of the Eighteenth Century under the English, not only was he familiar with English and Dutch, but he also might speak Danish and Spanish. Whereas before he had been ignorant and untrained, he then was skilled, "fit for town or country business," "used to land and water service." The women understood all manner of housework. While the West India Company sent them into the territory, expressly stipulating that they were not to be removed therefrom, the English sold them as occasion or desire demanded. If the master wished to keep a likely lad from his wench, he sent him to be sold in North Carolina. If a negro woman was sullen and possessed of an abusive tongue, he sent her to the Barbadoes, where she could receive the proper discipline. The individual settler under the English treated his slaves in a kindly manner, fed and clothed them well. In speaking of his family's weal or woe, he included the slaves, male and female. "I have had a great deal of trouble with her brother and sisters in bringing them up," wrote Elizabeth Hill to the possessor of Tamar, "& never had one day's work from any of them." How like the words of a modern mother is this complaint. Yet this same former mistress sent a twenty shilling bill to provide clothing for Tamar's new baby. In 1702 Lord Cornbury reported that enacting of a law "for the regulating of Slaves is become absolutely necessary through the great insolency that sort of people are grown to." So it came about that the English passed numerous laws concerning their slaves. The character of these in many instances indicate a care for the interests of the negro. If neither the slave himself nor his master was able to sup-

port him, he was entitled to the same poor relief as a white servant. The English as well as the Dutch manumitted their slaves; but the English not only did not allot land to them, but they prohibited their holding it. If they became possessed of it, it reverted to the crown. If the attitude of the Dutch in the treatment of their slaves was that of the patriarch, the attitude of the English in the treatment of their slaves was that of the legalist.

From various sources come items which reveal interesting characteristics of the slaves. Like the white servants, many were young; their dress, while not so picturesque as that of the white servants, was varied; the occupations of the slaves were suited to the times and their station in life; and their accomplishments show rapid progress in adapting themselves to local conditions. A large majority of the slaves who ran away or were advertised for sale were young. This, perhaps, was due to two things, the masters were not so much attached to the young, who had not adapted themselves to the particular conditions, and the wanderlust was stronger in the younger negroes. By averaging the ages of several runaways and of negroes advertised for sale, one finds the mean to be about twenty-five years. Others for sale were young and lusty. In a few cases there appears no mention of age, so one naturally infers that they, too, were young.

The dress of the negroes, while less picturesque than that of the white servants, presented a variety in material and style. Taking it for granted that the black as well as the white servants selected what they fancied most—in so far as they could select—their dress shows that they had sufficient clothing, although it was incongruous. When the mulatto Job went away, he had on “a lightish-colored cloth coat, figured worsted waistcoat, a flannel shirt, a pair of leather breeches, light grey yarn stockings, and a pair of pumps, felt hat, with a yellow button on it.” Another negro, running away in July, took with him “a grey bearskin great coat,” besides some extra pieces of other garments. Kent presented a different appearance, for he wore “a white linen shirt, brown broadcloth coat, old black plush jacket, new leather breeches, thread stockings, new shoes with carved metal buttons, and a new felt hat.” “The blue broadcloth coat” and “the light colored lace jacket” of Cato, who was twenty-three, and one year younger than Kent, seemed hardly suitable to wear with his “check flannel trousers, shoes and stockings.”

On the other hand, a new negro from Africa, when he was taken up, was not so fully provided with plush and lace. His wardrobe consisted of "a brown homespun jacket, with large flat buttons, with tow trousers." He had "no shirt, shoes, stockings, nor hat." Enaco had even less protection from the weather, but he, evidently, had no choice as to what he should carry with him, for he wore "an iron collar with two hooks to it, round his neck, a pair of handcuffs with a chain to them, six feet long." The advertisements frequently report some of the garments to be half worn or much worn. The slaves no doubt wore many garments which members of the families of their masters had discarded. Although these are only a few examples, they show that the black slaves wore coarser, less expensive and more serviceable clothing than did the indentured white servants. Silver buckles and buttons, white silk puffs and fine plaited shirts, fashionable clothes and wigs, were wanting.

Turning from a consideration of what the slaves wore to what they did, one finds the occupations in the colonies as varied as the needs of the time and the new country demanded. For the men there were land and water services. One negro was a boatman, a second was a ship carpenter, and a third could manage a sloop. The physical descriptions indicate that they were capable of doing any of the heavy work of frontier life, for they were "near 6 feet and well set;" a likely negro man, named Prince, was about 5 feet 10 inches high;" another was "a short thick fellow;" and others were "thick set and lusty." The sale notices declared that certain of them understood town and country business, and others they pronounced well suited for either town or country business, which may have meant the same thing. Another man was "an excellent hand with the scythe in grass or grain." Not farming alone was meant by country business, as the following makes clear: "For Sale about twenty Slaves, bred to farming and Country Work (among which is a good Blacksmith, a Mason, and a Shoemaker.)"

There was a cooper, also Bontura, another shoemaker. One believes that "the weaver by trade" soon found a purchaser. For the requisite sum the colonist could have Harry, the mulatto, who understood the making of potash, or two negro men who understood mining. In these colonies it seems that the women were kept for housework and not sent to the fields as in the South, for the notices of sale do not refer to that sort of work for them. They could sew,

and "understood cooking, washing, ironing, and all manner of household work." It is easy to see that the five or six slaves belonging to one master and capable in these ways were valuable members of the household.

But the negroes did not work all of the time, neither was their education confined to the industrial subjects alone. Not only did the slaves learn to use the tongue of their masters, be it Dutch or English or both, but some also learned to read and write. In many instances they knew other languages. Pero spoke French, Spanish and English; John Henricus had made himself proficient in English and Welsh; and Frank talked in Dutch, Spanish, Danish, or English. The languages spoken probably depended upon the place of birth as well as the place of residence at that time. Those who spoke French and Spanish, most likely were brought up in the West Indies and acquired the English and Dutch in the colonies of New Jersey and New York. The Welsh and Danish came no doubt from a master or a white servant with whom they associated. Their aptitude for music appeared at that early time, giving pleasure to themselves as well as to others then, as it has since. They sometimes played upon the violin. Perhaps this was unusual, for it is given but twice as a distinguishing mark in the advertisements considered. One owner quaintly put it that his man could play upon the fiddle as well as speak English. One runaway was a great fiddler and sometimes played sleight of hand tricks. These attainments go to show how readily the negro adapted himself to conditions and found new joys even among the hardships of slavery.

Although the negroes were strong physically, their powers of resistance were weak. The mortality among them was great from measles, and so frequent from smallpox that a notice for sale commonly included the assurance that the slave had had those diseases. Advertisements for runaways, however, indicate that often this statement was superfluous, as their faces carried the message. Ishmael was much "pitted with smallpox." The mulatto whose hair was "bushy and rather red" was "much mark'd with the smallpox." Another characteristic which stood out almost as distinctly as did the poxmarks, was the habit of drinking. Mingo or Tim was "much addicted to strong drink," and Ben "talked much when elevated with liquor." If liquor was not used, the fact was of sufficient importance to receive mention. Intimations of the attitude toward

life appeared in the mulatto's "down look," and Ned's "suriy look and hanging lip." Along with the bad, we find the good. One owner refers to his slave as one who "can be well recommended for her honesty and sobriety," and another, desiring to buy, asserts that "any person that has a negro wench to sell that is a good cook, and can be well recommended for her honesty, may have a good price for her." Of course along with these outward things which the master could name as distinguishing marks, there were many other changes of which we have no mention.

One of the original sources at the command of the student is the laws, which reveal much concerning the relation of the slave to his environment. These laws fall under three general heads—the laws governing slaves, the laws protecting slaves, and the laws holding masters responsible for their slaves. The laws regulating the conduct of the slaves had to do with their relations to their masters and to the community.

In the beginning, the black man was brought into the colonies to serve the white man's interests. Both the laws of the Dutch and the English established the relation of the slaves to their masters and to the holding of land. As the West India Company guaranteed the Patroons the labor of their white servants, it also guaranteed the masters the work of their slaves. Again and again the Company urged the settlers to purchase slaves, showing that it recognized them as property. The Company also counted the slaves in making land grants. When the English took control, they followed the same policy. The New Jersey grants and concessions provided that masters settling prior to January 1, 1665, were to receive seventy-five acres for "each slave, male or female, exceeding the age of fourteen years," accompanying them. The English, also, considered the black man as property. The laws stipulated that masters should receive pay for slaves suffering the death penalty. This was shown in connection with slaves attempting to escape to Canada during the inter-colonial wars, and in connection with the murder of William Hallet, Jr., in 1708. Similar laws were in force in New Jersey, as the case of the hanging of a negro shows when the court "valued" him at thirty pounds and ordered the sum paid to the master.

So, for the most part, the laws regulating the conduct of the slaves were to protect the property rights of the master. If the slave escaped, the master lost both his property and the profits of the

slave's labor. In New York the officers had the authority to raise the hue and cry after an escaped slave, while the New Jersey laws made necessary a pass for all slaves from other colonies. A slave found more than five miles from home without reasons, laid himself liable to twenty lashes on the bare back. The laws in regard to the transportation and the harboring of slaves were to prevent their escape. The New Jersey law made it a capital offense to "steal away any mankind." Although that law failed to mention slaves, the one seven years later (1675) left no doubt. Any person stealing a slave was subject to a fine of five pounds, and to other damages that the judges might assess. The New York law forced the guilty person to pay five pounds to the county funds, and to remunerate the master for whatever expenses he incurred in recovering his slave. The early laws of New Jersey (1675) and of New York (1684) fixed the penalty for harboring slaves at ten shillings for each day, and the New York law again added five pounds for county expenses. If a freed slave harbored a runaway slave, his penalty was ten pounds for every day he concealed the fugitive. Any person, moreover, who knew that slaves were being harbored and did not report that offense, was to pay "double the other's fine."

Both the Dutch and the English questioned the effect of the conversion of the slave to Christianity on his condition as a man in bondage. The Dutch failed to understand how the Company could hold the children of Christian parents in a state of slavery. As early as 1660 the English home government had issued instructions to the colonists "to consider how such of the natives or such as are purchased by you from other parts to be servants or slaves may be best invited to the Christian Faith, and be made capable of being baptized thereunto." That this applied to the colonies of New York and New Jersey from the beginning of the English control, we can infer because the government continued to send out similar communications. Yet in 1687 Governor Dongan includes in his report the following passage: "It is the endeavor of all persons here to bring up their children and servants in the opinion which themselves profess; but this I observe that they take no care of the conversion of their slaves." An explanation of this fact is contained in a paper addressed to the Lords of Trade by the Earl of Bellomont in 1699. "A Bill for facilitating the conversion of Indians and Negroes (which the King's instructions require should be endeavoured to be

passed) would not go down with the Assembly; they having a notion that the Negroes being converted to Christianity would emancipate them from their slavery, and loose them from their service, for they have no other servants in this country but Negroes." The Assemblies of the two colonies refused to act until in 1706, when the New York Assembly stated that "the Baptising of any Negro, Indian, or mulatto slave shall not be any cause or reason for the setting of them or any of them at Liberty."

The Dutch seemed to have had no laws bearing on the question of the manumission of slaves. Governor Kieft and the Council, however, established a precedent by freeing Company slaves for their long and faithful service. Some Dutch masters freed their servants by will. For a few years the English seemed to have followed the Dutch precedent, but early in the Eighteenth Century both colonies enacted laws to regulate the freeing of slaves. These enactments stipulated that the master who desired to free his slaves should enter into an agreement with the government, giving two sureties for two hundred pounds, to give the slaves yearly pensions of twenty pounds each as long as they lived. If the manumission was by will, the executors were to make similar agreements or the act was void. Sometimes in case of freedom by will, the executors refused to furnish the security required and the slave did not get his freedom. Thus it appears that the law not only protected the master in the holding of slaves, but it went further and made it difficult for him to free them.

Other laws in regard to the conduct of the slave were to protect the property of the master from the slave. The two colonies, New Jersey in 1682 and New York two years later, enacted laws against slaves selling any article, under penalty of being whipped in New Jersey by the person approached, but in New York by the order of two justices. Later, in 1702, the New York laws allowed the owner to whip "at discretion, not extending to life or member." The colonies found it expedient, moreover, to pass laws prohibiting slaves from selling oysters in New York City, and forbidding the clipping of coin because slaves stole and clipped their masters' plate. Because there was complaint that slaves who took guns and dogs into the woods and plantations under "pretense of gunning," killed swine, a law passed in New Jersey forbade a slave to carry a gun or to take a dog with him into the woods unless accompanied by a

white man. Twenty lashes on the bare back was the punishment for those slaves disturbing the peace on the streets or in the public houses of New York City, unless their owners came to their rescue by a payment of six shillings. Perhaps fear of injury to person or property caused the enactment of the law forbidding slaves to be on the streets of New York City later than an hour after sundown without a lighted lantern, or requiring, if they lived in New Jersey, that they be at home by nine o'clock at night. A certain New York law forbade more than three slaves to meet together, and a New Jersey law directed the arrest of all slaves when more than five congregated, and their whipping at the order of a justice. This latter act, however, was not to be construed so as to prevent the attendance at church or at the burial of their dead.

Even in the punishment for crimes and misdemeanors, the white man's rights were protected. No extension of the time of service was possible with the black, as was the case with the white servant. The common punishment for the Negro was a whipping of twenty to forty lashes on the bare back. Sometimes, if the owner pleased, he could rescue the slave from this infliction by the payment of a stipulated sum. Even in the case of capital offenses, the master's rights were carefully guarded. Although these crimes were not so numerous as they were in England and other countries of Europe, yet they formed a goodly number. If a slave murdered or attempted to murder his master or any other person, he was to suffer death. The records show that New Jersey enforced the same penalty for murder. The catalogue of capital offenses included the burning of houses, hay or fodder stacks; the maiming, mutilating, or dismembering of any of the inhabitants; and the assaulting of a white woman. The courts consisted of three or more justices and five freeholders, which organization was practically the same in the two colonies. In such trials, Indian and Negro slaves were allowed to testify, but they were not allowed to give evidence against white persons. Any master who desired and was willing to pay for it, had in such cases the right to have a jury of twelve try his slave. If the verdict was "guilty," the penalty was death, sometimes by hanging and sometimes by burning. Masters of executed slaves received compensation derived from an assessment on all slaveholders of the district. Fines and imprisonments are not conspicuous by their presence. They would necessitate loss on the part of the masters, and might not have a restraining influence on the slaves.

Not only did the laws regulate the conduct of the slaves, but they also protected them. The instructions to Governor Dongan in 1686 urged him to pass laws to prevent cruelty toward the slaves, to make the willful killing of Negroes and Indians a capital offense, and to impose a "fit penalty" for maiming slaves. As these instructions were repeated to other governors, there doubtless was need for such restrictions. Even earlier than this, in 1668, New Jersey made the forcible "stealing away any mankind" punishable by death; this, however, was only indirectly a protection to the slaves; it was rather the protection of the master's property rights in them. The masters were to support their slaves, and if one became bankrupt, the community was to care for them as it was to help white servants. Again, masters freeing their slaves were to provide for their keep by a "sufficient security," generally two hundred pounds, and by paying to them an annuity of twenty pounds during their lives. The laws also protected the slaves from liquor sellers by assessing a penalty of five pounds for each offense, of which the informer received forty shillings. The law moreover forbade masters to permit their slaves to beg, and forbade them to make sales of old and decrepit slaves. In the first instance the masters were liable to a fine of ten pounds; in the second instance they were liable to a fine of twenty pounds.

In addition to regulating the conduct of the slaves and protecting them, the laws also held the masters responsible for some of the misdeeds of their slaves. In the case of slaves disturbing the peace on the street or in a public house, or of their being out of doors during services, the masters paid a charge or allowed their slaves to be flogged, and paid for that. Slaves who were guilty of gambling suffered a whipping, unless the masters paid three shillings for each one who sat in at the game; but if they stole turkeys, swine, or cattle, the masters paid the fine assessed by two justices, and the slaves also got their whipping. Naturally slaves liked to hunt with dogs and guns, but if they did, the masters were subject to a fine of twenty, thirty or forty shillings, according to whether the offense were the first, second, or third. Owners of slaves, moreover, were subject to a fine of twenty shillings if they permitted their slaves to possess hogs bearing any other brands than those of their masters. Begging on the part of the slave subjected the master to a penalty of ten pounds. If the bell ringer rang his bell, if the public whipper plied his whip, or if the constable captured a runaway slave, the master paid fees to each and all.

After a study of the colonial conditions making slavery possible, of the characteristics of the slaves themselves, and of the laws regulating the life of the slaves, the question naturally arises, what was the effect of slavery on the two colonies? The first and most apparent effect was an increase in population. Second, this increase in population as a factor in the economic and social life of the community was not altogether satisfactory.

One very evident result of the introduction of slavery into the colonies of New Jersey and New York was the increase in population, although it is difficult to ascertain the exact numbers. As early as 1702, Queen Anne gave instructions that a record be kept of the number of negroes entering the colonies. Such a report of the importation of slaves into New Jersey exists for the eight years from 1718 to 1726 inclusive, and it shows that 115 slaves entered at the port of Perth Amboy. That these negroes did not come in large numbers is quite evident, because during the banner year of 1721 only fifty were imported. But Perth Amboy was not the only port of entry. Some came into the colony through Cooper's Ferry, the New Jersey port opposite Philadelphia, as is shown by advertisements in the "Pennsylvania Gazette" of 1760 and 1761. Governor Burnet's report to the Lords of Trade in 1726, moreover, indicated that the negro population of New Jersey was 2,581 and the white population was 29,861. Mellick places the number of slaves at 3,981 in 1738, out of a total population of 47,369. In a study of the advertisements of sales of farms, the number of negroes for sale shows that no man owned so many; generally the number given was less than six. New York increased her population in like manner. As early as 1678, Governor Andros informed the home government that "some few slaves" were imported from the Barbadoes. Later, Kennedy's report for the period from 1701 to 1726 inclusive, shows that 1,573 negroes came from the West Indies and 822 from Africa and Madagascar. This makes evident that the importations into New York were more numerous than those into New Jersey. When it comes to the number of slaves in New York, there are fairly regular reports from 1703 to 1774 inclusive. The following list gives a fair statement of the numbers at different times: In 1703, 1301 slaves; in 1712, 1785 slaves; in 1723, 6171 slaves; in 1731, 7202 slaves; in 1737, 8941 slaves; in 1746, 7178 slaves; in 1749, 10,642 slaves; 1774, 21,149 slaves. While these numbers are small com-

pared to the number of aliens entering our ports in these later years, they yet made an appreciable difference in the population of that time.

Did the coming of the slaves in these numbers supply the needed laborers for the colonies? Governor Burnet's report and Mellick's estimate agree in giving New Jersey a slave population of eight or nine per centum of its white population, and in New York the per centum was probably greater. When the inefficiency of these laborers, due to their previous condition and training, is taken into consideration, the conclusion is that that number of that kind of workmen was not sufficient to relieve the labor situation fully. Further evidence of this is the failure of the colonists to increase the negro population to the extent possible. Their coming increased the quantity of supplies necessary to be produced. One wonders if they could have been more than self-supporting. In addition, we have the continued importation of white labor. In 1709 Queen Anne sent between three and four thousand Germans to New York. If there had been sufficient laborers in the colony, those from a foreign nation surely would not have been sent. An advertisement in the "New York Gazette" of September 12, 1726, reported two ships from Rotterdam with three hundred Palatines on board, and other vessels to follow. All the while, the Royal African Company was anxious to import slaves at a reasonable price.

In New York and in New Jersey the variation in the activities, perhaps, tended to develop the black man in advance of his brother in the South, the home of a staple crop. The small number of slaves kept by each farmer brought them into such intimate association with their master and their master's family that they inevitably responded in more rapid progress than they otherwise would have done. The master's language, his habits, his attitude toward life, his custom of performing work, impinged upon them so forcefully that they responded by similar acts. The early Dutch took them into their homes, where they lived under the same roof, ate of the same fare, and sat at the same table. In one village, at least, slaves did the family work of all the families but one. The presence of the black slave, nevertheless, weakened the morale of the community as a whole. On the one hand, the slave had no outlook for betterment. To a very great extent, his servitude deprived him of initiative. The very nature which made him tractable as a slave also

made him irresponsible. In his train came ignorance, superstition, and crime. On the other hand, the effect of holding slaves blunted the moral sense of the whites. Looking tolerantly upon the evil characteristics of slavery, consciously or unconsciously, the white man made them his own. The colonist had a perverted sense of duty to his neighbor when he would not teach him of Christ for fear that he would be in duty bound to liberate him. His logic was better when he refused to instruct him in the Christian faith in order that he might not obligate himself to free him, than it was when he taught him concerning Christ and held him in bondage, though his reasoning was fallacious in both instances. It not only weakened the moral sense of the master, but it made him brutal. The king found it necessary to instruct Governor Andros in 1688 to pass laws to restrain the inhuman treatment of the slaves, and this was repeated in 1702.

Moreover, neither the negro nor the white man wished to perpetuate slavery. The slaves frequently expressed their dissatisfaction by running away, and there is evidence of the system in the laws and the petitions of the masters. In 1702 Lord Cornbury explained that the enacting of a law "for the regulating of slaves is become absolutely necessary through the great insolency that sort of people are grown to," and the legislature of 1705 passed a similar resolution. In addition, the legislation of the colonies shows that the people suspected and feared the slaves. They were in constant dread of plots and conspiracies. One reads the story of the plot of 1741 as told in letters, and tells himself that the tale was the result of hysteria. But what was the cause of the hysteria? Was it not the fear, groundless or not, of a people strange to them, with whom they were not in sympathy? New Jersey tried in 1714 to lay an import duty on slaves so as to "encourage the importation of white servants for the better peopleing that country." In 1769 a similar law, assessing a duty of fifteen pounds on each slave imported, was for the purpose of encouraging "the introduction of sober, industrious foreigners." An anonymous writer in the "New York Journal," October 29, 1772, was so disgusted with slavery that (although he owned seven slaves) he advocated that they be sent to Africa at the expense of the owners. If the words of an anonymous writer may be cast aside as of little moment since no one would call him to account for them, one must give credence to a signed paper sent to the

officials. In 1764 the merchants of New York voiced the discontent of the people when they wrote the British Lords of Trade that a country settled by a free people was of more benefit than one settled by slaves, although the latter produce a staple imported into England. Although the introduction of slavery into the colonies of New York and New Jersey increased the number of the laboring class, it was unsatisfactory both economically and socially. It did not solve the labor problem, and it was deleterious in its effect on the people involved.

When they put the black man into the colonies of New York and New Jersey, the Dutch introduced an element into the labor problem of those colonies which has continued to the present time. Slavery grew out of the experiences of the European peoples in South America and the West Indies, and out of the insistent demands of the new lands for labor. Although slavery as an institution disappeared from New York and New Jersey,—then become States—early in the Nineteenth Century, the demand for labor in those States has never ceased, nor has the black man ceased to respond to this call. During the World War, negroes flocked from the South into these States in answer to this demand. The difference is, that later it was voluntary on his part. Then, the negroes had very little skill, showed little respect for property rights, had no distinct idea of family relations, and knew nothing of the manners and customs of the people among whom they found themselves. Now they have passed along the rough and rugged road of a century to emancipation and over another weary way of adjustment, we hope, to a clearer realization of conditions. Then, none of them could read or write; now fully two-thirds are able to do so. Then, since they themselves were property, they could not own property. Now they possess comfortable homes and valuable farms and profitable business. Then, they did their work under compulsion; now many of them enter the field of competition with the spirit of the trained workman. If then they were a liability, now they are an asset. Yet only when President Harding's ideal of "economic equality between the races—in precisely the same extent—as equality of opportunity—between members of the same race" is realized, will they be able to give an adequate response to the call for laborers. So the colonial phase of slavery is merely an introduction to the long story of the negro as a factor in the labor question of the States of New York and New Jersey.

Dutch Buildings, Customs, Habits, Etc.

By W. W. SCOTT, PASSAIC, NEW JERSEY



THE main building was constructed of stone, for the most part small, irregular and pointed with white mortar, making the walls peculiarly conspicuous. The roof was broad and angulated about ten feet from the peak. From the angle the roof sloped more abruptly till near the eaves, where it curved gracefully, extending usually about six feet beyond the wall. These stone houses had usually a broad hall running midway through from the front to rear. The inside walls were plastered but the ceilings over head were formed by the bare beams, often of extravagant dimensions, and the upper floor board, both unpainted but smoothly planed and kept scrupulously clean by the periodic use of soap and brush. The outer doors were cut in two laterally and designated as the upper and under door. In moderate weather the former was nearly always opened during the day and often during the evening, affording fine ventilation, while the latter served to exclude curious eyes and prevent the exit of the baby and too frequent intrusion of the house dog and other domestic animals. The peculiar customs and manners of the toilers of the Northern Railroad Valley a half century ago were largely due to the conditions favoring if not compelling the exercise of frugality.

The soil was not noted for its natural fertility. Its productiveness was in proportion to the care and labor bestowed upon it, and its adaptation to certain staple crops needed the farmer's careful consideration. Rye being grown much more successfully than wheat, naturally became the leading cereal. Ground into flour by the local miller it found its way into the bread tray and by the skillful manipulation of the wife or daughter it furnished bread for the family—sweet, nutritious and wholesome. This spread with golden

Note.—These pages from a work now in press, "History of Passaic (New Jersey) and Its Environs," by Mr. W. W. Scott, of Passaic, (Lewis Hist. Pub. Co., New York).

butter and overlaid with wholesome home-made cheese was the combination associated with almost every man's mean.

Cornmeal supplied material for cornbread and mush, the latter usually eaten with milk. A bushel of choice corn was usually sent to the miller who, soaking it for a few hours in cold water then passed it coarsely through his burr stones, removing the shell and breaking it into coarse grains. This called "samp" cooked as it was by the farmers' wives was equal if not superior to the best modern hominy. Corn and oats were relied upon for the farm stock. Potatoes, vegetables and fruits were of course at hand in their season and preserved with care and judgment for winter use. No canning of fruit was known, but the farmer's wife always provided a good stock of sweetmeats in the form of preserved peaches, quinces, plums, pears and other small fruits. One of these was upon the table at almost every meal. Concerning their use there was, however, an unwritten law emphasized by an occasional parental hint that they were to be spread thinly over the buttered bread and not eaten by the saucerful with a spoon as the occasional city visitor did, much to the amazement and consternation of the family.

The apple crop was one of the most important of the farmer's products. Three or four score dollars found their way into his exchequer from the sale of his choice fruit. The dropped apples were gathered for his pigs, the sweet ones usually given to the colt. Upon almost every farm there was a frost-proof apple cellar built of stone, partially under ground and thatched with straw. Into these the winter apples were placed and the door barred, not to be opened till early spring, when the market price suited the owner, and the apples were then quickly shipped to the New York market. From one to four barrels of good cider were annually made by the average farmer. In large families nearly an entire barrel was utilized in the making of apple butter which, wholesome and satisfactory to the palate, was rarely absent from the farmer's table for months following. The vinegar barrel was always kept well filled. So fast as used it was replenished from the stock of hard cider. A good share of at least one barrel of the best cider was kept for table use and for evening gatherings. In these olden times a load or two of apples from the large growers found their way to the distillery at so much per bushel. Candor compels the admission that occasionally in preference to hard cash the farmer received in return for his apples

a certain number of gallons of apple whiskey mutually agreed upon. This was always convenient for external use and considered by some of the old-timers conducive to the comfort of the inner man. Temperance and total abstinence to the mind of the latter were not synonymous terms.

Every large farmer under the good olden calendar from which these chips are whittled produced and packed his own pork and beef. The surplus buttermilk and the odds and ends from the kitchen were utilized in the pork production, and a horned animal bought at a low price in the summer or raised perhaps on the farm was turned to pasture and cornfed for a month or two in the autumn. About the last week in November, usually on Tuesday, from one to four fat dressed porkers were seen hanging in a row in the farmer's backyard. A week or two later the dressed carcass of beef would be hanging in the farmer's barn.

The clothing of the farmer's family presented questions which necessarily found their solution along the same practical lines as those growing out of the subsistence department. There are in the older ranks of the farmers to-day those who to the period of early manhood were clothed almost entirely in home-made fabrics from domestic materials. Their fathers and grandfathers were flax and wool growers and passed their raw material through the various stages and processes till it came from the local looms and shops in substantial fabrics adapted to the farmers' wants, and were made into needed garments chiefly by the wives and daughters. In the Dutch homesteads of to-day through the valley there are still treasures in the shape of home-made linen sheetings, woolen blankets, etc., which are highly prized by the owners as the work of their worthy and industrious grandfathers and grandmothers.

The farmer's wardrobe was not elaborate. All ordinary garments were made at home in the family, the tailor being only employed by the day occasionally to lay out the work. The best suit of the farmer, as well as that of the wife and daughter, was expected to last for several years and the expectation was rarely disappointed. A woolen cloak of good quality of those days was placed away each spring and brought out in the fall and worn for a dozen years, affording to the wearer the most genuine satisfaction during the entire period. Woolen undergarments were not considered necessary as a rule. Stockings were knit during the long winter evenings, linen ones

for warm and woolen ones for cold weather. Working clothes were made in the most simple manner, comfort and durability being the governing considerations.

The furniture in the old homesteads of the valley was simple and inexpensive. A good proportion of it was home-made, including the tables, stands, chairs and cupboards. The last named were for various uses and very capacious. The bureaux in which were kept the linen were usually more pretentious. In every family were one or two large chests in which to pack winter clothing. These were made if possible from cedar wood, supposed to afford protection against moth and insects generally. The long clock found in many homesteads was the one article of extravagance and luxury in which the olden time fathers indulged.

At the period from which these chips are whittled, stoves were unknown, and broad fire places and brick ovens furnished the ways and means for warming and cooking. The capacious chimney, the wide fire-places, and the andirons, the "back log," the "fore stick," and the intervening wood, the last three all ignited, the blazing fire leaping upward changing each moment in shape and form, throwing darker and lighter shadows upon the walls, all made up a picture which the eye tired not in watching, and which possessed an attractive force and mellowing influence which have been sadly missed since modern ideas and requirements made the scene described only a memory of happy hours long gone, never to return.

Eighty years ago matches had not been invented and the flint and steel with the accompanying "tinder box" were upon the mantel of every kitchen. The light for this room was furnished for the most part by the blazing wood, and that of the sitting room by the fallow candle made by the dipping process in the outer kitchen.

The servant girl question in these happy times was almost wholly eliminated from the problem of domestic life. The wife and daughter were equal to all emergencies and the idea of delegating any part of their home duties to a menial was as unnatural to them as it was prejudicial to the family finances.

At certain seasons the farmer's life was indeed a busy one, bringing him at five o'clock in the morning to the work of feeding his stock and preparing for the work of the day. At six or before, breakfast was in readiness, and before seven he was at the axe, scythe or plow, and after ten or twelve hours in the field there still remained the chores and evening work in the barn.

The farmer's wife and daughters did their household work thoroughly. Cleanliness was the almost invariable rule and the tables and floors even in the kitchen must on at least one day of each week be made spotless by soap and brush. In addition to regular indoor work, including all the work of the dairy, they were ready to help in any outdoor emergency. But for their cheerful presence and help many a load of waiting hay safely housed would have been injured by the approaching afternoon shower or ruined by the coming storm.

The man doing faithful and valuable work for his employer expected to sit down with the latter to his usual meals, and it was not expected that either would lose his self-respect or forfeit the respect of the other. At these meals if any outer garment was uncomfortable or cumbersome, it was simply discarded on common sense principles. At the table the knife or fork was brought into requisition according as either seemed best adapted to the work to be done. If the morsel of pumpkin pie was considered to be in less danger on the knife while being conveyed to its intended destination, the pie was given the benefit of the theory and the onlookers were never known to have received a hopeless or dangerous shock.

The country district schoolhouse was usually about eighteen feet square, and painted red if painted at all. It was usually built at the intersection of two roads, as near the corner as possible, or in the edge of a woods and as near as possible in many cases to a pond of stagnant water. The latter plan has not been altogether given up at the present time, judging from recent occurrences. The school furniture was not luxurious. The desks were arranged on three sides of the room with their backs permanently fastened to the wall, and the long seats over which both girls and boys had to climb were made of slabs. The curriculum of study was not especially comprehensive. It usually comprised spelling, reading and "ciphering." Occasionally a little grammar was thrown in by way of ornamentation. The teacher's salary varied from fifteen to twenty-five dollars a month. Under the salary first named he was expected to "board around" through the district in the more substantial or liberal families, changing his boarding place about every two weeks. If the pedagogue was old, conservative, and stern, this arrangement was very unpopular with the children. If young, sympathetic and socially inclined, these changes of boarding places were anticipated with the keenest pleasure.

Of the moral and religious condition of the community a half century ago it may be said that it was fully up to the average standard. The churches were simply furnished, poorly ventilated and imperfectly heated. Notwithstanding, on Sabbath mornings the roads leading to the churches were dotted with vehicles and pedestrians from miles around. Stormy weather was not considered a valid excuse for absence from church.

The vehicles were of every description. Not a few were the farm wagons which conveyed the surplus products to market. Some of the worshipers came on horseback. It was an old-time habit to reach church early. The horses having been hitched, the worshipers collected in groups under the trees or about the church doors where greetings all around were in order and inquiries made about absent relatives and acquaintances. It cannot be denied that the state of crops, the condition of the markets, and the aspect of politics, were occasional features of these peculiar gatherings.

A voluntary or paid choir was an institution unknown in these churches fifty years ago. The chorister, a professing member receiving and holding his position by the formal action of the officers, read all the verses of the first hymn, usually one of his own selection, then led the singing in a slow and sometimes nasal tone. Before the first line was finished the discovery was not unfrequently made that the line was pitched several notes too high or low, when of course a fresh start became necessary. This naturally diverted attention somewhat from the sentiment of the sacred poem, usually by Watts, Dodridge or Toplady, but the system had its compensating advantage by rendering impossible the complications incident to the modern methods. Of instrumental music it may be said that any attempt to introduce it eighty years ago would have been regarded as an innovation incompatible with religious orthodoxy or church harmony. The duty of reading the Scripture selections devolved upon the chorister, called also the "voorleser" or head reader. This exercise was grave, measured and slow, with inflections not always thoughtless. The prayers were earnest, fervent and loud. The sermons long, doctrinal and of numerous headings. They were rarely delivered from notes. Written sermons were regarded with disfavor and not considered edifying.

Both men and women dressed well. The men wore their hair in a queue, tied with a pretty bow ribbon at the end, hanging down the

back. Their faces were without whiskers. They wore Dutch coats, reaching only to the waist, made of black, red, purple or blue cloth, over a vest of the same materials, which extended about six inches below the coat, in front. The style of dressing, however, was not to wear a coat and vest of the same colors at the same time. The breeches were made of bear skin, reaching only to the knees, where they were fastened with silver buckles. Long stockings, usually silk and low cut shoes adorned also with silver buckles completed the wardrobe, with the addition of a tall beaver hat.

The women wore a one-piece dress or frock. The waist was cut high, tight fitting with tight sleeves. The skirt was neither tight nor flowing, but of medium girth. Shawls of great value and finest texture were considered the richest covering for the body. Furs and muffs were worn only in cold weather (and not in summer, as many of the soft-shell variety of the female do in 1922). The women were very fond then (as they are to-day) of silk stockings in all colors of the rainbow, but this did not equal their passion for quilted petticoats, home-made in kaleidoscopic colors, of which every woman had at least half a dozen—Mrs. Kip a dozen and the Hopper girls a score or more. In fact, the women of Bergen county were noted far and wide for their many petticoats, so much so that during the Revolutionary War, when material for soldiers' clothing was very scarce, a suggestion was made to use the petticoats of the Bergen county women, and notice to that effect was published in a newspaper, and as a result many were used.

In common with other colonies, slavery came to the Province of New Jersey at a very early day. The existence of this institution called for peculiar laws, one of which passed in the twelfth year of the reign of Queen Anne (1713), entitled "An act for regulating slaves." This act forbade any traffic with any Indian, negro or mulatto slave without the consent of the owner. The necessity which called for such laws evolved subsequent enactments, manifestly very unjust to the colored people.

Masters and mistresses rarely called slaves by their names. All colored men were bucks and women wenches, while colored children, girls and boys, were pickaninnies. When therefore a colored man or woman was wanted the call would be: "Here you, buck," or "wench." The pickaninnies were put to work almost as soon as

they could understand by words or example in house, barn or field work of many hours duration. The farms were all extensively cultivated for hay, wheat, rye, oats, buckwheat, barley, potatoes, onions, cabbage, beets, melons and strawberries. The work was performed mostly by colored men-slaves, of which each farm had at least a dozen and whose living quarters were little better than those of the cattle and horses, in whose barns most of them slept, amidst the hay. In extremely cold seasons they were permitted to sleep in the smoke house or in the house garret. They were made to believe they had no souls and died like cattle. Their submission to commands, scoldings, whippings with rawhides and other punishments was pathetic. They would run like a hounded deer to obey their master's command. For almost any simple offense they would be punished, and even for striking or threatening their masters, some of these poor, helpless fellows, who lived and tilled the fields where now is Lodi town, are known to have been put to death by burning at the stake. The price of a slave ranged from \$200 to \$400, whether male or female, according to the ability, agility and strength. As a rule, they possessed good health and more died from old age than sickness. They were buried at the extreme end of their master's farm, without ceremony.

Among the slaves there were some who were inclined to commit crimes. In December, 1756, Mr. James Berdan was found dead in his kitchen from poison. Suspicion pointed to their slaves, John Soos and Sally Coon, who could not then be found. In a newspaper item of March 10, 1757, it is stated: That on Friday last several negroes were apprehended and committed to jail at Hackensack upon the evidence of some of their fellow slaves of having poisoned their masters and mistresses and who died not long since in consequence. This was thought, the paper states, to lead to the discovery of other acts of villany committed by them. Colored slaves were shown no consideration or kindness, and were treated with even greater cruelty than was inflicted on a dumb beast. This was so perhaps because their masters considered them as animals without souls. The following are instances of cruelties inflicted upon these helpless men.

The fight between Peter Kip and his slave, below referred to, was in the field adjoining the present trolley Lodi switch. Houseman and Isaac Kip called to assist, were at work in the fields to the north along the trolley:

To David Ackeman, High Constable:

This Is in his Majesties name to will and Require you to Summond these Under Named to Appear at the Court House on Friday the 15 day of this Instant to Give Evidence in the Behalf of Our Lord the King Against the Negro of Peter Kipp called Jack & In this you are Not to fail. Given Under my Hand this 14 day of August, 1735 and In the Ninth year of our Reign.

TO DAVID ACKEMAN, High Constable. Peter Kipp, Elshe Kipp. Their son. Henry Kipp, Derrech Terhune, Jacobus Housman, Isaac Kipp.

New Jersey, Bergen Cty. Whereas William Provoost Esq. Being Informed that the Negro of peter Kipp Called Jack having Beaten his Sd Master and often times threatened the Lives of his Sd master and his Son Likewise to burn his Sd Masters House and then destroy himself on Wednesday the 13 day of August 1735 for which We here Under Subscribed was Summond by the Justices to appear at the Court House of the Said County the 15 day of the Sd Instant to Try the Said Negro Jack According to the Direction of Act of General Assembly Entitled an Act for Regulating Slaves Whereupon having Duily Examined the Evidence According to ye direction of the aforesaid Act found the Aforesaid Negro Jack Guilty of the Said Crime Allegded Against him.

(Sd) Wm. Provoost, Isaac Van Gesen, John Stagg, Henry Vandelenda, Paulies Van Derbeek, Justices, present.

Abraham Vack, Abraham Ackerman, Egbert Ackerman, Lawrence Ackerman, Garret Hoppe, Freeholders, present.

New Jersey, bergen county: At a meeting of the Justices & freeholders for the Trying of the Negro Man of Peter Kipp Called Jack at the Court House for the said County on Friday the 15 day of August 1735. Present the above Named Justices and freeholders, the freeholders Being Sworn & proceeded to Tryal.

David Provoost Esq. being appointed by the Justices Prosecute the said Negro Man of Peter Kipp called Jack. Gentlemen I am appointed by the Justices to Prosecute the Negro Man of Peter Kipp called Jack for having on the 13 day of this Instant August struck his Said Master several (blows) and offered to kill him with an ax and often times said that he would kill his said master, and master son, burn his master's house and then destroy himself which I am ready to make appear by good and lawfull evidences that the abovesaid negro Jack is Guilty of both striking his master several blows and attempting to kill him with an ax and likewise of threatening several times to kill his said master and his master's son and set fire to his masters house and then destroy himself for which reason I desire your honors that the above said Negro may be tryed as the Law directs that the King may have justice done, which was granted by the Justices and freeholders and did proceed accordingly.

THE EVIDENCES. DECLARATION.

Peter Kipp declared upon the Holy Evangelist that he was going to one of his fields with his Negro man Jack and on the road he gave the said Negro a blow which at he said Negro resisted and fought with his master, striking him several blows and afterwards taking up an ax threatened to kill him his said master and his son and then destroy himself. Upon which his said master ran away for assistance and sometime after he was tyed he said that he would in the night when his master slept set his house on fire.

Henry Kipp Declared upon the Holy Evangelist that he being one of the Assistance at the taking and tying of the said Negro that when they came to the said Negro they found two axes by him and after having tyed him he said that when his Master slept he would set his house a fire.

Then Isaac Kipp and Jacobus Huysman declared likewise with Henry Kipp. Then Henry Kipp declares that his father gave the negro a blow at which the negro resisted and fought his father; striking him several blows and taking up an ax and threatening to kill him and then destroy himself and then the record proceeds as follows: The justices and freeholders having taken the matter into consideration and Did give sentence of death upon him as followeth:

"That is to say that ye Said Negro Jack shall be brought from hence to the place from whence he came, and there to continue until the 16 day of this instant August till ten of the Clock of the Morning, and then to be burnt until he is dead, at some convenient place on the road between the court house and quacksack.

"This is therefore to will and requir you to take ye body of the Negro Jack into your custody and see him executed according to the sentence given, and for your so

doing this shall be your sufficient warning. Given under our hands this 15 day of August, in the 9 year of his majesties reign, anno Domini 1735.

"To Proclus Parmerton, High Sheriff of the county of Bergen, and signed by the justices and free holders, whose names are mentioned at the beginning of this proceeding."

By a brief analysis of this proceeding, it will be seen that when the negro Jack was going to the field with his master on Wednesday, August 13, 1735, that the master gave Jack a blow. He was therefore the first assailant, though as a master he deemed himself empowered to chastise his slave; that the negro struck back, and made, in his anger, sundry threats; that all the formal proceedings were done and the matter disposed of Friday following, and sentence passed directing the sheriff of the county to burn the negro on Saturday morning, August 16, 1735, "til he is dead." On Wednesday the African offended, and on Saturday morning he was burned to ashes, and all this was done lawfully and under the British constitution in 1735.

In 1741 two negroes charged on suspicion of having set seven barns on fire, were convicted and burned to death at Yellow Point, on the east side of the Hackensack river, near the house of Dierech Van Horn. This act, as appears from the records, was frequently invoked, and continued even down to the Revolution. During this period the stocks, the whipping post and the pillory, "at convenient places" in different parts of Bergen county, performed their part also in punishing petty crimes, and misdemeanors also of greater magnitude. At the October term of the general quarter sessions, sitting at Hackensack, in 1769, we have the following record, showing how the prisoner was punished. The case is entitled:

The king agst Quack, a Negro man belonging to Mary Terhune. The prisoner arraigned on his Indictment pleaded guilty and submits himself to the mercy of the Court. On motion of Mr. Brown for the Lord for judgment, the Court ordered that as in the Warrant.

To the sheriff of the County of Bergen:

Thomas Quack, a Negro man, belonging to Mary Terhune, was this day indicted before us, George Ryerson Van Gieson, Lawrence L. Van Boskirk, Peter Zabriskie, John Fell and Ruliff Westervelt, Esqrs., His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the County of Bergen, one whereof bin of the quorum of the court of general quarter sessions of the peace, holden this day in and for the county of Bergen, for feloniously stealing, taking and carrying away from the dwelling house of Isaac Kipp, Junior, certain goods, and has pleaded guilty to his said Indict. Therefore, in his Majesty's name, you are hereby commanded forthwith to take the said Negro Quack from this Bar to the public Whipping Post, at the Court house, and there cause the said Quack to receive fifteen lashes, well laid on his bare back, and from thence you are to take him tyed at a Cart's tail to the corner of the lane opposite Renier Van Gieson, Esqr., and then cause the said Quack to receive fifteen lashes more aforesaid, and from thence, at the Cart's tail, take him to the corner of the Lane opposite to J. Isaac Ryerson, and there cause said Quack to receive nine lashes more, in manner aforesaid, and

on Friday next, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, you are again to take the said Quack to the Whipping Post aforesaid, and cause him to receive fifteen lashes more, in the manner aforesaid and from thence to the Street facing Mr. William Provoost and there cause said Quack to receive fifteen lashes more, in manner as aforesaid, and from thence to the lane opposite to Mr. Isaac Kipp's and cause him to receive nine lashes more in manner aforesaid, and on Monday next you are again to take the said Quack to the whipping post aforesaid, and cause him to receive 15 lashes more in manner aforesaid, and from thence over the bridge, opposite to Mr. George Campbell's house, and there cause him, said Quack, to receive 15 lashes more, in manner aforesaid, and from opposite Mr. Jacob Zabriskey's dwelling house, and cause the said Quack to receive 15 lashes more, in manner aforesaid, and the several constables of this County of Bergen are hereby commanded to attend and assist you. Given under our hands and seals this 25th day of October, Anno Domini 1769.

(signed) George Ryerse, Peter Zabriskie, Lawrence L. V. Boskirk, John Fell.

Within a week the negro, in nine whippings on three several days, and at the whipping post and other public places and about the village of Hackensack, was scourged 117 lashes. It is said that two slaves, named Ned and Pero, in attempting to rob in the night, had broken a man's skull in an atrocious assault, whereby his life was endangered, and on conviction they were sentenced to receive 500 lashes each, 100 lashes to be inflicted on each succeeding Saturday till the punishment was complete. These several whippings were to be imposed in different public places in the county. One of the slaves survived the 500 lashes, but the other died on the fourth Saturday after having received 400 lashes. No record of this affair has been found. It is stated, however, on information which is deemed reliable. The whipping post stocks and pillory continued long after the Revolution, but the awful scenes of burning at the stake, let us hope, were too abhorrent to have been of frequent occurrence long before 1776.

Up to the Revolution, but not later, slaves were frequently burned at the stake. The last occurred in 1767. Lawrence Toers, whose home was on Toer's now Outwater's lane, was murdered. At the inquest, Harry, a slave, was called and asked whether he was afraid to touch the body. He hesitated, whereupon a juror spoke up that he wasn't. Thus encouraged, Harry passed his hand over the dead man's face twice and blood ran from the nose of the corpse. Being thereupon accused, he at first denied the charge, but soon broke down and confessed that he had struck Toers on the head with an axe, killing him. Upou this confession slave Harry was burned to death at the stake.

After the Revolution, hanging was substituted for burning at the stake as punishment for murder. This was continued until changed to electrocution to be inflicted at the State prison.

DUTCH BUILDINGS, CUSTOMS, HABITS, ETC.

A lengthy resolution which was read and adopted September 2, 1920, by the Bergen County Freeholders at their meeting in the Hackensack court house, disposes for all time of the hangman's weights and other paraphernalia which went with the outfit of that once specially deputized official whose duty it was to put men out of this world after a judge and jury decreed that capital punishment should be inflicted as a punishment for murder committed. For years these articles have been in the custody of the sheriff and since the introduction of electrocution as the more humane way of ending the criminal's life, these things were useless. It was a happy idea of the sheriff and the members of the Bergen County Historical Society when they reached the happy conclusion that the weights be transferred into the custody of the society mentioned for all time and as a relic of the times when hanging was the fashion.



Hon. Elmer Bragg Adams

BY WINFIELD SCOTT DOWNS, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

Arms—Argent, on a cross gules five mullets or.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a demi-lion gules.

Motto—Aspire, persevere and indulge not.



HENRY ADAMS, of Braintree, called thus because he was one of the earliest or first settlers in that part of Massachusetts Bay designated "Mount Wollaston," which was incorporated in 1640 as the town of Braintree, which included what is now Quincy, Braintree and Randolph, Massachusetts, is believed to have arrived in Boston with his wife, eight sons, and a daughter, in 1632 or 1633. The Colonial authorities at Boston allowed him forty acres of land at "the Mount" for the ten persons in his family, February 24, 1639-40. The name of his wife is not known, nor where and when she died. It has been believed that she returned to England with her son John and daughter Ursula, and died there, which appears not improbable. Henry Adams died in Braintree, October 6, 1646, and was buried on the 8th. His will was proved June 8, 1647, and is as follows:

First, my will is that my sonne Peter and John and my daughter Ursula shall have the grounde in the neck, both upland and meadow, during the term I was to enjoy it, until it returne into the towne's hands againe, from whom I had it; also the aker in the mill fields: my will is that my bookes shall be divided amongst all my children, that my wife shall have and enjoy all my other goods so long as shee live unmarried, and if shee marry, then my will is y^t Joseph, Edward and my daughter Ursula should enjoy all my ground in the helde y^t lieth on the way to Weymouth Ferry, and my house lott, with all the houses and fruit trees and all my movables at the death or marriage of my wife, provided they and their mother shall pay to my sonne Samuel that which is due to him for the ground I bought of him, to be paid in convenient tyme; but in case God so deal with my wife that she bee constrained to make use of something by way of sale, shee may:—finally, for movables, my will is that my sonne Peter and John shall have an equal share with my sonne Joseph and Edward, and my daughter Ursula.

[See New England Historic and Genealogical Register, Vol. VII, page 35 (1853).]

That Henry Adams came from Devonshire on the south coast of England has become a current and fixed belief, from the fact that his great-great-grandson, President John Adams, erected a monument to his memory in the old churchyard at Quincy with the inscription: "In memory of Henry Adams, who took his flight from the Dragon persecution in Devonshire, England, and alighted with eight sons near Mt. Wollaston. One of the sons returned to England; and after taking time to explore the country, four removed to Medfield, and two to Chelmsford. One only, Joseph, who lies here

Oliver B. Adams

at his left hand, remained here,—an original proprietor in the township of Braintree.” The monument commemorates “the piety, humility, simplicity, prudence, patience, temperance, frugality, industry and perseverance” of the Adams ancestors. President John Quincy Adams dissented from this opinion of his father, that Henry Adams came from Devonshire. After giving the matter particular and thorough investigation, both in this country and in England, he published it as his conviction that Henry Adams was from Braintree in the County of Essex, on the coast of England. In “the statement in the Alden Collection,” he says “that the first Henry came from Devonshire, was received by the collector and Epitaphs from my father; but I believe it was not from Devonshire but from Braintree in the County of Essex that he came. * * * My father supposed that he formed part of the company that came with Governor Winthrop in 1630, most of whom were from Devonshire. But at the time my father formed this opinion Governor Winthrop’s Journal had not been published.”*

Mr. Hooker himself arrived in September, 1633, but his company, which was mostly made up from Chelmsford—perhaps also from Braintree and other neighboring villages of Essex county,—had arrived the year before. Hence it appears highly probable that Henry Adams from Braintree, in Essex, joined Hooker’s company and arrived in Boston in 1632. Dr. James Savage, author of the “Genealogical Dictionary of the Early First-comers of New England,” concurs with the opinion of President John Quincy Adams.

The brothers Adams [sons] were among the active citizens of Chelmsford in England. Moreover there may have been other persons of the Adams name who came in Hooker’s company and removed with him from Newtown to Hartford and vicinity. They may have been kindred of Henry Adams. It is a matter of regret that so little has been preserved and is positively known of the ancestry, life and character of the noted progenitor of the Adams family of Quincy. It is known that he was a malster as well as yeoman, or farmer, and a plain, unassuming man of tact and ability, who came to America for a better opportunity for his large family. There is nothing to show that he bore any titles, or assumed any rank among nobility.

II. Ensign Edward Adams, son of Henry Adams, was born in England in 1630. He settled with his three brothers in Medfield, Massachusetts; was ensign and selectman, and representative of Medfield in the General Court in 1689, 1692 and 1702. He died in Medfield, November 12, 1716, “the last of the original settlers.” He

*Winthrop’s Journal I, page 37, says: “1632: 14 Aug; The Braintree Company which had begun to settle down at Mt. Wollaston by order of Court, removed to Newtown. These were Mr. Hooker’s Company.” [See Family Memorial by Elisha Thayer; note, page 38.]

married (first), Lydia Rockwood, daughter of Richard and Agnes (Bicknell) Rockwood; she died March 3, 1676. He married (second), in 1678, Widow Abigail (Craft) Ruggles, of Roxbury, Massachusetts [Tilden says Abigail Day, of Dedham], who died in 1707. He married (third), January 6, 1709-10, Sarah Taylor.

Issue, all by first marriage, born in Medfield: 1. Lydia, born July 12, 1652; married (first), Dec. 12, 1672, James Allen, son of James Allen, born April 28, 1646, died 1691; (second), in 1697, Joseph Daniel, his third wife; he was a son of Robert Daniel, of Cambridge. 2. Captain Jonathan, born April 4, 1655, died Jan. 24, 1718; married (first), in 1678, Mary Ellis, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Wight) Ellis, born 1660, died 1717; (second), Dec. 12, 1717, Mehitable Cheney, widow of James Cheney, of Medfield. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Eliashib, born Feb. 18, 1658-59; married a granddaughter of Captain Miles Standish, and died before May, 1717; he settled in Bristol, R. I. 5. Sarah, born May 29, 1660; married, in 1677, John Turner, son of John and Deborah Turner, born 1659, died 1710; she died in 1747. 6. Lieutenant James, born Jan. 4, 1661-62; married, Jan. 4, 1689, Mary, surname unknown. 7. Henry, born Oct. 29, 1663; married (first), Dec. 10, 1691, Patience Ellis, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Wight) Ellis, born Feb. 22, 1668, died 1695; married (second), in 1697-98, Ruth Ellis, sister of his first wife, born Oct. 31, 1670; married (third), at Canterbury, Conn., Mrs. Hannah Adams. 8. Mehitable, born March 30, 1665; married, about 1689, Josiah Faxon, of Braintree, Mass., son of Richard Faxon, born Sept. 8, 1660, died 1731; she died in March, 1753. 9. Elisha, born August 25, 1666; married, Dec. 18, 1689, Mehitable Cary, of Bristol, R. I. 10. Edward, Jr., born June 28, 1668; married, May 19, 1692, Elizabeth Walley, daughter of Rev. Thomas Walley, of West Barnstable, Mass. 11. Bethia, born April 12, 1670, died 1672. 12. Bethia, born August 18, 1672, died young. 13. Abigail, born June 25, 1675, died young. 14. Miriam, born Feb. 26, 1676, died young.

III. John Adams, son of Ensign Edward and Lydia (Rockwood) Adams, was born in Medfield, Massachusetts, February 18, 1657. He settled on the homestead in Medfield, and died there March 1, 1751. He married (first) Deborah Partridge, daughter of John and Magdalen (Bullard) Partridge, born in 1662, died before 1695. He married (second) Susanna Breck, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Hill) Breck, born in Sherborn, Massachusetts, May 10, 1667. Medway records say: "Susanna, second wife of John, senior, died 28 May, 1744."

Issue, all born in Medway: 1. Edward, born Jan. 13, 1682, died September 22, 1742-43; married (first), April 11, 1706, Rachel Sanders, of Braintree, Mass., who died Nov. 14, 1727, in her forty-second

year; (second), Feb. 5, 1729, Sarah Bracket. 2. John, Jr., born Dec. 22, 1684; married Judith Bullen, daughter of John and Judith (Fisher) Bullen, born 1689, died Nov. 10, 1759. 3. Daniel, born Jan. 12, 1686, died Sept. 12, 1772; married Sarah Sanford, eldest daughter of Deacon Thomas Sanford, of Mendon, Mass., "widow Sarah died 7 Nov., 1772." 4. Eleazer, born Sept. 22, 1687; married (first) Margaret —, who died Jan. 13, 1769; married (second) Lucy —. 5. Obadiah, of whom further. 6. Jonathan, born 1692, died May 12, 1744.

IV. Obadiah Adams, son of John Adams, was born in Medway, Massachusetts, January 20, 1689, and died November 22, 1765, in his seventy-seventh year. He married Christian Sanford, of Mendon, Massachusetts, daughter of Deacon Thomas Sanford. She died July 21, 1777, in her eightieth year.

Issue, all born in Medway: 1. David, born Nov. 18, 1715-16, died March 22, 1801; married Abigail. 2. Abigail, born Oct. 28, 1717-18, died June 6, 1736. 3. Obadiah, Jr., born Dec. 18, 1721; married, in Dec., 1744, Sarah Partridge, daughter of Benoni and Mehitable (Wheelock) Partridge, of Wrentham, Mass., born Sept. 27, 1724, died April 27, 1817, in her ninety-third year. 4. Nathan, of whom further. 5. Jesse, born Sept. 10, 1727, died April 12, 1797, aged seventy; married, March 30, 1773, Thankful Watkins, of Holliston, Mass., born 1743, died Jan. 3, 1797, aged fifty-four years. 6. Stephen, born Dec. 27, 1729, (May 6, 1730), died in West Medway, Mass., Feb. 11, 1795; married, Feb. 10, 1773, Mary Littlefield, who died in West Medway, Jan. 13, 1813, aged fifty-nine years. 7. Christian, born August 8, 1732; married, Nov. 27, 1751, Deacon Moses Hill, of Holliston. 8. Hepzibah, born March 31, 1735; married, Jan. 2, 1758, Stephen Metcalf. 9. Jemima, born March 24, 1737, died in Upton, Mass., October 3, 1813; married, May 1, 1757, Lieut. William Fisk, of Upton, Mass., son of Daniel Fisk, born April 14, 1733, died March 9, 1848. 10. Amos.

V. Nathan Adams, son of Obadiah and Christian (Sanford) Adams, was born in Medway, Massachusetts, December 3, 1723, and died January 26, 1800, aged seventy-six. He inherited the homestead in West Medway, one-half mile south of Obadiah Adams'. His will, made in November, 1794, was proved March 4, 1800. He married, May 9, 1750, Kezia Thompson, daughter of Eleazer and Hannah (Daniell) Thompson, born November 17, 1730.

Issue, all born in West Medway: 1. Nathan, born in 1751; married, Jan. 30, 1772, Mary Adams, daughter of Ensign Thomas and Mary (Partridge) Adams, of Medway. 2. Elijah, born Jan. 7, 1753; married, April 14, 1774, Lizzie Morse, daughter of Ezekiel and Rebecca (Cousin) Morse, of Holliston, Mass., born Oct. 8, 1753, died Dec. 31, 1833, aged eighty years. 3. Issachar, of whom further.

4. Obadiah, born 1758, died in West Medway, Jan. 1, 1820, aged sixty-two; married (first), Nov. 25, 1779, Abigail Harding, who died Jan. 11, 1793, aged thirty-three years; (second), June 26, 1794, Experience Cutler, born 1761, died July 7, 1845. 5. Reuben, born 1760, died in Westminster, Mass., June 17, 1848, aged eighty-seven years; married, April 26, 1781, Azubah Jones. She died in Westminster, Mass., May 15, 1875. 6. Jesse.

VI. Issachar Adams, son of Nathan and Kezia (Thompson) Adams, was born in West Medway, Massachusetts, in 1754. He was probably a soldier in the company of Captain Samuel Cobb, Colonel Joseph Read, and served three months and a day, from May 5, 1775. He settled in Hubbardston, Massachusetts, in 1778, and died January 18, 1829, aged seventy-five years. He married, June 17, 1776, Millicent Alden, who died September 9, 1855, aged ninety-nine years, eleven months, twenty-six days.

Issue, all born in Hubbardston, Massachusetts: 1. Huldah, born June 1, 1778; married Esek Phillips, of Peru, Vermont. 2. Olive, born April 16, 1781; married Daniel Elliot. 3. Issachar, of whom further. 4. Sally, born March 31, 1785; married, Jan. 16, 1804, Jonathan Elliot. 5. Millicent, born Jan. 17, 1787, died June 6, 1798. 6. Clara, born 1789, died 1807. 7. Moses, born August 10, 1791, died in Stockbridge, Vermont, Jan. 14, 1876; married, March 3, 1814, Sally Ellenwood, who died in Peru, Vermont, Jan. 1, 1850. 8. Sybil, born July 13, 1793, died July 23, 1831; married, May 25, 1814, Asa Phillips, of Rutland, Mass., born in Nelson, N. H., Sept. 18, 1792, died in Peru, Vermont, Sept. 7, 1857. 9. John, born August 27, 1795, died July 29, 1876; married, Dec. 24, 1818, Lucy Merrick, died Jan. 30, 1872, aged seventy-one years. 10. Obed, born Dec. 6, 1797; married, in December, 1827, Nancy Stoddard.

VII. Issachar (2) Adams, son of Issachar (1) and Millicent (Alden) Adams, was born in Hubbardston, Massachusetts, June 24, 1783. He removed to Croyden, New Hampshire, thence to Pomfret, Vermont, in 1830, where he died in 1855, aged seventy-two years. He married, January 6, 1807, Lucy Bellows, of Walpole, New Hampshire, born in June, 1788, died in Barnard, Vermont, January, 1879, aged ninety years and six months.

Issue: 1. Jarvis, of whom further. 2. Lucy, born in Hubbardston, Mass., June 18, 1810; married, June 21, 1829, Clark Stockwell, who died in August, 1872; she was living in 1891. 3. Issachar, born in Croyden, N. H., March 28, 1812; married (first), July 4, 1836, Irene Hart, died in October, 1838; married (second), March 15, 1841, Mary Slayton Frazer, born in Pomfret, Vermont, Nov. 29, 1814, died in Tunbridge, Vermont, March 20, 1885. 4. Obed, born in Croyden, April 3, 1814, died in Barnard, Vermont, Jan. 30, 1865; married, Nov. 23, 1834, Arabel E. Churchill, daughter of Phineas

Churchill, of Barnard, Vermont, born August 19, 1815. 5. Zenas, born in Croyden, Feb. 27, 1817, died at Lakeside, Florida, Dec. 10, 1887; married, Dec. 6, 1838, Mary A. Churchill, born Feb. 11, 1816, died Feb. 10, 1890. 6. Martin, born in Croyden, April 23, 1819, died August 27, 1819. 7. Ira P., born in Croyden, July 5, 1820, died Dec. 14, 1894; married (first), Feb. 25, 1844, Susan S. Bacon, of Vershire, Vermont, died June 29, 1882; married (second), Feb. 7, 1884, Hannah P. Chase, of Bridgewater, Vermont; resided in Royalton, Vermont. 8. Otis, born in Croyden, July 21, 1822; married (first), June 14, 1847, Oravel Boutwell, of Stockbridge, Vermont, died Dec. 12, 1847; married (second), May 9, 1848, Susan Vaughn, of Pomfret, Vermont, died Feb. 28, 1860; married (third), Feb. 26, 1861, Fanny E. Bliss, of Strafford, Vermont, died in 1877; married (fourth), Nov. 11, 1879, Rosetta Atwood, widow of E. R. Bryant, of Bethel, Vermont. 9. Asa, born in Croyden, July 20, 1824; married, August 9, 1846, Clorinda Churchill, born in 1829. 10. Maverick Bellows, born in Croyden, March 14, 1828, died in Royalton, Vermont, Feb. 6, 1885; married (first), May 21, 1848, Julia Boyd, of Pomfret, Vermont, died June 1, 1851; married (second), Oct. 24, 1852, Adeline Churchill, of Pomfret, born 1817. 11. John Q., born in Pomfret, Vermont, March 17, 1830; married (first), Feb. 14, 1855, Philena M. Roberts; married (second), August 11, 1891, Ellen M. Gibson; resided in Gaysville, Vermont.

VIII. Jarvis Adams, son of Issachar (2) and Lucy (Bellows) Adams, was born in Croyden, New Hampshire, August 9, 1808. He removed from Croyden to Pomfret in March, 1840, and died in Pomfret, September 25, 1880, aged seventy-two years. He married, January 20, 1832, Eunice H. Mitchell, who died January 12, 1890.

Issue: 1. Marshall D., born in Croyden, N. H., Sept. 12, 1833; married, Nov. 2, 1868, Lucy A. (White) Stockwell; resided in Marlboro, N. H. 2. Marietta S., born in Croyden, Dec. 3, 1835, died in Woodstock, Vermont, March 29, 1911. 3. Dr. Carlos James, born in Croyden, Sept. 17, 1837, died August 17, 1911; married, Oct. 22, 1870, Lucinda Kellogg. 4. Sergeant William Henry, born in Pomfret, Vermont, April 7, 1841, died in Keene, N. H., Oct. 6, 1913; married, Nov. 28, 1867, Matilda M. Whipple, daughter of Obed Whipple, of Pomfret. 5. Hon. Elmer Bragg, of whom further. 6. Jarvis, born in Pomfret, April 2, 1844; married (first), Sept. 2, 1863, Joanna C. Wood, of Dayton, Ohio, died August 14, 1872; married (second), April 29, 1875, Maria F. Buckminster, of Keene, N. H., died Dec. 25, 1876; married (third), Nov. 14, 1878, Hattie C. Shrigley. 7. Dr. Ira Herbert, born in Pomfret, August 10, 1846; married, August 31, 1875, Louisa S. Perley. 8. Philo Edwin, born in Pomfret, August 21, 1849, died June 8, 1850. 9. Infant, born and died March 21, 1851. 10. Mark Ellery, born in Pomfret, Sept. 26, 1852; married, Oct. 3, 1873, Maria Alice Udall.

IX. Hon. Elmer Bragg Adams, son of Jarvis and Eunice H. (Mitchell) Adams, was born at Pomfret, Vermont, October 27, 1842, and died in St. Louis, Missouri, October 24, 1916. He prepared for Yale College at Meriden, New Hampshire, and matriculated at Yale with the class of 1865, in which he was graduated. His four years of college work were marked by consistently high rank in scholarship, and he was honored with election to the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity. He was also a member of Delta Kappa, Psi Upsilon and Wolf's Head, as well as the Glyuna Boat Club. His first year after graduation was spent under the auspices of the American Union Commission in traveling throughout the South, inaugurating free schools for the poor white children. Georgia especially was his field, and the schools that he established became permanent institutions. In 1866 Mr. Adams began the study of law at Woodstock, Vermont, interrupting this for a term in the Harvard Law School, after which he resumed study at Woodstock, and in 1868 was admitted to the Vermont bar. In April of the same year he moved to St. Louis, Missouri, was admitted to the bar of Missouri, and after beginning practice rose rapidly from one position of responsibility to another. In 1878 he was elected judge of the Circuit Court of the city of St. Louis, served the full term of six years, and then declined both re-election and promotion. He returned to the bar in 1885 as a member of the law firm of Boyle, Adams & McKeigham, later Boyle & Adams, and in private professional work met with a generous measure of success. In 1895, President Cleveland appointed him United States District Judge of the Eastern District of Missouri, and this office he filled until 1905, when he was promoted by President Roosevelt to the United States Circuit Judgeship for the Eighth Judicial Circuit. This was the important place in which he spent the remainder of his life, although it was freely said that had he been a younger man, President Taft would have selected him to fill a vacancy on the United States Supreme Court bench. In 1896, upon the admission of Utah to the Union, Judge Adams was sent to Salt Lake City to organize the Federal Court, an appointment that in itself was a high compliment to his legal ability. He was a jurist of exceptional power and perception. In a long career on the bench he gained constantly in the regard and esteem of his judicial colleagues and the bar for a dignity and ability marked even in an assembly of brilliant legal talent. During his long service in the Federal Court he participated in many cases of wide note. Among these mention might be made of his concurrence in the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company into its constituent organizations, although he did not prepare the opinion. Judge Adams was also one of the four circuit judges who heard the Harriman merger case of the Union and Southern Pacific railroads, the opinion being delivered by him. The famous phrase, "the man higher up," since so extensively

used by the American people, was coined by Judge Adams. In charging the Federal Grand Jury which was investigating naturalization frauds, he said, "Look not for the little man who is made a fool, but for the man higher up." This aptness of expression and the faculty of conveying clearly and concisely the idea in his mind characterized his social and professional relations, and made him an interesting and enjoyable conversationalist, as well as a forceful, exact jurist.

Judge Adams appointed the receivers of the Wabash railroad in the spring of 1912, directed the management for four years, until its reorganization and sale to the Bondholders Committee, and confirmed the sale for \$18,000,000. The receiver of the Missouri, Pacific & Iron Mountain railway was appointed by him in August, 1915, but because of the pressure of other court business, he was relieved of the management of these railroads in December of the same year. Shortly thereafter, in September, 1915, the Missouri, Kansas & Texas railway was placed in the hands of a receiver at his order, under Judge Hook's management. In the world of practical affairs he was no less an outstanding figure than upon the bench, and his energetic direction of these railroad properties proved executive gifts of high order. Judge Adams became one of the best known jurists in the States comprising the Eighth Judicial Circuit, and was celebrated as a lecturer on legal topics, giving a special lecture course on "Succession and Wills" at the University of Missouri. He was a member of the Commercial, Noonday and St. Louis clubs, the New England Society, and Sons of the Revolution, and was also a director of the American Peace and Arbitration League. His church was the Presbyterian. Judge Adams had been honored with degrees from leading institutions of the country, receiving that of LL.D. from the University of Missouri in 1898, from Washington University in 1907, and from Yale University in 1916.

Elmer Bragg Adams married, November 10, 1870, Emma U. Richmond, daughter of Lorenzo and Ursula Richmond, of Woodstock, Vermont.

Judge Adams died at his St. Louis home, October 24, 1916, having been fatally stricken at the close of his summer vacation at Woodstock. The funeral services, held at his old home, were attended by a large assemblage of friends, including a majority of the St. Louis bar. In respect to his memory all the offices in the Federal building connected with the Department of Justice were closed for the afternoon, and Judges Sanborn, Hook, Walter Smith and Dyer, his former associates on the Federal bench, and ex-President Taft, preceded the casket from the home at the conclusion of the services. On December 4, 1916, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals of the Eighth District appointed a committee of the bar to prepare a memorial of the life and work of Judge Adams, and on

the following January 8th, the memorial service, impressive and inspiring, with six judges on the bench, was held. Following the submission of the memorial, which set forth in simple appreciation his service to his time, several of Judge Adams' friends and associates added their tributes. These were Frank B. Kellogg, United States Senator from Minnesota; John Lee Webster, of Nebraska; Hon. Chester H. Krum, of Missouri; Frederick N. Judson, of Missouri, and Judge Henry H. Denison, of Missouri. Response on behalf of the court was made by the presiding judge, Hon. Walter H. Sanborn, and this response is here quoted in full:

The chaste and admirable memorial of the life and services of Judge Adams and the sterling testimonials to his work and character to which we have listened leave nothing for the members of the court but to add the tribute of long and intimate friendship and association on the bench, in the consultation room and in his home. Years of close comradeship in the same work, inspired by the same purpose, so endeared him to us that the keen sense of our personal loss can never cease.

In hours of relaxation he was a merry and charming companion, full of wit, story, jest and quick reply, and his lively fancy shed a jocund hue on every subject it illumined. Vigor and activity were notable traits of every faculty of his mind, his heart, his body, of his whole being. He was a complete man, extraordinarily endowed with all the powers, all the emotions and all the passions of mankind. He was pre-eminently a live man, alive in every atom of his being. He thought, acted, enjoyed, suffered intensely, quickly and with all his might.

He was a loving and devoted husband, and his domestic life was ideal. He was a warm and loyal friend, so loyal that no lions ever stood in the way of aiding his friends, and their misfortunes, their sufferings, their loss grievously depressed and pained him. His character was far above reproach and he was ever sedulous to avoid even the appearance of evil. He was a sincere man, free from even the shadow of affectation. He never professed what he did not believe, or pretended to be what he was not. He was a devout and faithful Christian, and he believed the tenets he professed with all his heart and mind and soul.

His moral courage was great. All his faculties were so sensitive that he perceived, even exaggerated, every possible risk and danger, but the greater the danger the greater was his determination to do his exact duty, to hew to the line, let the chips fall where they would. During the last four years of his life he suffered under the threatening shadow of his fatal disease, but his countenance was cheerful and his demeanor brave.

Gifted with an intellect of unusual power and ceaseless activity he devoted his youth and early manhood to storing it with learning and training it to quick perception, terse and logical argument and sound conclusions. His matured judgment was wise and sound. His memory was marvelously retentive, and to the end of his days he could recite at will large parts of the odes of Horace, chapters of the Bible and the striking passages of Virgil and of many English authors. He had the saving gift of common sense and the wisdom and habit of waiting, hearing and considering, and yet promptly deciding any important issue. He came to this court with his vigorous mind stored with general information and trained to reason, and with his excellent judgment tried and matured by the experience of many years of successful practice at the bar and of many years of admirable service on the bench in the trial courts. No man ever came to an appellate court better qualified to discharge his duties.

To say that he was learned in the law utterly fails to portray the extent and character of that learning. The basic principles of jurisprudence, the general rules of the law and the common practice of the courts were as familiar to him as the letters of the alphabet. They had become a part of his mind, he had thought and acted them for years. His knowledge of the law was not only comprehensive and profound, but it was also clear, accurate, ready, fit for instant service.

It was a far cry from the old farm house of his boyhood in the foot hills of the Green Mountains to the Circuit Judgeship of the Eighth Circuit, and he had not pursued the way without hard and persevering toil. To his great natural ability, his liberal education, his quick perception, his abundant knowledge, his long and varied experience,

he had added the habit of intense concentration, continuous labor and swift accomplishment. When all has been said the most striking characteristic of Judge Adams was his intellectual efficiency. When he turned to the serious investigation of a doubtful question, or to the preparation of an important opinion, he forgot all else, focused every power of his mind upon the question in hand, and, impatient to reach the result, labored without respite for hours until he had performed the task of days. In the consultation room he was prepared, positive, clear and convincing. But he came not there to enforce his own opinion, but to seek the right opinion.

His ideals of justice and his ideals of righteousness were identical, they were pure and high and he strove earnestly to attain them. He learned in his youth and he seemed always to bear in mind that familiar and majestic passage in Webster's eulogy of Mr. Justice Story: "Justice, Sir, is the great interest of man on earth. It is the ligament which holds civilized nations together. Wherever her temple stands, and so long as it is duly honored, there is a foundation for social security, general happiness, and the improvement and progress of our race. And whoever labors on this edifice with usefulness and distinction, whoever clears its foundations, strengthens its pillars, adorns its entablatures, or contributes to raise its august dome still higher in the skies, connects himself, in name and fame, and character, with that which is and must be as durable as the frame of human society."

He esteemed, nay he loved, his work and his place upon this bench, because it gave him the opportunity to labor upon this great temple with usefulness and distinction and he performed his work with the zeal of an acolyte and the reverence of a priest. Let the fitting memorial of his life and services which has been presented be spread upon the records of the court and let a certified copy of it be sent to the widow of our lamented associate.



Giles Sandy Mitchell, M. D.

By E. MELVIN WILLIAMS, LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA

Arms—Sable, a fesse wavy between three mascles or.

Crest—A phoenix in flames proper.

Motto—*Spernit humum.*



THE RECORD left in medicine and surgery by Dr. Giles Sandy Mitchell, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was one of great achievement in professional affairs through personal skill and knowledge, and of influence as an educator limitless in its potentialities. With the knife he performed surgical operative feats that commanded the admiring attention of his colleagues, and with chart and book made vitally real through his enlivening personality, and he inspired those who sat under his teaching with a vision of service, and set in motion forces whose ultimate results lie far in the future. A distinguished specialist and a gentleman of rare talents, he possessed the fortunate faculty of holding his friends in loyal comradeship, and the circles of which he was once a part, hold him in grateful, tender remembrance.

I. William Mitchell, founder of the family in America, came from Ireland, prior to 1750, and settled in Virginia. The line continues through his son, William (2), of whom further.

II. William (2) Mitchell, son of William (1) Mitchell, served under General Washington in the Revolutionary War, and who present at the surrender of General Cornwallis at Yorktown. William (2) Mitchell married Chloe Nance, and had a son, Giles, of whom further.

III. Giles Mitchell, son of William (2) and Chloe (Nance) Mitchell, as a boy was kidnapped by Indians, and spent many years with the tribe who stole him. After his return to his own people, he became a man of standing and prominence, and held the rank of colonel in the Indiana State Militia. He married Mary Moore, and they were the parents of Samuel Moore, of whom further.

IV. Samuel Moore Mitchell, son of Giles and Mary (Moore) Mitchell, was a well known banker and man of affairs of Martinsville, Morgan county, Indiana. He married Ann Sandy, and they were the parents of Giles Sandy, of whom further.

V. Giles Sandy Mitchell, son of Samuel Moore and Ann (Sandy) Mitchell, was born in Martinsville, Indiana, May 31, 1852. After

Giles S. Mitchell

attending the public schools, he entered the University of Indiana and was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the class of 1873. His professional study was pursued in the Medical College of Ohio, whence he was graduated M. D. in 1875, in the same year beginning practice in Cincinnati, Ohio, in association with Dr. Thaddeus A. Reamy, whose daughter he married the following year. In 1876, Dr. Mitchell, who throughout his active life was a tireless reader and student, went abroad to avail himself of opportunities for advanced study, performing the major portion of his post-graduate work in the hospitals and universities of Vienna, Strassburg, Berlin, Paris, and London. Upon his return to Cincinnati in the latter part of 1878, he resumed his practice, in 1879 forming the first of his lifelong connections with educational works. From that year until 1884 he was a professor in the Medical College of Ohio, and from 1884 to 1902 he was professor of obstetrics in the Cincinnati Medical College, while from 1887 to 1895 he was professor of gynecology at the Women's Medical College, of Cincinnati. During this same period he filled numerous other important professional posts, including that of gynecologist and consultant at the Presbyterian Hospital, 1892-1901, and gynecologist at St. Mary's Hospital from 1896 to 1904. His reputation as a specialist in obstetrics and diseases of women was of rare excellence, and he was internationally known in the most eminent medical circles. With unusual skill and learning were combined the encouraging kindness and strongly attractive personality of the ideal physician, and the public confidence and esteem was his in most generous measure. He was an acknowledged master of a difficult branch of his calling, and his professional associates and the laity paid him the tributes of sincere respect and regard throughout a career that was all too brief.

Dr. Mitchell was called to conspicuous places in professional organizations, and graced these posts of prominence with an ability and graciousness that did not sacrifice efficiency and professional prestige. He was president of the Cincinnati Obstetrical Society in 1883-84, and held the same office in the Cincinnati Academy of Medicine and Surgery, 1884-85. In 1893, he was president of the section of gynecology of the Pan-American Medical Congress at Washington, D. C., and he was a delegate to the convention of the International Medical Association at Moscow, Russia, in 1897. While attending the sessions of this last named body, Dr. Mitchell was presented to the Czar.

Dr. Mitchell wrote a number of articles on professional topics, his papers noted for their clarity and conciseness and command of the subject under discussion. He read a treatise on "A Successful Case of Caesarean Section" before the Gynecology section of the American Medical Association in 1893, a record of the first successful operation of this nature performed in Cincinnati, and another

of his papers entitled, "The Snook-Herr Poisoning Case," which was read before the Cincinnati Medical Society, attracted world-wide attention. In addition to the organization named above, Dr. Mitchell was a member of the Ohio State Medical Society, and the International Medical Association. While a student in college he was elected to membership in the Nu Sigma Nu and Beta Theta Pi fraternities. Dr. Mitchell's most distinguishing professional characteristic was his certainty of diagnosis, although there were few surgeons who were his equal in daring and originality in operation. The way of the pioneer had no terror for him, and a vast total of human benefit is the result of his courage, confidence and skill.

Dr. Mitchell travelled widely, visiting all parts of Europe in almost annual journeys. His memory was marvelously retentive, a fact that was a valuable professional asset, and which rendered him as well a most interesting conversationalist. He was a member of the Queen City Club and fraternized with the Masonic order, holding membership in Lafayette Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, and R. A. McMillan Chapter, Royal Arch Masons. He was a vestryman and member of the board of trustees of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, also a member of the Church Club. Dr. Mitchell never entered public life as an office holder in the accepted sense of the word, although he held decided views and exercised a strong influence in affairs of general concern. He was a member of the Cincinnati Board of Public Schools from 1898 to 1900, and during the same period was a member of the Union Board of High Schools, rendering the cause of public education the same loyal, farsighted, constructive service that stands to his credit in professional lines.

Dr. Mitchell married (first) Mary A. Reamy, daughter of Dr. Thaddeus A. Reamy, his first professional associate. She died in 1877. Dr. Mitchell married (second), October 22, 1883, Esther De Camp, daughter of John and Serena Ann Rose (Hildreth) De Camp. John DeCamp was born at Rahway, New Jersey, August 15, 1819, and died in Cincinnati, Ohio, in December, 1893. He was educated in New Jersey schools, and came with his parents to Cincinnati, Ohio, when fourteen years of age. Learning the cabinet-maker's trade, he developed great mechanical skill, and in his shop on Eighth street did work in wood, notable for its fineness of execution and beauty of finish. Mr. DeCamp was the inventor of the first spring bed bottom, and also designed a machine for bending wood, but, young in years of experience, failed to secure patents upon his ideas, so that others profited through his original thought. He was chairman of the building committee of the present Ninth Street Baptist Church, active in all church work, and an ardent supporter of the temperance cause. His wife was possessed of talent in drawing, and from them both Mrs. Mitchell inherited tastes and ability along artistic lines. Mrs. Mitchell is a talented artist, devotes much time to drawing,

painting, modelling, and carving in wood, and prior to her marriage was in charge of the art department of Miss Mittelberger's School, of Cleveland, Ohio, at that time one of the largest girl's schools in the country, with the exception of New England institutions. Mrs. Mitchell studied in the art centers of Europe, in New York, and in the Cincinnati Art Academy, and in her visits to Europe, which she has made almost every year, has become familiar with the art treasures of that continent. She has won several prizes in exhibitions in this country, and her own and her sister's work adorn her Cincinnati home. Modelling and designing claim the greater part of her time, and in these lines she has achieved her most creditable successes. John and Serena Ann Rose (Hildreth) DeCamp were the parents of four children: 1. Edgar A., deceased. 2. Esther, married Dr. Giles S. Mitchell. 3. Serena, died December 7, 1921; she shared with Mrs. Mitchell the artistic tastes and talents inherited from their parents. 4. John H., deceased; married Ann Wesmeister, and had a son, John Percival, a furniture dealer of Cincinnati.

Dr. Giles Sandy Mitchell died in Cincinnati, Ohio, March 5, 1904. The span of his life was short, but into its years he had put much of the effort of earnest manhood and professional service of high ideals. These were his gifts to his time, and that which he received was the homage of able, learned men, the unwavering trust of hundreds who came to him in implicit faith for relief from bodily ills, the assurance of a place among those who well serve their fellows. These and the deeper, more personal, rewards of life were his, and he passed to things eternal with the blessing of all attending him.



Burr and Allied Families

BY CECIL G. NEWLING, NEW YORK CITY

Burr (Burro) Arms—Ermine, on a chief indented sable, two lions rampant, or.
Motto—*Virtus honoris janua.*



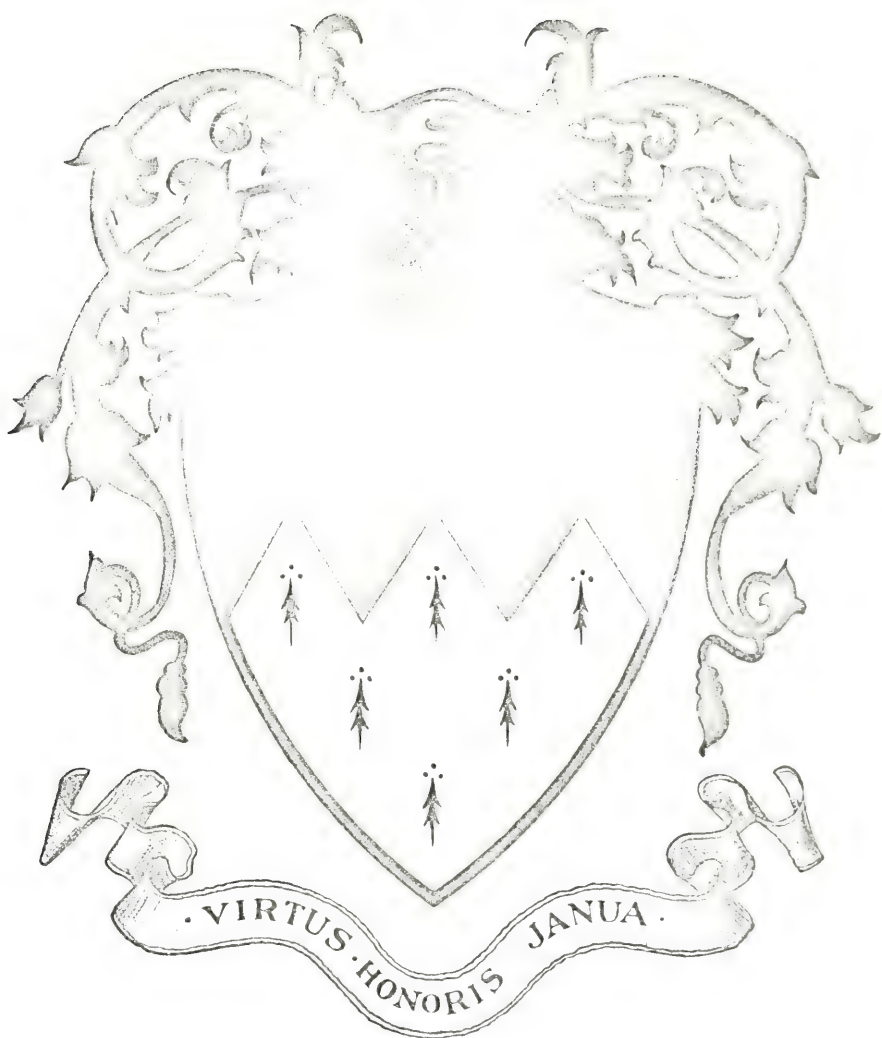
THE family of Burr, represented in the activities of good citizenship by Willie Olcott Burr during the last half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, formed alliance with other New England lines of equal distinction and note, including those of Olcott, Lincoln, and West. The following paragraphs trace these connections and dwell especially upon the journalistic achievements of father and son in the family of Burr, Alfred E. and Willie Olcott Burr.

I. Benjamin Burr, the founder of the Burr family, established in Hartford, Connecticut, and was one of the first settlers there. He was undoubtedly in Massachusetts previously, and while it is not definitely known where he came from, it is believed that he was one of those who came in Winthrop's fleet. In 1635 he was settled in Hartford, and was the first of his name in Connecticut; he was admitted a freeman in 1658, and in the original allotment of land received six acres. Later he acquired considerable property, and a street in Hartford today bears his name. Benjamin Burr served in the Pequot War, and his name appears among the founders of Hartford on the monument erected to the memory of these worthy men in the Center Church Burying Ground. He died at Hartford, March 31, 1681.

II. Thomas Burr, son of Benjamin Burr, was born January 26, 1645, and died in 1733. He owned the covenant at the First Church in Hartford, March 15, 1695-96, and his wife on April 16, 1693. Thomas Burr married Sarah Speck, daughter of Gerard Speck.

III. Thomas (2) Burr, son of Thomas (1) and Sarah (Speck) Burr, was a respected citizen of Hartford, where he died November 7, 1761. He married Sarah Wadsworth, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Wadsworth. She died September 5, 1750.

IV. Thomas (3) Burr, son of Thomas (2) and Sarah (Wadsworth) Burr, was born October 4, 1719, and died October 27, 1777. He owned the covenant at the First Church, January 20, 1744. His



Burr
[Burre]



wife, who was Sarah (King) Burr, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth (Barnard) King, was baptized January 9, 1725; her death occurred in 1799.

V. James Burr, son of Thomas (3) and Sarah (King) Burr, was born February 18, 1736, and died March 16, 1848. He was engaged in mercantile pursuits, and was also the owner of several ships. During his business career he amassed a considerable fortune for that period, but through some unfortunate East India investments lost the major portion of his money. He married Lucretia Olcott, born at Hartford, January 29, 1784, died March 8, 1833, and they were the parents of Alfred Edmund, mentioned below.

The Olcott arms are as follows:

Arms—Per saltire gules and azure, a lion's head crased to the sinister argent; on a chief of the third three fleurs-de-lis between eight mullets of six points each sable.

Crest—A cock to the sinister proper.

VI. Alfred Edmund Burr, son of James and Lucretia (Olcott) Burr, was born in Hartford, March 27, 1815, where he died January 8, 1900. At the age of twelve years, he began work in the office of the "Connecticut Courant" as apprentice. Eight years later he was appointed foreman of the composing room, and a short time later was offered a partnership in the business on condition that he would become a Congregationalist and join the Whig party. These conditions were contrary to the beliefs of Mr. Burr, and his strength of character was evidenced by his refusal and the manner in which he thus stood by his convictions.

It became apparent soon after Mr. Burr entered the office of the "Courant" that he was naturally adapted to newspaper work, and in 1839 he secured a half ownership in the Hartford "Weekly Times," a paper established on January 1, 1817. Mr. Burr's share of the work was the superintending of the mechanical and business departments, and he bent his entire energies to attaining success. At that time the plant was located at the corner of Main street and Central row, where it remained until 1854. Two years after becoming a partner, Mr. Burr purchased the entire business and became sole owner of the paper, and on March 2, 1841, he began the publication of a daily morning paper, which continued for two months, and then changed to an afternoon daily, which arrangement continues to the present day. Under the capable management of the elder Burr the paper became a "mirror of public opinion," and he enjoyed the intimate acquaintance of leading men of the city and State. It was the custom of many of these men to come into the office in the afternoon and discuss the important questions of the day with Mr. Burr. With the passing years his failing health necessitated the passing of much of the responsibility of the business to his son, and in 1890 he deeded the entire property to Willie O. Burr, and the business was

carried on under his sole ownership until 1909, when the Burr Printing Company was incorporated.

Franklin L. Burr, brother of Alfred E. Burr, was associated with him for many years as partner. In 1854 the second removal of the "Times" was made to the corner of Main and Grove streets, and the business was located there for sixty-six years.

Alfred E. Burr was keenly interested in the furthering of welfare movements, and his charitable deeds were many. During the Civil War he aided the families of soldiers; he was one of the founders of the Good Will Club, a boys' organization, and was an active worker in its interests throughout his life. The work and achievements of Alfred E. Burr were admirably eulogized by his son in his reminiscences at the opening of the new Times building in 1920, an account of which follows:

The "Hartford Times," I feel, is a monument to my father, and so in a sense will be the new home of the "Times." I myself have played a very humble part in the paper's development. Given to me by my father thirty years ago, I have tried to preserve the character of the paper as an exponent of toleration, which was the keynote of my father's life. He devoted his life to the paper for sixty-one years; I have now been connected with the paper for fifty-nine years, and I imagine it is a unique record where father and son together have been connected with one business enterprise for eighty-two years.

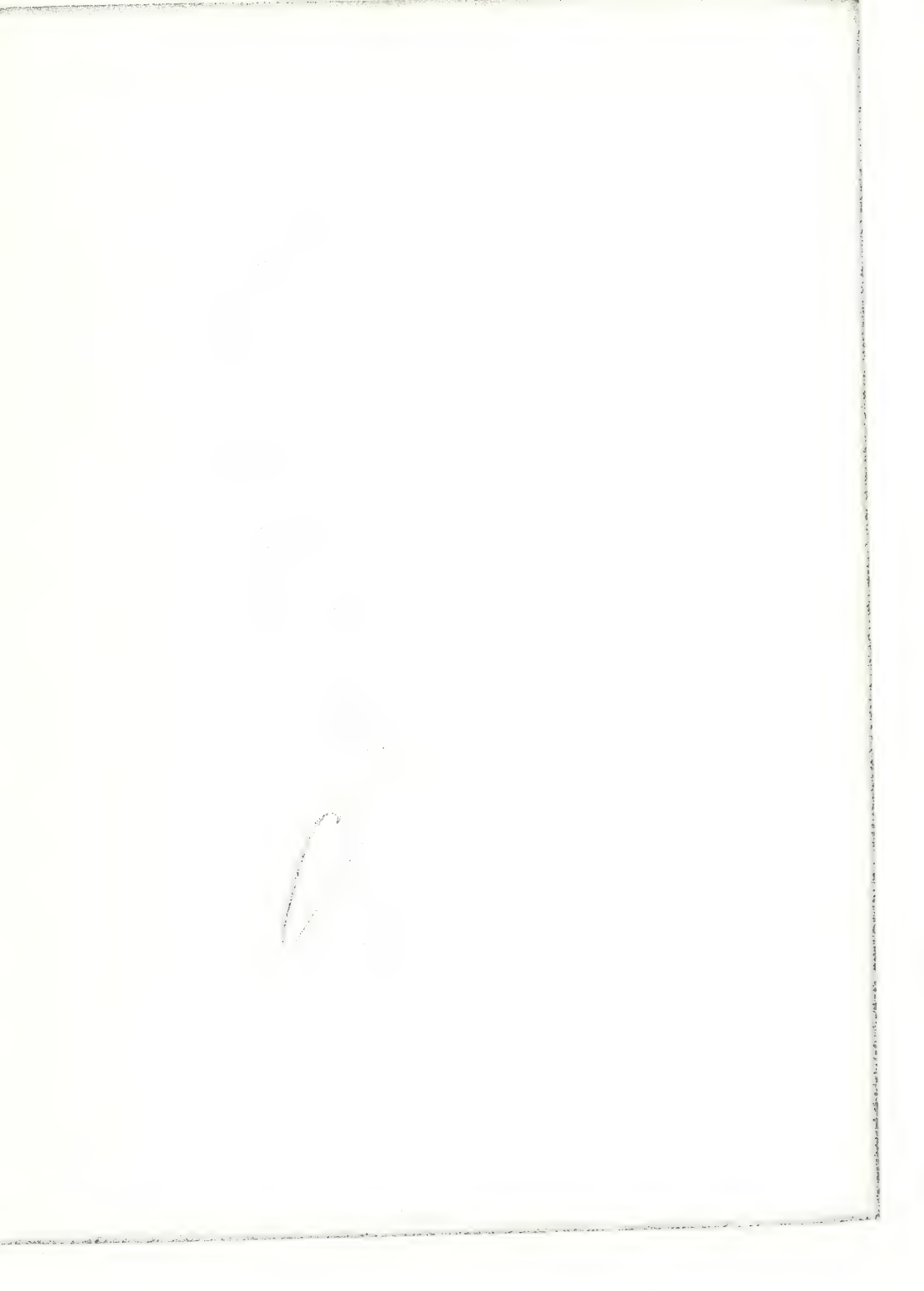
Alfred E. Burr married, April 18, 1841, Sarah A. Booth, daughter of Abner Booth, of Meriden. Mrs. Burr's death occurred in 1911. Mr. and Mrs. Burr were the parents of three children: 1. Edmund L., died at the age of three years. 2. Willie Olcott, mentioned below. 3. Sarah Ella, became the wife of the late Dr. James McManus, and her death occurred in 1906.

VII. Willie Olcott Burr, son of Alfred E. and Sarah A. (Booth) Burr, was educated in the best schools the city afforded at that time, and he was preparing for college at a private school conducted by Nicholas Harris, where the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance building is now located, when the outbreak of the Civil War and the subsequent loss of men in the business sections of the city necessitated the removal of Mr. Burr from school to the newspaper office of his father. There his assistance was needed, and at the time of entering this office he was just eighteen years of age. It had been previously planned that he would go abroad when he had finished college and there complete his education, but just as our more recent World War interrupted the plans of many of the young men of this day, so that conflict of over half a century ago changed the plans of Mr. Burr.

From the beginning, Mr. Burr was brought in contact with men of mark and learning, men of affairs in the State and City, of strong intellect, and in this school his career in journalism, which attained such a high degree of success, began. His duties were many and

Eng. by E. S. Williams & Bro NY

A. E. Burr



varied. He set type, gathered news notes and performed any other duty or task necessary. As time went on other and more important work was assigned to Mr. Burr, and gradually the editorial room claimed the greater part of his attention. However, he never lost his interest in the work of the composing room, and during his entire service with the paper until within a few years before his death, he was accustomed to spend a part of each afternoon in aiding in the work of making up the paper. As a reporter Mr. Burr also had his experiences, and for a time he reported the news of the Legislature. As the years went on he did not write as much for his paper as formerly, but often dictated both news and editorials.

The growth and development of the paper made it necessary to secure larger quarters, and a site was purchased and plans made for the erection of the handsome building now numbered among the edifices which beautify the city of Hartford. The new building was opened to the public, December 4, 1920, and in his office, surrounded by floral expressions of the good wishes of his many friends, Mr. Burr greeted those who passed through on their tour of inspection. From this date until his last illness, Mr. Burr was to be found at his desk.

In his political views, Mr. Burr was a staunch believer in democratic principles, as was his father, and "The Times" reflected these views. At the same time the paper repudiated the Free Silver heresy and always opposed William J. Bryan in his candidacy for president. Principles, not men, was the watchword of both father and son. One of the earnest supporters of Woodrow Wilson, Mr. Burr upheld his principles and always believed that Mr. Wilson was actuated by the highest motives of patriotism. While one of the most public-spirited citizens, Mr. Burr was not a seeker for public office. He was urged to accept the nomination for mayor of the city, but refused, and while it was generally understood that he could have had almost any office in the State, he would not consent to accept. He believed that he could be of more assistance and perform more public service through the columns of his paper than in any other way. He served as a delegate to several conventions, and was named as delegate-at-large to the national convention in 1912, but through pressure of business was unable to attend.

His business connections with several of the financial and industrial institutions of Hartford made heavy demands upon his time. He was a director of the State Prison Board for twenty-four years, and park commissioner from 1900 to 1902. He was president of the Burr Printing Company; a director of the Travelers' Insurance Company; director of the Hartford Electric Light Company; director of the Connecticut Fire Insurance Company; director of the Riverside Trust Company; director of the Connecticut Fair Association; director of the Spring Grove Cemetery Association; a trus-

tee of the Hartford-Connecticut Trust Company; trustee of the Good Will Club; trustee of the Hartford Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Burr was also a member of the commission in charge of erecting the State Library and the Supreme Court building, and he took much pride and pleasure in his work on this committee. He was a member of the Hartford Club and the White Hollow Fish and Game Club of Litchfield County, and an associate member of the Putnam Phalanx. His chief recreation was fishing. Although modest by nature and averse to personal mention, his many philanthropic deeds sometimes became known; like his father, he was willing to aid those in need, and many Hartford people could testify to the goodness of his heart and his assistance.

Mr. Burr married, May 21, 1874, Angie S. Lincoln, of Upton, Massachusetts, daughter of Gilbert Lincoln. Their only child, Florence Lincoln, was born April 29, 1875, and died April 10, 1912.

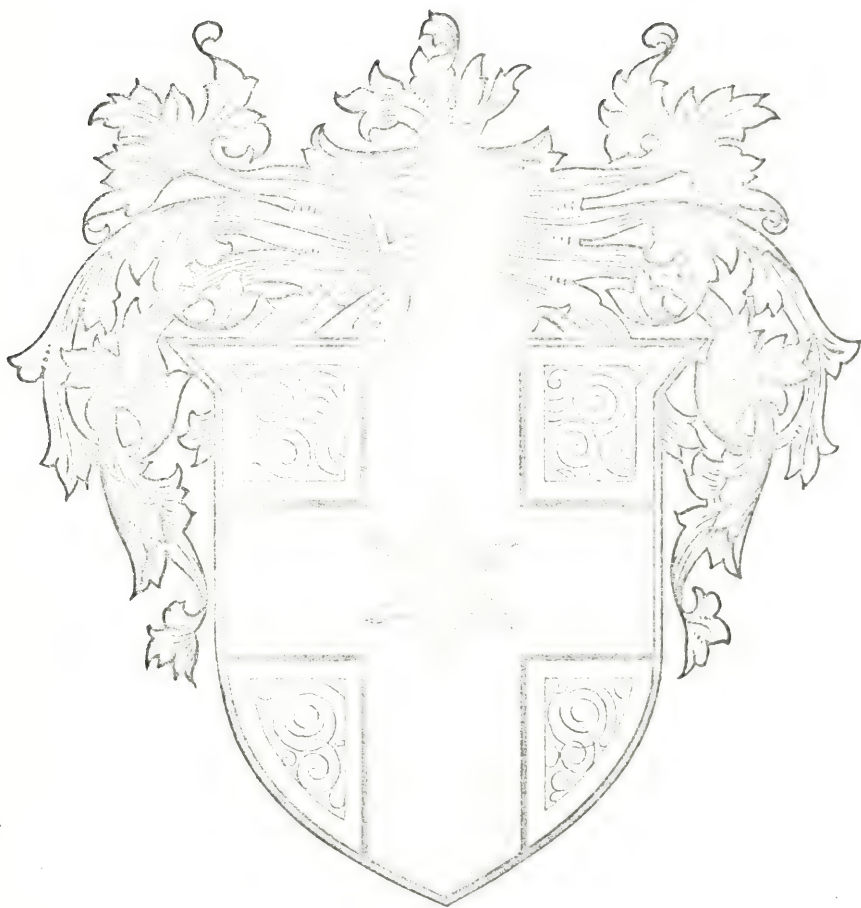
Mr. Burr served his business and the interests of his City, State and Country long and well. He was a man who loved his work, and discussion of public questions through the medium of his paper, and he had the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens and business associates.

(The Lincoln Line).

Arms—Argent, on a cross vert, an estoile pierced or.

The ancient Britons founded a city on the summit of a hill, near the river Lindis, England, from which the surname Lincoln was derived. Then came the Roman conquest, and the name was changed to Lindum Colonia. Subsequent races corrupted the name into Lindocolina, as used by Beda, the most venerable scholar of the seventh century, and into Lindkylne and Lincolle, as found in the Saxon chronicles of the twelfth century. Alured, the ancestor from whom the surname Lincoln has been inherited, went from Normandy to England with William the Conqueror in 1066. He established himself in the settlement by the river Lindis, became identified with the place, and became known as Alured de Lincoln. The name has since then become more common in America than in England. Sixty years ago Guppy found only nine to every ten thousand persons in County Essex, and only ten in the County of Norfolk, England. Alured de Lincoln held a great barony in Lincoln and Bedford in 1086. Nicol is the Norman equivalent for Lincoln, and Alured de Lincoln had his lands and titles preserved to him by having married a Norman woman.

The line of interest in this record is descended from Thomas Lincoln, born in England in 1603, who died in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1683. He came to America in 1636, settling at Hingham, Massachusetts, and in 1652 removed to Taunton. He married (first), in England, and his wife died before his coming to America. He mar-



Lincoln



Gilbert Lincoln

ried (second) Elizabeth Harvey Streete, widow of Francis Streete, and he was the father of five children, probably of his first marriage. His descendants were identified with the town of Taunton, Massachusetts, where they were proprietors of iron works, and but few definite records of them remain, since the town records of Taunton prior to 1800 were burned in 1838, although some were preserved with the proprietors' reports and a few extremely early accounts with the Plymouth Colony records.

I. Abijah Lincoln, descended from Thomas Lincoln, and a resident of Taunton, has his Revolutionary service given in "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution," Vol. IX, p. 797, as follows: "Abijah Lincoln, Ensign, Captain Josiah King's Company, Colonel Brewer's Regiment, later Lieutenant; enlisted June 16, 1775, discharged October 12, 1778." Heitman's "Register of Officers of the Revolution" outlines his record thus: "Abijah Lincoln, Ensign, May to December, 1775; Second Lieutenant, Thirtieth Continental Infantry, January 1, 1776; First Lieutenant, August 10-December 31, 1776."

Abijah Lincoln was born in 1738, and died June 20, 1812. His wife, Phoebe, was born in 1739, and died March 20, 1821, aged eighty-one years. They were the parents of Abijah, born in 1766, died December 28, 1815, and Gilbert, of whom further.

II. Gilbert Lincoln, son of Abijah Lincoln, died June 17, 1844, aged seventy-three years. He married Vilatia West, born May 2, 1772, died September 25, 1849, daughter of Captain Samuel (3) West, who served in the Revolution as a sergeant and was a pensioner of that war (see West VI). Issue: 1. Charles, of whom further. 2. Horace, died aged eighty-two years. 3. Vilatia (Mrs. Loomer), died aged eighty-eight years. 4. Phoebe, died aged eighty-six years.

III. Charles Lincoln, son of Gilbert Lincoln, was born in 1793, and died December 18, 1877. He married Abigail Kingsley, and they were the parents of two children: 1. Gilbert, of whom further. 2. Angeline A., died July 29, 1835, aged fifteen years.

IV. Gilbert (2) Lincoln, son of Charles Lincoln, lived in Columbia, Connecticut, later in Upton, Massachusetts. He married Betsey Wheeler. Their children are: 1. Angie S., married, May 21, 1874, Willie O. Burr (see Burr). 2. Charles Gilbert, married Ida Belden, and has three children: Richard Charles; Helen C., married Robert B. Newell, and has two children; Raymond G., married Eleanor Byorkman, and has two children: Charles Gilbert and John.

(The West Line).

Arms—Quarterly, first and fourth, argent, a fesse dancettee sable for West; second and third, gules, a lion rampant argent armed and langued azure between eight crosses crosslet fitchee in orle, of the second, for Delawarr.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a griffin's head azure, ears and beak gold.

Supporters—Dexter, a wolf coward, argent gorged with a plain collar or; sinister, a cockatrice or, shadowed and scaled azure.

Motto—*Jour de ma vie* (The day of my life).

The family of West is of noted English ancestry, and among its early members was Thomas de West, of Warwickshire, Knight of the shire for Warwick in 1326, who was created a baron by Edward III. From him was descended Reginald, who, in the reign of Henry V., was summoned as Lord de la Warr, and in this line is traced an American family.

I. Francis West, the founder of the line of record here, was born in 1606, who came from Salisbury, England, to Duxbury, Massachusetts, before 1639. He was a freeman in 1656, surveyor of highways in 1658, constable in 1661, and member of the Grand Inquest, 1662-69-74-78-80-81. He died January 2, 1692. He married, in Duxbury, Margery Reeves. Issue: 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. Dr. Thomas, born in 1646. 3. Peter. 4. Mary. 5. Ruth, born in 1651, died in 1741; married Nathaniel Skiff.

II. Samuel West, son of Francis and Margery (Reeves) West, was born in 1643, and died May 8, 1689. He lived in Duxbury, where he was constable in 1674. He married, September 26, 1668, Tryphosa Partridge, daughter of George and Sarah (Tracy) Partridge, of Duxbury, Massachusetts. Issue: 1. Francis, born November 13, 1669, died in 1731. 2. Juen, born September 8, 1671, died young. 3. Samuel, born December 23, 1672. 4. Peletiah, born March 8, 1674, died in 1756. 5. Hon. Ebenezer, born July 22, 1676. 6. John, born March 6, 1679. 7. Abigail, born September 26, 1682. 8. Bathsheba.

III. Samuel (2) West, son of Samuel (1) and Tryphosa (Partridge) West, was born December 23, 1672, and died about 1763. He lived in Duxbury, and after 1723 in Lebanon, Connecticut, and was one of the organizers, in 1730, of the Goshen Church of Lebanon. He married, June 30, 1709, Martha Delano, daughter of John and Mercy (Peabody) Simmons, and widow of Ebenezer Delano. Her grandmother, Elizabeth (Alden) Peabody, was the daughter of John and Priscilla (Mullins) Alden, of the "Mayflower." Issue of Samuel (2) and Martha West: 1. Amos, born May 29, 1710. 2. Nathan, of whom further. 3. Sarah, born November 8, 1712. 4. Moses, born March 4, 1716.

IV. Nathan West, son of Samuel (2) and Martha (Simmons-Delano) West, was born August 18, 1711, and lived in the parish of Goshen, Lebanon, Connecticut. He married, July 20, 1741, Jerusha Hinckley, daughter of Gershom and Mary (Buell) Hinckley, of Lebanon, Connecticut. Issue: 1. Jerusha, born October 21, 1742. 2. Samuel, of whom further. 3. Nathan, born May 26, 1746, died



West

young. 4. Mary, born June 7, 1747. 5. Nathan, born June 8, 1749. 6. Lucy, born May 16, 1751. 7. Walter, born May 12, 1753. 8. Charles, born April 22, 1755, died young. 9. Charles, born July 4, 1756, killed in battle during the Revolutionary War, 1778. 10. Seth, born June 2, 1758. 11. Calvin, born June 11, 1761. 12. George, born May 13, 1762.

V. *Captain Samuel* (3) *West*, son of Nathan and Jerusha (Hinckley) West, was born August 23, 1743, and died January 10, 1835. He lived in Goshen parish, Lebanon, Connecticut, until 1778, when he removed to that part of Lebanon that later became Columbia. He was a sergeant in the Revolutionary War, a pensioner at the age of ninety, and a representative of the town. He married (first), September 12, 1765, Sarah Hunt, daughter of William and Sarah (Lyman) Hunt, of Lebanon; she was born in 1743, and died in 1816. He married (second) Sarah Porter, born in 1767, died November 8, 1851. Issue, all by first wife: 1. Rev. Joel, born March 12, 1767. 2. Sarah, born June 11, 1768. 3. Parthena, born May 15, 1770. 4. Vilatia, of whom further. 5. Submit, born December 26, 1773. 6. Colonel Samuel, born February 11, 1776. 7. Charles, born November 10, 1777, died in the same year. 8. Jerusha, born December 5, 1778, died in 1781. 9. Lydia, born May 1, 1782, died in 1866. 10. Charles, born March 11, 1784. 11. Sophia, born April 13, 1786. 12. Betsey, born June 21, 1789.

VI. *Vilatia West*, daughter of Captain Samuel (3) and Sarah (Hunt) West, was born May 2, 1772, and married Gilbert Lincoln (see Lincoln II).



Whitney and Allied Families

BY DAVID C. HERNDON, NEW YORK CITY

Arms—Azure, a cross chequy or and gules.

Crest—A bull's head couped sable, armed argent, the points gules.

Motto—*Magnanimiter crucem sustine* (Gallantly uphold the cross).

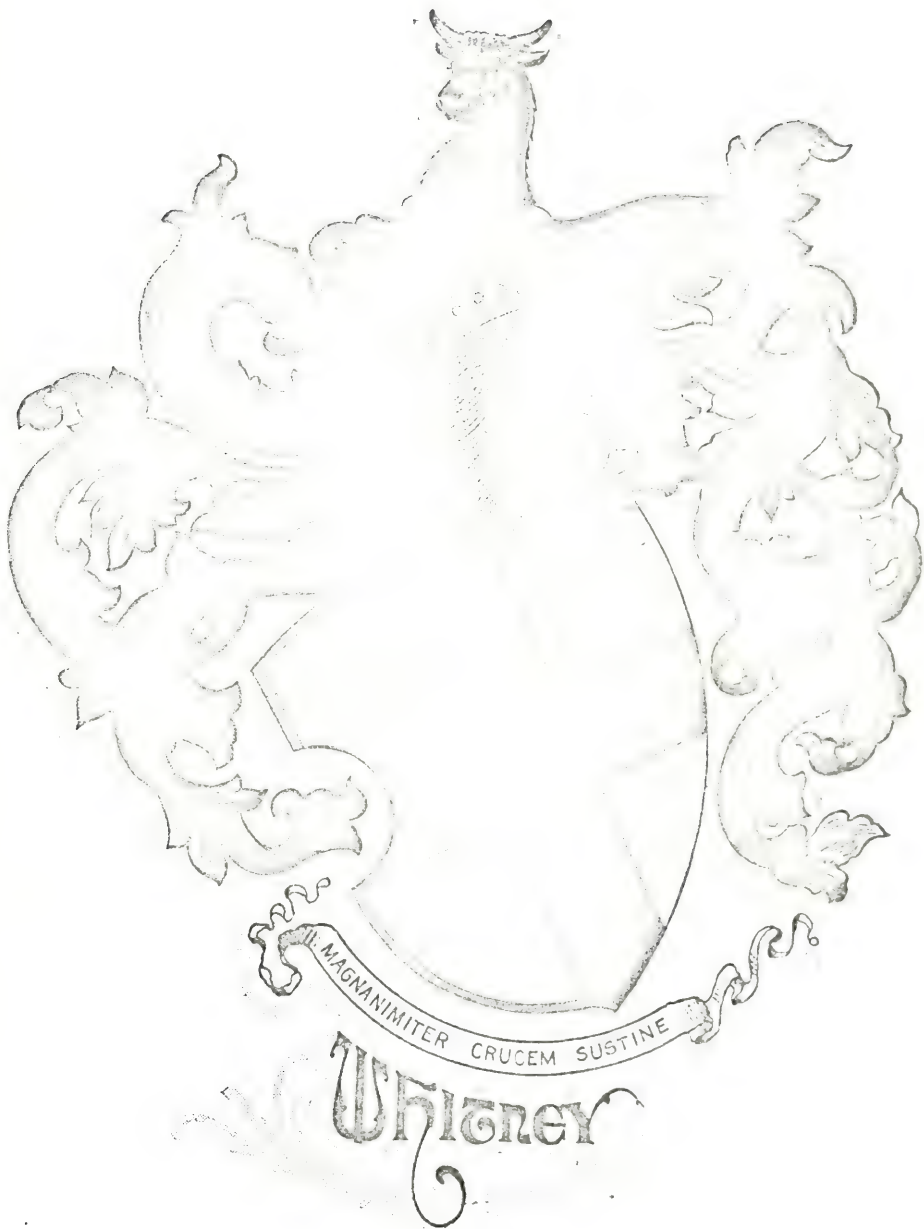


THE surname Whitney was originally a place name. The parish from which the family takes its name is located in County Hereford, England, upon the extreme western border, adjoining Wales, and is traversed by the lovely Wye river. The name of the place doubtless comes from the appearance of the river, meaning in Saxon, white water, from *hwit*, white, and *ey*, water. The English ancestry of John Whitney, the immigrant, who settled at Watertown, Massachusetts, has been established by Henry Melville and presented in an exquisitely printed and illustrated volume. Very few American families have their English genealogy in such well authenticated and satisfactory form. An abstract of the English ancestry is given below.

I. Turstin, "the Fleming," otherwise known as Turstin de Wigmore, probably also as Turstin, son of Rolf, and Turstin "the White," was a follower of William the Conqueror. He was mentioned in the Domesday Book as an extensive land holder in Herefordshire and the Marches of Wales. He married Agnes, daughter of Alured de Merleberge, a Norman baron of Ewias Castle, in the Marches of Wales.

II. Eustace, son of Turstin, was a benefactor of the monastery of St. Peter in Gloucester. He or one of his immediate descendants took the surname de Whitney from Whitney of the Wye, in the Marches of Wales, where his principal castle was located. The estate comprised over two thousand acres, and remained in the family until 1893, when it was sold, there being no member of the family to hold it. The castle has entirely disappeared, but it is believed to be in ruins under the Wye, which has in the course of years changed its path. The castle was probably built on an artificial mound, surrounded by a moat fed by the river, which gradually undermined the castle, which was at last disintegrated.

III. Sir Robert de Whitney, a direct descendant of Eustace, was living in 1242, and was mentioned in the "Testa de Nevill." Three or four intervening generations cannot be stated with certainty.



IV. *Sir Eustace de Whitney*, son of Sir Robert, gave deed to the monastery of St. Peter in 1280, referring to and confirming the deed of his ancestors above mentioned. He was Lord of Pencombe, Little Cowarn and Whitney, in 1281; was granted free warren by Edward I in 1284; summoned to wars beyond the seas in 1297; tenant of part of the manor of Huntington in 1299; in Scotch war in 1301. He was possibly grandson instead of son of Sir Robert.

V. *Sir Eustace de Whitney*, son of Sir Eustace, was knighted by Edward I in 1306, and was a member of Parliament for Herefordshire in 1313 and 1352.

VI. *Sir Robert de Whitney*, son of Sir Eustace, was one of two hundred gentlemen who went to Milan in the retinue of the Duke of Clarence on the occasion of the latter's marriage in 1368. He was a member of Parliament for Herefordshire in 1377, 1379, and 1380, and sheriff in 1377.

VII. *Sir Robert de Whitney*, son of Sir Robert, was sent abroad to negotiate treaty with the Count of Flanders in 1388; member of Parliament for Herefordshire in 1391. He was sent to France to deliver the castle and town of Cherbourg to the King of Navarre in 1393; was knight marshal in the court of Richard II; sent on King's business to Ireland in 1394. He was killed, together with his brother and most of his relatives, at the battle of Pilleth, 1402.

VIII. *Sir Robert de Whitney*, son of Sir Robert, was granted the castle of Clifford and lordships of Clifford and Glasbury by Henry IV in 1404, on account of the services of his father. He was sheriff of Herefordshire in 1413-28-33-37; member of Parliament, 1416-22. He fought in the French war under Henry V, and was captain of the castle and town of Vire in 1420. He was named as one of the five knights in Herefordshire in 1433, and died March 12, 1441.

IX. *Sir Eustace de Whitney*, son of Sir Robert, was born in 1411. He was head of a commission sent to Wales by Henry VI in 1455, and was a member of Parliament for Herefordshire in 1468. He married (first) Jenett Russell, (second) Jane Clifford.

X. *Robert Whitney*, son of Sir Eustace (IX), was probably a knight, and was an active participant in the War of the Roses, and was attainted as a Yorkist in 1459. He was probably at the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461. He was the subject of a poem by Lewis Glyn Cothi, on the occasion of his marriage to Alice, the great-granddaughter of Sir David Gam. He married (first), Alice, daughter of Thomas Vaughan; (second), Constance Touchett, who was the mother of his sons. She was descended from William the Conqueror, through the second wife of Edward I, King of England.

XI. James Whitney, son of Robert, was appointed receiver of Newport, part of the estate of the Duke of Buckingham, confiscated by Henry VII in 1522. He married Blanche, daughter and an heir of Simon Milbourne.

XII. Robert Whitney, son of James Whitney, was of Icomb, and in charge of other confiscated estates. He was sheriff of Gloucestershire, 1527-28-29-30. He was nominated Knight of the Bath by Henry VIII at the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1531; was granted part of income of monastery of Brewern in 1535; furnished forty men to put down rebellion in 1536. He was named to attend upon the King's person. He died in 1541, and his will was proved June 11, 1541. He married Margaret Wye.

XIII. Sir Robert Whitney, son of Robert, was knighted the day after Queen Mary's coronation in October, 1553. He was summoned before the privy council in 1555 and 1559. He was member of Parliament for Herefordshire in 1559, and died August 5, 1567. He married Sybil Baskerville, a descendant of William the Conqueror through the first wife of Edward I.

XIV. Robert Whitney, son of Sir Robert, was mentioned in the will of his father, and also in an inquisition taken after the latter's death. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Morgan Guillims, or Duglim.

XV. Thomas Whitney, son of Robert, was of Westminster, Gentleman. He was buried at St. Margaret's, April 14, 1637. He married Mary, daughter of John Bray, of Westminster; she was buried at St. Margaret's, September 25, 1629. Children: 1. John, the American emigrant, settled at Watertown, Massachusetts. 2. Nicholas. 3. William. 4. Richard. 5. Margaret. 6. Anne.

THE FAMILY IN AMERICA.

John Whitney, immigrant ancestor, was born in England in 1589, son of Thomas, and grandson of Robert Whitney. He received for his day a good education in the Westminster School, now St. Peter's College. He was apprenticed at the age of fourteen by his father to William Pring, of the Old Bailey, London, a freeman of the Merchant Tailors' Company, then the most famous and prosperous of all the great trade guilds, numbering in its membership distinguished men of all professions, many of the nobility, and the Prince of Wales. At the age of twenty-one, John Whitney became a full-fledged member and his apprenticeship expired. He made his home in Isle-worth-on-Thames, eight miles from Westminster, and there three of his children were born. There, too, his father apprenticed to him his younger brother Robert, who also served his seven years.

George F. Whitney M. D.

Soon afterward John Whitney left Isleworth and doubtless returned to London and lived in Bow Lane, near Bow Church, where his son Thomas was born. In September, 1631, he placed his eldest son, John, Jr., in the Merchant Tailors' School, where according to the register he remained as long as the family was in England. Early in April, 1635, John Whitney registered with his wife Eleanor and sons John, Richard, Nathaniel, Thomas and Jonathan, as passengers of the ship *Elizabeth and Ann*, Roger Cooper, master, landing a few weeks later in New England. He settled in Watertown in June, and bought the sixteen-acre homestead of John Strickland at what is now Belmont and East Common streets. This homestead descended to his son Joshua Whitney, of Groton, who sold it October 29, 1697, to Nathan Fiske. Mr. Whitney was admitted a freeman March 3, 1635-36, and appointed constable June 1, 1641; was selectman in 1638 to 1655 inclusive, and town clerk in 1655. He was one of the foremost citizens for many years. He was grantee of eight lots in Watertown. He died June 1, 1673. He married (first), in England, Eleanor —, born in 1599, died in Watertown, May 11, 1659. He married (second), in Watertown, September 29, 1659, Judith Clement, who died before her husband.

Many members of this family have attained distinction in various walks of life. Among these may be mentioned William Dwight Whitney, an eminent philologist who became professor of Sanskrit at Yale; and Joseph Dwight Whitney, a geologist of the first rank who became head of the State Geological Survey of California.

The life story of Dr. George F. Whitney, of Cleveland, Ohio, is the story of a poor boy who raised himself to membership in one of the learned professions solely through his own efforts. A boyhood of work and self-denial developed a man of resource and courage; a man self-reliant and earnest, who knew no obstacle could deter him from the fruition of his ambition. He was nearly forty years of age when he was awarded his M. D., but he improved the years yet remaining him, and he made a name for himself that was widely known.

George Franklin Whitney was born in Petersham, Massachusetts, May 29, 1847, died June 16, 1918, in Cleveland, Ohio, son of Benjamin and Marilla Whitney, his mother a third cousin of Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain). He was compelled to leave school at nine years of age, when he left his home and worked for other people. He studied privately, and obtained in that way a good general knowledge of medicine. He continued his private study until twenty-three years of age, earning his own living during the fourteen years following his leaving home. He had no assistance whatever in financing his education, and at the age of twenty-three years, when he entered college in Irvington, Indiana, he had earned

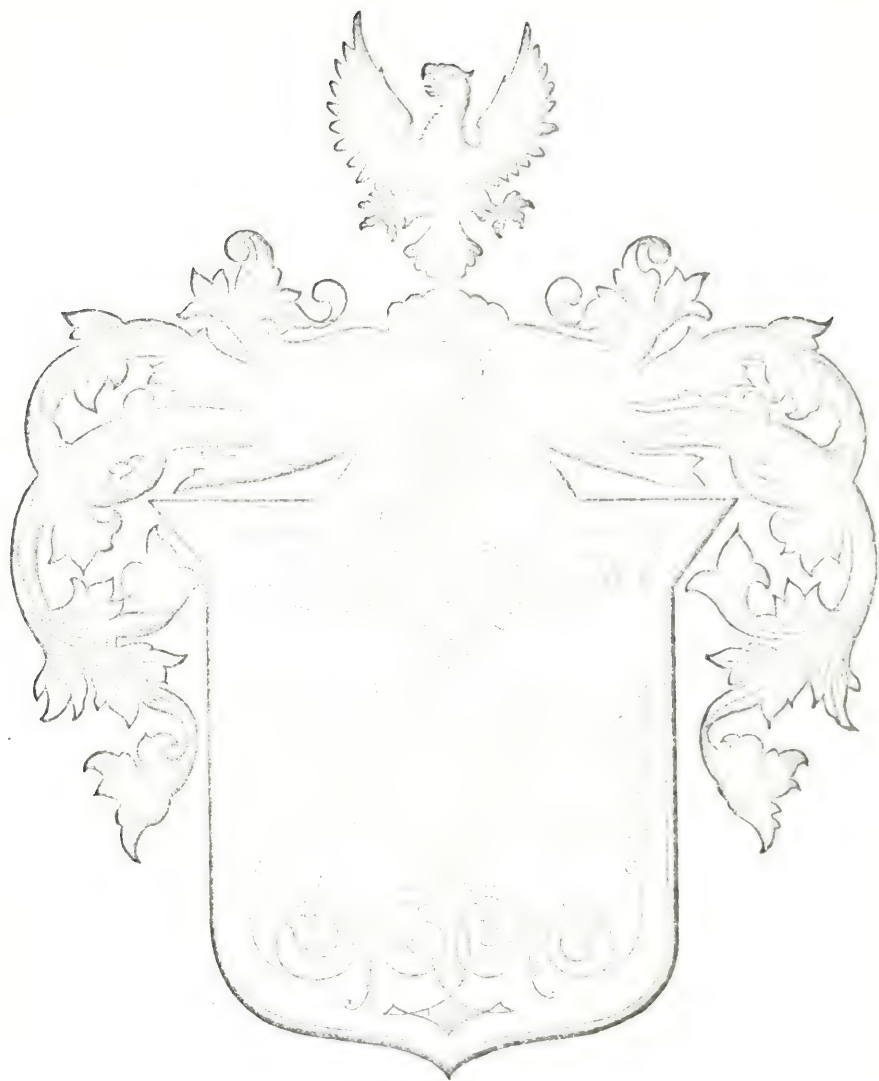
every dollar he had ever had. After finishing classical courses in Irvington, he entered Western Reserve University, in the medical department, there continuing until March 3, 1886, when he was awarded his degree of M. D., being then thirty-nine years of age. This was a wonderfully courageous feat this unlearned farmer boy had accomplished, starting from home at the age of nine years making his own way, financing a classical and medical college education, and beginning medical practice at an age when physicians are supposed to be established for life.

He had been in various occupations after leaving home, and before entering the medical college he had been engaged in business in Cleveland, Ohio, under the firm name of Whitney & Raymond Organ Factory, their place of business on Windsor avenue and 55th street. He had been in the same business in Galion, Ohio, in 1877, in the Union Organ Company, and in Dayton, Ohio, was connected with Childs Brothers, organ manufacturers. He was an expert piano and organ tuner, especially in organ tuning. Even after entering college, he worked for Childs Brothers in Irvington, and in this way paid his college expenses. It was a high and worthy ambition which actuated Mr. Whitney, and all through the years he never for a moment lost sight of his goal, a medical education. After settling in practice in Cleveland, he made most of the medicines he prescribed, they being mostly tinctures and distillations from roots and herbs. He built up an enormous practice, and was known through his medicines from coast to coast, also to Europe and Japan. His medicines were well known, and his prescriptions were so valuable that they are yet popular and in demand, although the doctor who prepared them has passed away, and the sign, Dr. George F. Whitney, has disappeared from the lawn of his former residence on East 115th street, Cleveland, Ohio. But the office is practically as he left it at his passing in 1918, and Mrs. Whitney is yet (1921) a frequent visitor at the office for some of his well known prescriptions. Dr. Whitney was a lodge member of the Free and Accepted Masons; Webb Chapter, Royal Arch Masons; Oriental Commandery, Knights Templar; and was a noble of the Mystic Shrine.

Dr. Whitney married, August 26, 1878, in Dennison, Ohio, Mary Catherine Wyne, daughter of George M. and Mary Elizabeth (Kirkham) Wyne, her father an engineer and a machinist of Dennison, her mother of French descent. Mrs. Whitney survives her husband, and resides in a beautiful home at No. 1661 East 115th street, Cleveland, Ohio. She is a member of the Presbyterian Church, and interested in many other activities.

(The Wyne Line).

Wyne (Wynn) Arms—Vert, three eagles displayed in fess or.
Crest—An eagle displayed or.



Wyne
(Wynn)

This name, which is variously spelled Winne, Wynne and Wyne, also without the final "e," is of ancient Welsh origin, being derived from *gwyn*, meaning white. "Burke's Peerage" has this to say of the English family: "To the House of Gydir, now represented maternally in one of its branches by the Williams-Wynns of Wymstay, must be conceded the first rank in Cambrian genealogy. This eminent family deduces male descent through their immediate ancestor, Rhodri, Lord of Anglesey, younger son of Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, from Anarawd, King of North Wales, eldest son of Rhodri Mawr, King of Wales. This last monarch, the descendant of a long line of regal ancestors, succeeded to the crown of Powys on the demise, in 843, of his father, Mervyn Vrych, King of Powys, and by inheritance and marriage acquired the kingdoms of North Wales and South Wales."

Rhodri ap Owen Gwynedd, Lord of Anglesey, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, was born about the middle of the twelfth century, and married Agnes, daughter of Rhys ap Griffith ap Rhys ap Tewdyr Mawr, King of South Wales. Tenth in descent from this couple was John Wynne ap Meredith, of Gwydir, County Caernavon, who died in 1559. He seems to have been the first to bear the name of Wynne in its present form. His grandson, Sir John Wynn, of Gwydir, born in 1553, was the well known author of the "History of the Gwydir Family." The arms of Wynn of Gwydir are: Quarterly: first and fourth, vert, three eagles displayed in fesse. or, for Owen Gwynedd, King of North Wales; second and third, gules, three lions passant, in pale argent, armed azure, for Griffith ap Cynan, King of North Wales.



Editorial

AN EXPLANATION

In connection with the narrative of the Battle of Monmouth (New Jersey), on June 28, 1778, on page 254, of this Volume, the July number of this Magazine, appeared an engraving of the battle plan, but through an error on the part of the binder, an explanatory note was omitted. This omission is now supplied in the present number of "Americana," and will be properly cited in the Index at the end of the year.

The plate above referred to is a perfect fac-simile reproduction of that printed in Barber & Howe's "Historical Collections of New Jersey," published in New York, in 1845, and in which those authors stated that the battle plan was reduced by them from one published in a French work, "Historical and Political Essays on the North American Revolution," by M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil.

Due to a similar fault as above mentioned, failure was made to acknowledge the use of various fine illustrations accompanying the "I Have Called the Place Pittsburgh" article, provided by its scholarly author, Mr. George T. Fleming, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

AN INDIAN RELIC

Fronting the first page of "Indian Descent in New England," in this number of the Magazine, is an engraving of an Indian relic, for presentation of which the writer of the article is not at all responsible. Its presentation is due to the desire of the editor to secure identification of the relic and its history as far as possible, and he invites information from some of his many readers who are versed in Indian lore.

In relation to this matter, it may be said that a query was submitted to Mr. David L. Pierson, of Newark, New Jersey, a well

known antiquarian and historian. He in turn referred it to the New-ark Museum Association which through its principal authority on such matters made the following reply:

"Will it be possible to obtain more information about the articles in the illustration which you left with us for identification? We are finding it difficult to give an accurate statement without seeing the actual objects. Are they made of clay, or stone? Is the oval object hollow from end to end? and are there openings at the ends of the long object? And where do those articles come from?"

"We suppose that these articles are Indian pipes, probably from the Middle West or South. However, if the long object is of solid stone and polished, it may be a banner-stone. This information is based on illustrations and records from the book 'Prehistoric Implements,' by Warren K. Morehead."

BOOK NOTICES.

"Chimalman, and Other Poems," by Grace Ellis Taft; author of "Cayuga Notes," former correspondent of "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal;" member of International Congress of Americanists, and American Anthropological Association. The Cameo Press, New York.

This dainty little volume contains as its principal feature a really poetical dramatic setting of an idyllic story of "Chimalman." An appreciative friend of the author, in the foreword, speaks of the unique Indian myth upon which it is founded, one absolutely native to Mexican folk-history, and in explanation narrates that when Spanish conquest brought Christian history into that country, the Jesuit and Franciscan fathers found great wonderment in the similarity of this tale to their own scriptural version of the life of the Virgin Mary. "Their belief was that the Chimalman story was a grotesque perversion of some Biblical narrative caught from the lips of a white captive; but later investigation proves it to be an original Mexican idea, nearly a thousand years old at the time of the Spanish Conquest." Miss Taft has certainly treated her subject with excellent spirit and pleasing phrasing.

"Washington Irving, and Other Essays, Biographical, Historical and Philosophical," by Charles Anson Ingraham, M. D., Cambridge, New York. Published by the author, 1922; \$1.75 cents, postpaid.

This volume has for its contents a brilliant array of papers, beginning with that which forms its leading title—"Washington Irving,"—dealing with the personal characteristics of that gifted author, and the preservative elements in his writings. Other critical personal writings are on James Fenimore Cooper, William Ellery Channing, Jenny Lind, and Stephen C. Foster. Of interest from an historical standpoint are: "Columbus, 'the Pauper Pilot'," and "The Northwest Territory and the Ordinance of 1787." There are also philosophical papers of real excellence:—"Transcendentalism," "The Ultimate Aim of History," and "The Burden of Liberty." The latter is of deepest import, such a preachment as should fall upon all ears and receive the most serious consideration at this particular time, when there is an almost universal outcry for rights and privileges, and general disregard of the obligations and responsibilities of citizenship. Two of these papers have previously appeared in this Magazine, to which Dr. Ingraham has long been a valued contributor.

It is with genuine pleasure that we present below a portion of the author's preface, and for these reasons: to remark how effectively he has outlined the work of a diligent and discriminating essayist; to confirm his self-judgment that his own personality has been communicated to his book; and to commend the spirit and scope of the volume to beginners in literary work, though various "professional" writers might also well profit by it.

To quote from the preface:

"The idea which the author has kept in view while preparing these essays, has been to avoid a strictly chronological and concrete account of any of the subjects dealt with, and to incorporate rather the distinguishing traits of character and striking dramatic events or situations really illuminative and humanly interesting. He would therefore indulge the hope that his own personality, such as it is, has been in some measure communicated to the book, not only in the general manner of its being somewhat evident in the choice of subjects and the method and style of their presentation, but in the ideas and sentiments of the writer as they run in practically an unbroken line from the beginning to the end of the volume.

"The preparation of this book has involved a large amount of reading and thought, and it can be truly said that were all the volumes and periodicals brought together which have been consulted, they would constitute a considerable library; of all this literature,

these essays are the essence. It has frequently occurred to the author as he has been engaged in essay writing, that brief though comprehensive papers of this kind have a wider perusal in this day of pressing activities, than books devoted entirely to one subject. Though an essay lacks the outward dignity of a book treating of but a single topic, there are grounds for the conviction that the former is a greater source of influence. And here it may be said that in the great uncultivated fields of information which exist concerning every subject under the sun, there is a fertile territory for writers profitable to till, and in which to bring forth things new and old with which the reading public are quite unacquainted."

VALUABLE ANCESTRAL HISTORY

Beginning with the July, 1919, number, this Magazine has presented lengthy instalments of "Ancestral Heads of New England Families,"* alphabetically arranged, and affording substantial foundation for the tracing of lines of descent by innumerable present-day families throughout the length and breadth of our land. The purpose was to complete this monumental work in our present number, but on account of an insuperable difficulty it is necessary to defer that completion to the following number of the Magazine, that for January, 1923.



* Not included in *Genealogical Abstracts* - *Continued in 1923*
See: Boston Herald - *Complete*
Continuation of the Ancestral Heads of New England
published 1920-1923

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